



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>







A NEW
COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES
AND
TRAVELS,
Into several Parts of the
WORLD,

None of them ever before Printed
in *English*.

VOL. II.

LONDON, Printed for J. Knapton, Andrew Bell, D. Midwinter,
Will. Taylor, A. Collins, and J. Baker. 1711.



203. h. 118.

THE
Seventeen Years TRAVELS
OF
PETER de CIEZA,
Through the Mighty KINGDOM of
P E R U,
AND
The large PROVINCES of
CARTAGENA and POPAYAN
IN
South *AMERICA*:

From the City of *PANAMA*, on the Isthmus,
to the Frontiers of *CHILE*.

Now first Translated from the SPANISH, and Illustrated
with a MAP, and several CUTS.

L O N D O N:

Printed in the Year MDCCIX.

203. h. 118. (1)

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LIBRARY

U R E S

1917

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

LIBRARY

1917

LIBRARY



To the Honourable, *Edmund Poley*

EDMUND POLEY

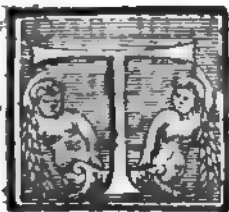
OF *County of Suffolk*

BADLEY

IN THE

County of **SUFFOLK**, Esq.

SIR,



THE constant Practice of all Ages, has so well Authoriz'd the prefixing the Names of Worthy Patrons, to useful

Books, thought fit to appear in Publick, that it may be reckon'd, in some Measure, a Fault, to make use of none upon the like Occasions; because either it seems to imply a Want of such deserving Persons,

DEDICATION.

sons, or is denying their Due to those, who have Merited to be Honourably transmitted to Posterity. Mankind is so well acquainted with the Usefulness of Works of this Nature, I mean of Travels, that it is altogether needless to Endeavour to Convince any one of the Advantages we reap by them ; nothing being more commendable in a Gentleman, than to know, and Discourse well of the Situation, Constitution and Product of other Countries ; nothing more Beneficial to a Merchant, than to understand, what Commodities they want, and what they have to spare ; and nothing more Profitably entertaining to all Sorts, than to be Inform'd of the Various and Strange Manners, Customs, Laws, Religions, Habits, and all other Particulars of the several Parts of this World we live in. It will, perhaps, be thought too Censorious, to say there are few so qualify'd,

D E D I C A T I O N.

lisy'd, as that their Patronage can give any Reputation to the Work they espouse, and yet it is but too visible, that very often Authors discredit themselves, and their Writings, by Dedicating them to Persons of no other Worth, than their undeserv'd; and sometimes ill gotten Wealth.

To avoid this Danger, Sir, I have had Recourse to You, as to one above all Exception, which should I go about to Demonstrate, by attempting to recite those Excellent Qualities You are Endow'd with, I must fall so short, as rather to lessen, than add any thing to Your Character. Yet am I Satisfy'd, that is an Error you would readily forgive me, because Your Modesty could not bear to hear that Commendation, which is Your Due; and Envy never fails to Stigmatize the just Praises of the Meritorious, with the Odious Title of Flattery. I must therefore

DEDICATION.

therefore forbear, that which is the proper Subject of a Dedication, being a true Representation of You to Futurity ; lest Bashfulness prevail on You to blame me, and Malice excite others to rail. All I shall therefore presume to add is, that Nature having been generously bountiful in furnishing You with excellent Parts, and You having omitted nothing for improving of them in Learning and Languages, none can be a more Competent Judge of what my Author has Perform'd in Composing, and I in Translating this small Piece, and consequently none a properer, or more worthy Patron, as such I lay it before you, and am, in all Sincerity,

SIR,

*Your most Obedient, and
most Devoted Servant.*

JOHN STEVENS.

THE PREFACE.

IT is a vain Piece of Presumption to expect to please all Men, whose Tempers and Affections, are so various, that nothing can be found so Universal, as to be agreeable to them all. What one Delights in, another Loaths; that which some most admire, is the Aversion of others. No Religion, no Government, no Customs, no Habit, and no Diet was ever so Universal, as to satisfy Mankind in general. Opinions, and Humours differ so much, that it is hard, if not impossible to meet with two Persons exactly of the same Mind. This wonderful Disagreement renders it so difficult a Task to publish any thing that may find a good Reception, and meet with proper Encouragement. Scandal, Irreligion, Lewdness, and Ribaldry are supported by the greater Numbers; because deprav'd human Nature is proud of exposing the Faults of its fellow Creatures; Profaneness is look'd upon as Wit; Debauchery is not only reckon'd Pardonable, but Genteel; and Scurrility suits the meaner Capacities, on whom more solid things are lost. The Wiser and better Sort, have other Views in reading, the most commendable, to improve in Knowledge, and as subservient to that, the diverting of themselves, without losing Time. But as all Talents are not alike, so neither do all Subjects equally content them. There are some Gusts so deprav'd, that, to come to what we have in Hand, they are more taken with Sr. John Mandevill, Fernan Mendez Pinto, or such like Romantick Writers of their own Dreams, than with those, who giving sincere Relations of their Travels, cannot furnish them with so much matter of Surprise, and Admiration. Others would have such Accounts consist of much Variety of pleasing Incidents, and Adventures within the Bounds of Truth; yet cannot relish, those they call dry Descriptions, because those do not so pleasingly amuse, and tickle the Fancy. Thus every Reader seeks himself, and therefore so few Writers of this Sort find a general Approbation. Notwithstanding all these Difficulties, it is hop'd this Piece may meet with a favourable Reception, being recommended to the Publishers of this Collection by several Gentlemen of unquestion'd Judgment, who understand the Original.

However that every one may make a Satisfactory Guess at the Performance, it is proper to say something of the Author, and his Work in Particular. As to himself, he informs us, that he spent above Seventeen Years in those Parts, he undertakes to give an Account of, travelling from Panama almost to the utmost bounds of Peru, and across the Country in several

The PREFACE.

ral Places; so that he scarce delivers any thing, but upon his own Perfect Knowledge; or where he happens to do otherwise, alleges such creditable Witnesses, that there remains not the least ground to doubt of his Assertions. His Reputation has hitherto stood unquestion'd, and all the best Spanish Writers, who have treated of that Part of America, quote him upon several Occasions, as an undeniable Testimony. Even Garcilasso de la Vega, who was born and bred in Peru, and so well acquainted with it, being his Native Country, in his History of that Kingdom, makes great Use of him, as a most authentic Recorder. Besides, the very plainness of his Style, and genuine way of Expression, are sufficient to convince all unprejudic'd Readers of his Sincerity; considering how frankly he confesses his want of Learning to embellish such a Work, having been always bred to Arms, and in the continual Fatigues of Conquests, and Discoveries: This Defect he informs us, at first deter'd him from attempting what his Genius dictated; till observing that no other of greater Capacity undertook it, he resolv'd rather to expose himself to the Censure of Criticks, than that the World should be entirely depriv'd of the true Knowledge of those Countries; of the almost incredible Actions, and Sufferings of the Spaniards, his Country-Men; and of the Manner how it pleas'd God, after those Immense Regions had lain so long unknown to the rest of the World, to lay them open to Europeans. As it is in short express'd by himself, 'he treats of the Description, and Division of the Provinces of Peru, both along the Coast, and up the Inland; the Founding of all Cities, and Towns by the Spaniards, the ancient Manners, Customs, Religion, and Habits, of the Native Indians, the Product of the Country, the Politick Government of the Ingas, their Wonderful Structures, the Immense Roads they made, and many other Curiosities.

His first five Chapters may perhaps (to those who read 'em only for Delight) seem somewhat heavy, as treating only of the Description of the Coast; but they will do well to consider how useful, and advantageous it is to be perfectly inform'd of the true Distances of Places, and the exact Latitudes of all Rivers, Creeks, Bays, Harbours, Roads, and other remarkable things along that noble Kingdom, which perhaps has never been so nicely done by any but Peter de Cieza, and this must certainly be very acceptable to all Lovers of Geography, and Navigation. Thirty Chapters following are of the Provinces of Cartagena, and Popayan, before he enters upon the Kingdom of Peru properly so call'd, which is at Chap. 36. the Account growing still more entertaining the farther a Man enters into it. Great Care has been taken, that the Cuts should exactly answer the Description, which may be observ'd others have fail'd in, having drawn them at Pleasure, or borrow'd them from de Brye, without much regard to Truth. To conclude nothing seems to be omitted that may recommend this to the Curious, there being that Variety which may please the several Humours of Men, and much Sincerity, and Exactness, which ought to be acceptable to all.

THE

T H E
Seventeen Years Travels
 O F
PETER de CIEZA, &c.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Discovery of the West-Indies.

IN the Year 1492, *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*, reigning in *Spain*, the Renowned *Christopher Columbus* set sail from the Port of *Palos de Moguer* in *Andaluzia*, with three Caravels and ninety *Spaniards*, their said Majesties had appointed him, for his intended Discovery of the *West Indies*. Having sail'd 1200 Leagues on the Main Ocean, to the Westward, always before the Wind, the first Land he made was that of the *Lucayo* Islands, whence he stood over to that of *Hispaniola*, where now the City of *Santo Domingo* stands. The Caravels mention'd are Vessels, little or not at all known in the Northern Parts, and at present much less us'd in *Spain* and the Streights than formerly, they are very sharp before, and ill shap'd every Way, the Masts not standing upright as in Ships, but stooping forwards, all the Sails are Triangular, like our common Mizens, and will lie nearer the Wind than others, but are not so commodious to hand. From *Hispaniola* *Columbus* return'd into *Spain*, and he and others prosecuting that successful Undertaking, they discover'd the Islands of *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, *S. John de Puerto Rico*, &c. as also the Provinces of *Yucatan*, *Terra Firma*, *New Spain*, *Nicaragua*, *Guatemala*, with many more as far as *Florida*, and then the

*Discovery
of the West
Indies.*

the Vast Kingdom of *Peru*, the River of *Plate*, and the Straits of *Magellan*, an Immense Tract of Land, which had continu'd altogether unknown to *Europeans* for so many Ages. The Judicious Reader may easily conceive, what incredible Fatigues, what Hunger and Thirst, what Terrors and Dangers, the *Spaniards* underwent in those unusual Voyages, and in marching by Land through so many barbarous Nations; and may well judge how much Bloodshed, and what Numbers of Lives it cost them. The Emperor *Charles* the 5th. who succeeded in the Monarchy of *Spain*, in all his Orders, and Instructions, strictly enjoin'd, that special Care shou'd be taken of the Conversion of the Natives of all those new found Countries, and that the Governors, Commanders, and Discoverers should treat them as Brethren, and Fellow Subjects, and yet several of those Persons then in Authority, acted directly contrary, cruelly oppressing and abusing the *Indians*. They again took up Arms in their own Defence, killing many *Spaniards*, and among them some Commanders, which occasion'd the putting several of them to cruel Tortures, burning of some, and executing others in dreadful Manner, to strike a Terror into the rest, and prevent any Insurrections for the Future. To do all Men right, I must declare, that all the *Spaniards* were not guilty of this misusing the *Indians*; for I have often seen, and can affirm of my own Knowledge, that they were kindly treated by good and moderate Men, who when they hapned to be sick, would bleed, and serve them with their own Hands, and perform other Acts of Charity, and Humanity towards them at other Times. The King being inform'd of the great Oppression the *Indians* lay under, and considering how much it concern'd the Honour of his Government to abolish all such wicked Practices, was pleas'd to appoint Viceroy, and Sovereign Courts, with Presidents, and Judges, filling all those Places with Men of Worth and Integrity; by which means, the *Indians* seem to be rais'd again from the Grave, and their Miseries have ceas'd; so that now no *Spaniard*, tho' never so Great, dares offer them the least Injury; for not to mention the Bishops, Clergy, and Religious Men
sent

Indians
protected by
the King.

sent over by his Majesties Order for instructing of those People; those Learned and upright Persons employ'd in the Sovereign Courts aforesaid, never fail to punish any that presume to wrong the *Indians*. Thus at present they are upon a Level with the *Spaniards*, being as free in their Persons, and as Absolute Masters of their Estates as they, and every Township is appointed what Moderate Taxes it is to pay. I remember, when I was in the Province of *Xanxa* some Years since, the *Indians* with much Pleasure and Satisfaction, said to me, These are truly happy Days, like those of *Topainga Yupangue*. That had been an excellent King of theirs in former Times, who had made his People ease, and his Memory was still honour'd. Having premis'd thus much as to the *West-Indies* in general, I will now proceed to my own Travels.

CHAP. II.

Of the City of Panama, and its Foundation, and why treated of before any other.

I Might, before I enter upon the Description of *Peru*, and the adjacent Provinces, have given an Account of what the Natives say concerning their own Original, but have thought fit to refer that to be treated of at large in my second Part. I shall therefore begin with the City of *Panama*, in regard that the first Commanders, Soldiers, and Interpreters employ'd upon the Discovery and Conquest of *South America*, were sent from thence. In the next Place I will proceed to the Port of *Uraba*, in the Province of *Cartagena*, not far from the great River of *Darien*, and so orderly speak of all the *Indian* Towns, and *Spanish* Cities, as far as that of *La Plata*, and the Settlement at *Potosi*, which are the Southern Boundaries of *Peru*. This Tract of Land is above 1200 Leagues in Length, which I travell'd over by Land, and was an Eye-Witness to what I write, being things within my own Knowledge, and all carefully examin'd into, that I might

deliver nothing but the Truth, without the least Allay of Falshood.

Panama
describ'd.

The City of *Panama* stands near the South Sea, 18 Leagues from *Nombre de Dios*, which is on the North Sea. The Compass of it is but small, because enclos'd on one Side by a Lake and Morafs, from which such thick Vapors are exhal'd as render the Place unwholsome. It is built due East and West, so that, when the Sun rises, there is no stirring in any of the Streets, because there is no Shade, and the Heat is excessive, and so prejudicial to Health, that it is almost certain Death to be in it but a few Hours. There are good wholesome Places, but half a League from the Sea, where this City might have been built at first; but the Houses being of great Value, because Building is extraordinary chargeable, they have never remov'd from thence, tho' they are sensible of the great Inconveniency of it, and this chiefly for that the ancient Conquerors are Dead, and the present Inhabitants are all Traders, who only design to stay till they grow Rich. Thus when some go, others come, and few, or none regard the publick Good. Close by the City runs a River, whose Springs are on the Mountains. It has other Liberties, and in them several other Rivers, upon some of which the *Spaniards* have their Settlements and Farms, and have planted various Sorts of the Product of *Spain*, as Orange, Citron, and Fig Trees. Besides these there are other Kinds of the Country Fruit; being delicious Pine Apples, and Plantans; Abundance of good *Guaiavas*, *Caymitos*, *Aguacates*, &c. The Fields are full of great Flocks of Cattle, the Soil being proper for them. In the Rivers there is much Gold, whereof a great Quantity was gather'd, as soon as the City was founded. It has Plenty of Provisions, as being supply'd from both Seas, the Northern, which brings the Ships from *Spain* to *Nombre de Dios*, [or *Portobelo*] and the Southern, on which they sail to all the Ports of *Peru*. No *European* Wheat, or Barley grows within the Liberties of this City; but the Proprietors have good Crops in their Farms, of *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat, and Meal brought them from *Peru* and *Spain*. All the Rivers afford Fish, and very good is taken in

in the Sea, tho' different from that in ours. Along the Shore, near the very Houses of the City they find Abundance of very small Muscles, which they call *Chucha*; and I am apt to believe the City was first settled there on that Account, because that Fish secur'd the *Spaniards* against Want. In the Rivers there are great Numbers of *Alligators*, so large, and fierce, that it is dreadful to behold them. I have seen some very great in the River of *Cenu*, and eaten many of their Eggs they lay on the Shore. We found one of these Alligators upon dry Land, at the River of St. *George*, as we went with Captain *Caceres*, to discover the Provinces of *Urute*; it was above 20 Foot in Length, we kill'd it with our Lances, tho' it was wonderful fierce, and being very hungry we eat it, but the Flesh is naught, and has a loathsome Scent. These Crocodiles have Devour'd many *Spaniards*, *Indians*, and *Horses*, as they cross'd these Rivers, Travelling from one Place to another.

There are but few of the Natives left in the Territory of this City, most of them being consum'd by the ill Usage they have receiv'd from the *Spaniards*; and by Diseases that rag'd among them. The City is chiefly inhabited by considerable Merchants from all Parts, who trade there and at *Nombre de Dios*, the Commerce being so great, that it may be almost compar'd to *Venice*; for Ships come often loaded with Gold and Silver by the South Sea, to unlade there, and several Fleets from *Spain* by the North Sea, to *Nombre de Dios*, [or *Portobelo*] Abundance of whose Cargo is brought into this Kingdom up the River *Chagre* in Boats, and thence five Leagues by Land to *Panama* on numerous Beasts of Burden, kept for that Purpose by the Merchants. Near the City, the Sea forms a great Inlet, where the Ships come to an Anchor; and with the Tide enter the Harbour, which is very convenient for small Vessels.

Great
Trade at
Panama

This City of *Panama* was founded and inhabited by *Peter Arias de Avila*, Governor of the Province of *Tierra Firme*, in the Year 1520. It is seated in near eight Degrees of North Latitude, and has a good Harbour for Ships, which are left aground when the Tide is out. The Water.

The
Founder.

ter rises and falls here so much, that upon the Ebb, the Coast is dry for above half a League, and fills up again with the Flood; which I suppose is occasion'd by its Flatness, for at the Ebb, Ships at Anchor without have but three Fathom Water, and seven at the Flood. Having in this Chapter spoken of the City of *Panama* and its Situation, in the next I will treat of the Rivers and Harbours that are along the Coast, as far as *Chile*, because it will render this Work the more plain and intelligible.

C H A P. III.

Of the Ports, Bays, Rivers, Capes, &c. between the City of Panama, and the Borders of the Kingdom of Peru, the Distance they are from one another, and the Latitude they lye in.

Season
for sailing
on the
South Sea.

THE Season for sailing from *Panama* for *Peru* is in *January, February, and March*, for then there are always great Breezes, which are Winds blowing off from the Land and Sea by turns, and the *Vendavales*, being in that Sea, the South Winds reigning all the other part of the Year, have less Power, so that the Ships make their Passage, before the said South Wind, so prevalent on that Coast, comes on. They may set out in *August* and *September*; but will not make so good a Voyage as in the aforesaid Season. Such as depart *Panama*, at any other Time, will meet with a very tedious, and troublesome Passage, and it is frequent for them to be drove back, without being able to reach their intended Port. The South Wind, and no other, as has been said, reigns very long from *Chile* to near as far as *Tumbex*, and is proper to come from *Peru* to *Tierra Firme, Nicaragua*, and other Parts, but contrary to go thither. The Ships sailing from *Panama*, make directly for the Islands of *Pearls*, which lye in bare eight Degrees of North Latitude. These Islands are about 25, or 30 in Number, lying close about one that is the greatest of them all. They were

formerly inhabited by Natives; whereof there are none left at present. The Proprietors of them keep Blacks, and Indians of *Nicaragua*, and *Cabagua*, who look after their Cattle, and Sow their Corn; for the Soil is Fruitful. Besides Abundance of valuable Pearls have been taken there, whence they had the Name of Pearl Islands. From these Islands they steer directly for the Point of *Carachine*, being ten Leagues from them, and bearing North West and South East in Regard of the great one. Those who come to this Cape will find it a high and mountain Land, and in seven Degrees and a Quarter Latitude. The Coast from this Point bears South West and by South eight Leagues to *Port Pinnae*, in six Degrees and a Quarter; the Land high Crags and Mountains. Near the Sea there are great Woods of Pine Trees, whence it was call'd *Puerto de Pinnae*, or *Port Pines*. Thence the Coast Winds South and by West to *Cape Corrientes*, or Currents, which juts out into the Sea, and is sharp. Holding on the same Course they proceed to the Island *de Palmas*, or of Palms, because of the many Palm Trees there are in it, being little above a League, and a half in Compass, has Rivers of good Water, and us'd to be inhabited; is 25 Leagues from *Cape Corrientes*, and in four Degrees 20 Minutes Latitude. From this Island the Coast runs upon the same Point of the Compass as far as the Bay *de la Buena Ventura*, or of good Fortune, which is little above three Leagues distant. Near the Bay, which is very large, is a high Rock, and the Mouth of the Bay is in three Degrees 40 Minutes. All that Part of the Country is very Mountainous, and many great Rivers coming from the Hills fall into the Sea; up one of which, Ships sail to the Town, or Port of *Buena Ventura*. The Pilot that ventures up ought to be very well acquainted with the River, else he will be put to very much Trouble, as has hapned to me and others, who had unskilful Pilots. From this Bay the Coast runs away to East and by South, as far as the Island they call *Gorgona*, 25 Leagues distant. This Part of the Coast is low, and cover'd with those they call *Mangla*, and other wild Trees. Several considerable Rivers fall into the

Carachine
Cape.

Port
Pinnae.

Cape
Corrientes
Palm I-
land

Buena
ventura
Bay.

S. John's the Sea, and among them the greatest of all, which is
 River. that of *S. John*, the Sides whereof were inhabited by Barbarous People, who had their Houses rais'd high on great forked Timbers, like Scaffolds, in which many Inhabitants liv'd, the Huts or Houses being long, and very wide. These *Indians* are extraordinary rich in Gold, their Land very fruitful, and the Rivers roll much of that precious Metal; but the Country is so uncooth, and full of Lakes and Morasses, that it requir'd much Toil, and Loss of Men to conquer it.

Gorgona The Island *Gorgona* is high and never free from Thunder and Rain, as if the Elements were at a continual
 Island. Struggle among themselves. The Compass of it is about two Leagues, full of Mountains, with Streams of good sweet Water; and on the Trees there are many Pea-hens, Pheasants, curious colour'd Monkeys, great Snakes and Night Birds; but it seems never to have been inhabited. Here the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro* liv'd a long Time, with thirteen *Spaniards*, his Companions, who were the Discoverers of this Country we call *Peru*, and they all suffer'd very much by Hunger and otherwise, till they were entirely Successful in their Enterprize. This Island *Gorgona* is in three degrees of Latitude, and from it the Coast runs West South West to the Island *del Gallo*, or of the Cock, and is all low and wooded, with many Rivers running down it.

Island The Island *del Gallo* is small, and almost a League about,
del Gallo. full of red Crags, as is the opposite Shore of the Continent, and lies in two Degrees of Latitude. Hence the Coast winds to the South West, as far as the Cape they call *de Manglares*, from that sort of Trees, and is in two Degrees bare, the Distance between the Island and the Point being 8 Leagues, very little over or under. This Coast is low and wooded, with some Rivers falling into the Sea, along which, up the Land that sort of People dwell, which I mention'd at the River of *St. John*. Hence the Coast runs South-west as far as the Bay they call of *Santiago*, or *S. James*, making a large opening, in which there is a Creek, they call *de Sardinias*, or of *Pilchards*, and there falls the great, and rapid River of *Santiago*, which
 was

was the Boundary of the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarroes* Stanti-ago River.
 Government. This Bay is 15 Leagues from Cape *Man-
 glares*, and here sometimes the Stem of a Ship is in 81
 Foot Water, and the Stern lies aground, and sometimes
 from two Fathom Water, they on a sudden fall into 90,
 which is caus'd by the Impetuoufness of the River. Yet
 tho' there are such Shelves, they are not dangerous, but
 the Ships sail in and out at Pleasure. The Bay of Saint
Matthew is in one degree large, whence they run West
 to Cape *S. Francis*, which is ten Leagues from the Bay,
 being a high Ground, and near it are lofty Sloughs, or
 Breaks of red and white Earth, the Latitude of this Cape
 is one degree North. Hence the Coast advances South
 West to Cape *Passaos*, which is under the Equinoctial. Cape
Passaos.
 Between these two Capes, or Headlands, four very great
 Rivers fall into the Sea, and are call'd *los Quiximies*, and
 there is a reasonable good Harbour, where Ships take in
 Wood and Water. From Cape *Passaos* there are high
 Ridges running up the Inland, and call'd of *Quaque*.
 The Cape it self is no very low Land, and has some
 Sloughs like those above.

CHAP. IV.

*Containing the Description of the Coast, as far as that
 they call el Callao de Lima, which is the Port to
 the City of Lima, otherwise call'd de los Reyes, or
 of the Kings.*

I Have already briefly set down the Course of Sailing;
 on the South Sea as far as the Port of *Quiximies*,
 which is in the Limits of *Pern*, and will now proceed as
 far as the City of *Lima*, or *de los Reyes*; that is of the
 Kings. Leaving Cape *Passaos*, the Coast bears South and
 by West as far as *Puerto Viejo*, that is, the old Harbour,
 and short of it is the Bay they call of *Caraques*, which Ships Cara-
ques Bay.
 enter without any Danger, and is so convenient that they
 may

may there Careen Vessels of a thousand Tuns. It is safe going in, or out, bating that in the midst of the Eddy, occasion'd by the Bay, there is a Parcel of Rocks, or an Island compos'd of them; yet the Ships may pass on either Side, with all possible Security, because there is no Slope from them, but what appears to the Eye. Near *Puerto Viejo*, two Leagues up the Land stands the City of *Santiago*, and two Leagues to the Southward a round Mount, which they call *Monte Christo*. *Puerto Viejo* is in one Degree of South Latitude, and five Leagues from it holding the same Course Southward, is Cape *St. Laurence*; and three Leagues South-west from that, the *Island de la Plata*, or of Plate; about a League and a half in Compass, where formerly the Native *Indians* us'd to perform their Sacrifices, killing abundance of Lambs, and Sheep, and some Children, whose Blood they offer'd to the Idols, or Devils, the Figures whereof they had of Stone in the Places where they worshipp'd. When the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro*, was going upon Discovery with his thirteen Companions, they fell upon this Island, where they found some Silver, and Pieces of Gold, and a Quantity of Gay Woollen Mantles, or Blankets, and Jerkins of several Colours, and for that Reason it ever since retain'd the Name of the *Island of Plate*.

*Island
Plata.*

*Cape St.
Laurence
and S. He-
len.*

Cape *S. Laurence* is in one Degree of South Latitude, whence the Coast holds on South and by West, as far as Cape *S. Helen*. Short of this Headland there are two Ports, the one call'd *Cullo*, and the other *Zalango*, where Ships Anchor, and take in Wood, and Water. Point *S. Helen* is 15 Leagues from Cape *S. Laurence*, and lies in two Degrees large South, the Point forming a Bay to the Northward, which is a good Port. About a Bow Shot from it is a Spring, which yields a great Quantity of Bituminous Substance, like natural Pitch, and it gushes out at four or five Holes; we shall hereafter treat of this, and of the Wells the Giants made at this Point, which is remarkable.

*Tum-
bez River.*

From Point *S. Helen* they go on to the River of *Tumbez*, 25 Leagues distant, and lying from it South and by East, with a large Bay between them: North East from the River

River *Tumbez* is an Island above ten Leagues in Compass, which has been very rich and populous, in so much, that the Natives of it stood at Defiance with those of *Tumbez*, and others of the Continent, and there were bloody Wars between them, and several Battels fought, which together with the Wars they had with the *Spaniards*, has in Process of Time much lessen'd their Numbers. The Island is very fruitful, and full of Trees, and belongs to the King. It is confidently reported that a vast Quantity of Gold and Silver was formerly buried in their Places of Worship. The *Indians* that now remain say the Inhabitants of this Island were very superstitiously given, and us'd to observe Signs, and Presages; that they were extraordinary vicious, and particularly addicted to the horrid Sin of *Sodomy*, and lay with their own Sisters, besides other Abominations. Near this Island, call'd *Puna*, is another farther out at Sea, known by the Name of *S. Clare*, where there neither is, nor ever was any Inhabitants, nor Wood, or Water; but the Natives of *Puna* had there the Burial Places of their Ancestors, and offer'd Sacrifices; and on the High Places, where their Altars stood, there was a great Quantity of Gold and Silver, and fine Garments, all dedicated to the Service of their God. Upon the coming in of the *Spaniards*, it was laid up so safe, as the *Indians* report, that it cou'd never be found. The Sides of the River of *Tumbez* are very populous, and were so much more in former times. Near it stood a very strong and beautiful Fort, built by the Kings of *Cuzco*, who were Sovereigns of *Peru*; where they had mighty Treasures, and there was a Temple of the Sun, and a House of *Mamacomas*, that is, Virgins of Quality, dedicated to the Service of the Temple, who liv'd much after the Manner of the *Roman Vestals*. This Fort is now much decay'd and gone to Ruin, yet not so but that it still shews what it once was. The Mouth of the River of *Tumbez* is in four Degrees of South Latitude.

Puna
Island.

Mama-
comis Ve-
stals.

Thence the Coast runs South South West to *Cabo Blanco*, or the *White Cape*, which is 15 Leagues distant, and in four Degrees and a half of South Latitude, where the Coast turns away South, as far as the Island *de Lobos*, or of Wolves. Between *Cabo Blanco* and the Island *de Lobos* is a

Cape
Blanco

Payta
Port.

a Headland call'd of *Parina*, butting out into the Sea, almost as far as the said Cape. From this Point the Coast turns again to South West as far as *Payta*. The Coast of *Tumbes* forwards has no Mountains, and if there be any Ridges they are Naked, and all Rocky; but the greatest Part is Sandy, and few Rivers fall into the Sea. The Port of *Payta* is little more than eight Leagues from the last Point, and a very good Harbour, where the Ships Wash and Tallow, being the principal Place for all Vessels going to and coming from *Peru* to touch at, and lies in 5 Degrees of South Latitude. From the Island *Lobos* they run four Leagues East to it, and thence the Coast goes on South to *Punta del Aguja*, or Cape Needle. Between them is a large Bay, very well Shelter'd to secure Ships. *Punta del Aguja* is in 6 Degrees of South Latitude, and to the Southward of it are two Islands, call'd *de Lobos Marinos*, or of Sea Wolves, from the great Number there is of those Creatures. The first Island and the Point stand North and South, the Island being four Leagues from the Continent, and all Ships may pass between them. The other outwardmost Island is twelve League from this first, and in bare 7 Degrees South Latitude.

Arraci-
fe de Tru-
xillo.

At *Punta de Aguja* the Coast turns South South East to the Port of *Casma*. Between the first Island and *Malabrigo*, which is a Port Ships can only enter to provide themselves in fair Weather, the Coast lies North West, and South East. Ten Leagues beyond it is that they call *el Arracife de Truxillo*, or the Ridge of Rocks of *Truxillo*, which is a base Port, without any other Shelter than the Buoys of the Anchors; yet sometimes the Ships take in fresh Provisions there. The City *Truxillo*, is two Leagues up the Country. From this Port they proceed to that of *Guanape*, which is eight Leagues from the City *Truxillo*, in 8 Degrees 20 Minutes of South Latitude. Farther on South is the Port of *Santa*, where Ships put in, and near it is a great River of very pleasant Water. The Coast, as I said before, is all free from Mountains, being nothing but Sands and bare Rocky Crags. *Santa* is in 9 Degrees Latitude. Five Leagues beyond it to the Southward is a safe Harbour, call'd *Ferral*, but has neither Wood, nor Water; six Leagues beyond that, is the Port of *Casma*, with another

ther River, and Plenty of Wood, where the Ships take fresh Provisions, it is in ten Degrees Latitude.

From *Casma* the Coast runs on South, to the Place they call *los Farallones de Guaura*, or the great Rocks of *Guaura*; and beyond them is *Guarmey*, where there is a River, and thence they hold on the same Course 20 Leagues Southward, to that they call *la Barranca*. Six Leagues from it is the Port of *Guaura*, where Ships may take in as much Salt as they please, the Quantity of it being so great, that it might supply all *Italy* and *Spain*, and yet not be exhausted. Four Leagues farther are the *Farallones*, or great Rocks. They bear with the Point the Land makes against them North East and South West. The outwardmost Rock is 8 Leagues out at Sea, and they all lye in 8 Degrees 20 Minutes. Thence the Coast Winds South East as far as the Island of *Lima*. About half Way, rather nearer *Lima*, than the Rocks, is a Shoul call'd *Salmerina*, 9, or 10 Leagues from the Land. The Island aforesaid shelters the *Callao*, which is the Port to the City of *Lima*, rendering it a safe Harbour for Ships. The *Callao* lyes in 12 Degrees 20 Minutes of South Latitude.

Plenty
of Salt

Callao

CHAP. V.

Of the Ports, Rivers, &c, from the City of Lima to the Kingdom of Chile, the Latitude they lye in and other matters relating to Navigation.

I Have been in most of the Ports and Rivers I have spoken of, and spar'd no Pains to sift out the Truth of what I deliver, conferring about it with the most Skilful Pilots in those Parts, who have taken the Latitude in my Presence, and therefore I write nothing but what is certain, and out of Dispute. I will therefore in this Chapter proceed to give the like Account of the Ports and Rivers along the Coast from *Lima* to the Kingdom of *Chile*; for I shall not be able to treat exactly of what relates to the Streights of *Magellan*, because I have lost an ample Relation.

tion I had from a Pilot that came home in one of the Ships sent out by the Bishop of *Plasencia*.

The Ships departing from the Port of *Lima* run South till they come to the Port of *Sangalla*, which is a very good one, and it was believ'd at first, that the said City of *Lima* would have been built near it, being 35 Leagues distant from that City, and in bare 14 Degrees of South Latitude. Near this Port of *Sangalla* is an Island they call *de Lobos Marinos*, or of Sea Wolves. All the Coast from hence forwards is low, tho' in some Places there are bare Rocky Crags, and all the rest is deep Sands, where I believe it never did, nor does it now ever rain, only a small Dew falls, of which Secret in Nature I shall treat hereafter. Near the aforesaid Island *de los Lobos Marinos*, there are 7 or 8 small ones more, lying triangularly to one another. Some of them are high, and others low, desert, without Water, Wood, Tree, Grass, or any other thing, but only Sea Wolves, and great Banks of Sand. The *Indians*, as they themselves inform us, were wont to go over from the Continent to offer their Sacrifices in them, and it is believ'd there are mighty Treasures bury'd there. They are about four Leagues from the Continent. Farther on still South is another Island, call'd also, *de Lobos*, or of Wolves, from the Multitude of them; it lyes in 14 Degrees 20 Minutes.

From this Island they run along the Coast South East and by South, and 12 Leagues beyond the said Island come to a Promontory call'd *de la Nasca*, in 14 Degrees 45 Minutes Latitude. There is Shelter for Ships, but no Conveniency for going ashore in their Boats. Holding on still the same Course, there is another Point, or Cape, call'd, *St. Nicholas*, in 15 Degrees 20 Minutes. From this Point the Coast turns to South East, and at 12 Leagues Distance is the Port of *Hacari*, where Ships take in Provisions, and they bring Wood and Water from the Vale, which is little above 5 Leagues from the Port. *Hacari* lies in 16 Degrees. Farther on along the Coast which is all high, lies the River *Ocona*; beyond it another call'd *Camana*, and again, beyond that, a third, nam'd *Quilca*. About half a League from this River is a Creek very good and safe, where the Ships put in. This Port is call'd

Quilca,

Sangalla Port

Lobos Marinos Island.

Nasca Promontory.

Hacari Port.

Quilca Port

Quilca, as well as the River, and what is landed there supplies the City of *Arequipa*, which is 17 Leagues from it. Proceeding from this Port along the Coast, they discover a Parcel of Islands lying 4 Leagues out at Sea, where there are always *Indians*, who go over from the Continent a Fishing. Three Leagues farther is another small Island, very near the Continent, and Ships Anchor to the Leeward of it, because they also send from hence to the City of *Arequipa*; and this Port they call *Chuli*, being 12 Leagues beyond *Quilca*, in 17 Degrees and a half large.

Two Leagues beyond this Port is a great River call'd *Tambo- Tambo-*
Tambopalla; and 10 Leagues from that River, a Point of *palla Ri-*
Land runs a League into the Sea from the rest of the *ver.*
Continent, and there are three great Rocks on it. Under the Shelter of this Cape, a little above a League short of it, is a secure Port call'd *Na*, and through it runs into the Sea a River of the same Name, whose Water is very good, lying in 18 Degrees 20 Minutes. Hence the Coast runs South East and by East, and 7 Leagues farther is a Promontory, which Sailors call *Morro de los Diablos*, that is, Headland of Devils. All this Coast, as has been said, is high, and very Rocky. Five Leagues beyond this Cape is a River, not large, but of good Water; and 10 Leagues South East and by East from the River, another very high Headland, butts out with several Craggs, or Sloughs. Above this Headland is an Island, and by it the Port of *Arica*, in 19 Degrees 20 Minutes.

From the Port of *Arica*, the Coast runs South South West, and at nine Leagues Distance, a River call'd *Pizagua* falls into the Sea. From this River to the Port of *Tarapaca*, the Coast bears upon the same Point, and 5 Leagues beyond it is a Point they call *Tacama*. Sixteen Leagues beyond this Point, is the Port *de los Moxillones*, or of Muscles, in 22 Degrees and a half. Thence the Coast runs on about 90 Leagues South South West, it is most straight, but has some Points, and Bays, and at the End of them is a large one, where there is a safe Harbour call'd *Copayapo*, with good Water, in 26 Degrees.

*Tambo-
palla Ri-
ver.*

*Morro
de los Di-
ablos.*

*Arica
Port.*

*Moxil-
lones Port.*

*Copay-
apo Har-
bour.*

Before

Before this Bay is a small Island, half a League from the Continent, and here begin the Provinces of *Chile*.

A little beyond this Port of *Copayapo*, a Point juts out, and by it is form'd another Bay, before which there are two small Rocks, and at the End of the Bay a River of very good Water, the Name of it *Guaſco*. The aforesaid Point lies in 28 Degrees and a quarter. Hence the Coast runs South West, and at ten Leagues Distance another Cape butts out, affording Shelter for Ships, but neither Wood, nor Water. Near this Point is the Port of *Coquimbo*, seven Islands lying between them, and the Port is in 29 Degrees and a half. Ten Leagues farther, still on the same Course, another Point butts out, and forms a great Bay call'd *de Atongayo*. Five Leagues onward is the River *Limara*, and holding on the same Course, nine Leagues from it, is a Bay, call'd *Choapa*, in 31 Degrees, with a great Rock in it, but no Fresh Water. Holding on the same Course about 21 Leagues is a Port, call'd *Quintero*, in 32 Degrees, and ten Leagues farther that of *Valparayſo*, belonging to the City *Santiago*, which is in *Chile*, properly ſo call'd, in 32 Degrees 40 Minutes. Following ſtill upon the ſame Point of the Compaſs they come to another Port, call'd *Potocalma*, 24 Leagues from the laſt before mention'd. Twelve Leagues beyond it is a Point of Land, on one Side whereof runs a River they call *Monque*, or *Maule*; and 14 Leagues from it another they name *Ycata*; whence proceeding South and by Weſt 24 Leagues, is another River call'd *Biobio*, in 38 Degrees bare. Fifteen Leagues onward, the ſame way, lies the large Iſland *Luchenga*, 5 Leagues from the Continent, and inhabited. Beyond it again is the very ſpacious Bay of *Valdivia* into which falls the great River of *Aynilendos*, the Bay lies in 39 Degrees 40 Minutes. Then in 42 Degrees 20 Minutes is Cape St. *Mary*. One of the Ships ſent from *Spain* by the Biſhop of *Plaſencia*, paſſ'd the Streights of *Magellan*, and put into the Port of *Quilca*, near *Arequipa*, in the Kingdom of *Chile*, whence ſhe proceeded to *Lima* and *Panama*. She brought a good Account of the Latitude the Streights lye in and of all the Circumſtances, and Hardſhips of that difficult Voyage, which I would have inserted here, but that at the Time when we fought *Gonzalo Pizarro*, in the

the Valley of *Xaquixaguana*, 5 Leagues from *Cuzco*, I left it behind, with other Papers, and Remarks, and it was stolen, which has troubl'd me very much, in regard it would have been of great use, to continue this Description of the Coast. I hope the Reader will accept of my good will, for I have taken much Pains to find out the Truth, observing the New Sea Charts describ'd by able Pilots, who were employ'd in Discoveries upon those Seas. Having here concluded what relates to the Instruction for Sailing on the South Sea, as far as I have seen, and could be certainly inform'd, I will now proceed to an Account of the Nations and Provinces there are from the Port of *Uraba*, as far as the Town of *la Plata*, being above 1200 Leagues in Distances, laying down the Form, and Plan of the Government of *Popayan*, and the Kingdom of *Peru*. And because it is convenient, for the clearer understanding of what I write, to treat of this Port of *Uraba*, as having began my Travels there, I will take it first in Order, then proceed to the City *Antiocha*, and the other Parts, as will appear in the Sequel.

CHAP. VI.

The founding of the City of St. Sebastian, in the Place they call la Culata de Uraba, and of the Native Indians in the Country about it.

IN the Year 1509 *Alonso de Hojeda*, and *Niquefa*, were Governours of the Province call'd *Tierra Firme*, [which is that Part where North and South *America* are join'd by the *Isthmus*, or narrow Neck of Land,] and then was founded the City call'd *Nuestra Sennora la Antigua*, in the Province of *Darien*, where some old *Spaniards* affirm, the prime of the Commanders in the *West Indies* were present. Tho' the Province of *Cartagena* was at that Time discover'd, yet the *Spaniards* made no Settlements in it, but only Traded with the Native *Indians*, of whom they had very much high and low Gold, by way of Barter. The

C

Governour

Tarua-
co, Indian
Town. Governour *Hojeda*, enter'd the great Town of *Taruaco*, which is four Leagues from *Cartagena*, formerly call'd *Calamar*, and had a bloody Battel with the *Indians*, who slew many of the Christians, and among them Captain *John de la Cosa*, a brave and daring Commander; and *Hojeda* himself was forc'd to retire to his Ships, for Fear of undergoing the same Fate. After this the said Governour Founded a Town in that Part they call *Uraba*, appointing *Francis Pizarro*, who was afterwards Governour, and a Marquefs, his Lieutenant; and in this Town of *Uraba*, the said *Pizarro* endur'd very much, both from the Natives, and by Hunger and Sicknefs, which will render his Name Immortal. Those *Indians* said, they were not originally of that Part of the Country, but came from about the great River of *Darien*, having forsaken their Native Soil, with their Arms, their Wives and Children, to get away from under the Dominion of the *Spaniards*, who us'd them very ill. These People coming to the Gulph call'd *Uraba*, cruelly slaughter'd all the Natives, seiz'd their Goods, and became Masters of their Lands and Estates.

The Governour *Hojeda* hearing what had hapen'd, and hoping to find some Wealth in that Country, and to pacify those who were gone to Settle in it, sent *Francis Pizarro*, as his Lieutenant, to Plant the Colony aforesaid, and he was the first Christian Commander in that Country. The two Governours *Hojeda* and *Niquefa* afterwards coming to miserable Ends, the People of *Darien* treating *Niquefa* with extraordinary Cruelty, as is well known to such as surviv'd those Times, and *Peter Arias*, coming to govern the Province of *Tierra Firme*, tho' there were above 2000 *Spaniards* in the City of *Darien*, no Care was taken for peopling of *Uraba*.

Afterwards, when the Governour *Peter Arias* had beheaded his Son in Law, the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Vasco Nunnez de Balboa*, and Captain *Francis Hernandez*, in *Nicaragua*, and when the *Indians* of the River *Cenu* had slain Captain *Rezerra*, with the other Christians that follow'd him, and many other Accidents had hapen'd; *Don Pedro de Heredia*, appointed to govern the Province of *Cartagena*, sent his Brother, Captain *Alonso de Heredia*,
with

with a Number of *Spaniards* of Note, to restore the Town of *Uraba*, calling it the City of *St. Sebastian de Buena Vista*, which is seated upon some small flat Hillocks, in the Plain, without any Woods, but what are on the Rivers, and Marshes. The Country about it is populous, and in several Parts full of Mountains and Woods, and it is about half a League from the North Sea. The Fields are full of large and thick Palm-Trees, bearing Branches like the Date Tree, and cover'd with several Rhinds, before you come to the solid Part, which tho' not excessive hard, is very troublesome to cut. Within the Body of the Tree grows a pithy Substance, call'd *Palmito*, so large that two of them are a good Burden for a Man, they are White and very Sweet. When the *Spaniards* were upon Discovery, and making Incursions, at the Time that *Alonso Lopez de Ayala*, and the Comendary *Hernan Rodriguez de Sosa*, were Deputy Governors, for several Days they us'd to eat nothing but those *Palmitos*, and it is so laborious to hew down the Tree, and get out the said Pith, that it took up a Man half a Days Work, with an Ax, before he could compass it, and the Men eating it without Bread, and drinking much Water, they swell'd, and many of them dy'd

St. Sebastian de Buena Vista.

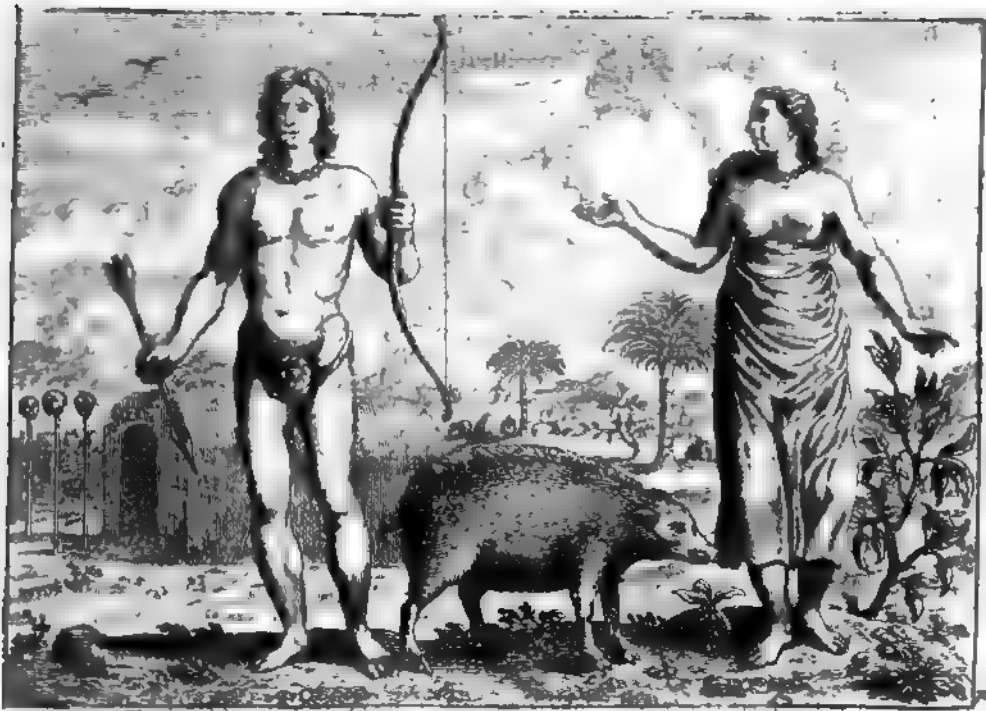
Palm-Trees.

Palmitos.

Within the Town, and on the Banks of the Rivers there are Abundance of *Orange*, *Plantain*, *Guayava*, and other sorts of Fruit Trees. The Inhabitants are few, because the Trade is inconsiderable. There are many Rivers coming down from the Mountains. Up the Country there are some *Indians*, and *Caciques*, who were formerly very rich as having a great Trade with those who inhabite the Plains beyond the Mountains, and at *Dabaye*. I declar'd before, that these *Indians*, who at present are possess'd of the Country, say they came from beyond the great River *Darien*, as also the Reason why they left their Native Soil. The Petty Lords, or *Caciques* are generally honour'd, and fear'd by the *Indians*, they are for the most Part clever clean limb'd Men, and their Wives some of the Handsomest, and most lovely I have seen, in any Part of the *West Indies* where I have been. Their Diet is cleanly, and they follow not the filthy Customs of other Nations. They have little Towns, and the

Caciques.

- See the Cut* Houses are like long Arbours, or Huts, made of the Boughs of Trees of several Bays. They did, and still lye in Hammocks, using no other Beds. The Soil is fruitful, abounding in Provisions, and Roots, which are pleasant to them, and to others that are us'd to eat them. There are great Heards of small Chestnut Coulour Swine, which are good Meat, and Abundance of large and swift
- Dantas.* *Dantas*, Creatures some will have to be of the Race of that call'd *Zebra*. Of *Turkeys*, and other Fowl there is Plenty, as also of Fish in the Rivers; many large Tigers, who kill some *Indians*, and destroy Cattle; also very great Snakes, and other Creatures in the Woods and Mountains, whose Names we know not. Among them are those call'd *Pericos Ligeros*, their Bulk and Fierceness is very remarkable, as is the slowness of their Motion.



When the *Spaniards* us'd to fall upon the *Indian* Towns, and surprize them, they found Abundance of Gold, in a fort

fort of little Baskets they call *Habas*, made up in valuable Utensils of Bells, Dishes, Jewels, and those they call *Cari-curies*, and other large Shells, like those of Snails, all of pure Gold, wherewith they cover'd their Privities. They had also Ear-rings, and very small Strings of Beads, and many other sorts of Ornaments, and much Cotton Cloath. The Women wore a sort of Blankets wrapp'd about them, which reach'd from their Breasts almost to their Feet, and had another Piece of the same Cloath to cover them from their Breasts upwards. They value themselves upon their Beauty, and are therefore always comb'd, and well dress'd, after their Fashion. The Men went naked, and barefooted, without any Cloaths on them more than Nature provided; but on their Privities they had Shells, like those of Snails, made of Bone, or of fine Gold, weighing 40, or 50 Pieces of Eight, some more and few less, as I have seen them, and these ty'd on with Threads. There are considerable Dealers among them, who drive great Numbers of the Swine the Country affords up the Inland to sell. These Swine differ from ours in *Spain*, being smaller, and have their Navel on their Backs, or rather some Excrescency like it. They also carry Fish, and Salt, for which they bring home Gold, and Cloth, and such other things as they stand in need of. The Weapons they use are, very stiff Bows, made of a sort of Black Palm-Trees, about a Fathom in Length, and others longer, with great sharp pointed Arrows, dipp'd in such a Malignant Poison, that whosoever is wounded with them, tho' they draw no more Blood than the Prick of a Pin wou'd do, infallibly dies, in that few, or none that were ever hurt with them have escap'd.

See the Cut

Manners and
Products.

CHAP. VII.

How they make the Poisonous Composition, wherewith the Indians of Santa Marta, and Cartagena have kill'd so many Spaniards.

THE poisonous Composition us'd by the *Indians* of *Santa Marta*, and *Cartagena*, being much spoken of in all Indian Parts,

Indian
Poison.

Manza-
rilla Roots.

Pismires
venemous.

Poison-
ous Worms.

Pexe
Tambcri-
no.

Parts, I thought fit to set down the Ingredients it is made of, as follows. It consists of several Simples, the chiefest whereof I enquir'd out, at a Town on the Coast of the Province of *Cartagena* call'd *Bahayre*, of a *Cacique*, or Lord of the Place, whose Name was *Macuriz*. He shew'd me some short Roots, of an ill Scent, and a darkish Colour, and told me; they dug upon the Sea Coast near the Trees we call *Manzanillos*, and took them from the Roots of that mischievous Tree. These they burn in earthen Pans, or Pipkins, and make a Paste of them. Then they gather a sort of very black, and pernicious Pismires, as big as our Beetles in *Spain*; which, if they happen to sting a Man, raise a Wheal, and put him to such violent Pain, as almost deprives him of his Senses. This happen'd to us, when we travell'd with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, one *Noguerol* and I passing a River, where we waited for some Soldiers that lagg'd behind, he being a Corporal upon that Occasion, one of these Pismires I speak of happen'd to sting him, which occasion'd such an intolerable Pain, as almost distracted him, his Leg swell'd up, and the Excess of Anguish cast him into three or four Fits of a Fever, till the Venom had spent it self. They also, towards this Vile Composition, find out some large Spiders, and add to it a sort of hairy Worms about half the Length of a Man's Finger, which Insects I shall never forget; for as I was upon Guard at a River on the Mountains, they call *Abibe*, one of these Worms crept down a Branch of a Tree, where I stood, and bit me in the Neck, and that was the most painful Night I ever felt in all my Life. They add to it the Wings of a Bat, and the Head and Tail of a small Fish there is in those Seas call'd *Pexe Tamborino*, extraordinary Venemous; as also Toads, the Tails of Snakes, and a sort of small Apples, call'd *Manzanillas*, which in Scent and Colour resemble ours in *Spain*, so that some new Comers into these Parts, at their first Landing have eaten them, not knowing they are poisonous. I was acquainted with one *John Agraz*, whom I saw lately in the City of *S. Francis del Quito*, and was one of those that went from *Cartagena* with *Vadillo*, who when he came out of *Spain*, and landed on the Coast of *Santa Marta* eat ten, or twelve of these Apples, and he swore in my

my Presence, that there cou'd be no better for Smell, Colour, and Taste; but that there is a sort of Milk in them, which must be the mischievous Substance that turns to Poison. When he had eaten them, he thought he shou'd burst, and must have infallibly died, but that he was immediately drench'd with Oil. They add other Herbs and Roots to this Composition, and when it is to be made, they kindle a great Fire, in a Plain, remote from their Houses, or Dwellings, on which they put their Pots, and seek out some Slave or *Indian* Woman of small Value, who boils, and brings it to the due Temper, and I was told the Person so doing was always kill'd with the Steem and Stench of it.

Manzanilla Poison

CHAP. VIII.

A farther Account of the Customs of the Indians in the District of the City of Uraba.

IN this pernicious Poison I have describ'd, the *Indians* dip the Points of their Arrows, and they are such sure Marksmen, and shoot them with such Force, that they have often struck through a Horse, or a Man in Armour, if it were not extraordinary Good, and well stuff'd with Cotton; for in that Country, Cuirasses and Coats of Mail are not good by reason of the great Wet, and Badness of the Ways, nor are they serviceable in War, against these *Indians*, who fight with Arrows. Yet, notwithstanding all their Arts, and the Difficulties of the Country, Foot Soldiers have subdu'd, and often plunder'd them, driving all before them, without any other Weapons but their Swords and Targets, and ten or twelve Spaniards made nothing of attacking 100, or 200 of them. They have no Temples, or other particular Houses of Worship, nor cou'd any thing be discover'd as yet, but that such as are appointed for it certainly converse with, and honour the Devil, having a great Veneration for him. He appears, as I have been told by some of them, in dreadful Shapes, and they are much terrify'd at the Sight of him. They have

Customs of Indians.

have very little Knowledge in Natural Matters. The Sons by the principal Wife are Heirs to their Parents. They marry their Brothers Daughters, and all Great Men have many Wives. When the Lord dies, all his Servants and Friends meet in his House, at Night, in the Dark, without any Light, and having laid in a good Stock of Liquor made of their *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat, they drink and bewail the Dead. When all their Ceremonies, and Charms are perform'd, they put him into his Grave, burying with the Body his Arms, and Treasure, Abundance of Meat, Pitchers of their *Chicha*, or Liquor aforesaid, and some Women alive. The Devil perswades them, that they are to come to Life again in another Kingdom he has provided for them, and that they must carry the Provision, I have spoken of, to serve them by the Way. This City of *S. Sebastian de Buena Vista* was Founded by *Alonso de Heredia*, Brother to the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Pedro de Heredia*, his Majesty's Governour of the Province of *Cartagena*, as I said before.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Road between the City of S. Sebastian de Buena Vista, and that of Antiocha. Of the Mountains, Woods and Rivers that are along it ; and how and when to travel it.

I Was in this City of *S. Sebastian de Buena Vista* in the Year 1536, and in 1537 the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, Judge of Appeals, and then Governour of *Cartagena*, set out from thence, with one of the best Parties that ever went from the Province of *Tierra Firme*, and we were the first *Spaniards* that clear'd the Passage from the North to the South Sea. From this Town of *Uraba*, I travell'd to that of *La Plata*, which is the Boundary of *Peru*, and went aside every where to view as many Provinces, as my Affairs wou'd permit, to observe and note down, what was remarkable in them, which I shall faithfully deliver.

Leaving

Leaving the City of *St. Sebastian de Buena Vista*, which is call'd the Port of *Uraba*, to travel to *Antiocha*, the Way is Five Leagues along the Coast, till we come to a small River, call'd *Rio Verde*, or the Green River; whence, there are 48 Leagues to the City of *Antiocha*. All the way from this River, to a Ridge of Mountains, call'd *Abibe*, of which I shall soon speak, is plain; but full of thick Woods, and many Rivers. The Country, near the Road is desert, the Natives having withdrawn themselves to remote Parts. Most of the way is along Rivers, there being no other, by Reason of the impenetrable Woods. *January, February, March and April*, are the proper Season to Travel, and cross the Mountains safely; for after these Months, the Waters are great, and the Rivers swollen and outrageous, and tho' there be a Possibility of Travelling, it is with much Trouble, and more Danger. Those who are to go this way must carry able Guides, at all Seasons, that may know how to conduct them along the Rivers. All these Woods are full of mighty Herds of the Swine above mention'd, so numerous, that there are sometimes above 1000 together, with their Pigs, and they make a prodigious Noise, where-soever they are. Who-soever Travels that way with good Dogs, will never want Meat. There are very large *Damas*, Beasts peculiar to those Countries, many Lions, great Bears, and greater Tigers, and on the Trees the finest colour'd Monkeys in the World, call'd *Gatos Pintados*, or painted Cats, and large Baboons, making such a Noise, that those who are unacquainted with the Country, at a Distance take them for Swine. When the *Spaniards* pass under the Trees on which the Monkeys are, they break off Boughs, and strike them chakling and making Faces.

The Rivers are so full of Fish, that any Net will take a great Quantity. Coming from the City of *Antiocha* to *Cartagena*, when it was first founded, Captain *George Robledo*, and others of us, found such Abundance of Fish, that we kill'd as much as we had Occasion for with Sticks. On the Trees that grow along the sides of the Rivers, there is a sort of Creature they call *Iguana*, like a Snake, or the great Lizards there are in *Spain*, only the Head is

D

bigger,

Rio Verde.

bigger, and more Hideous to look to, and the Tail longer, but exactly resembling them in Colour and Shape. These Creatures feed and dress'd, are as good to eat as Rabbits, and in my Opinion much more Delicious; the Females are full of Eggs; in short, they are excellent Meat; and yet such as know them not would rather be Frighted at their Sight, than have any Stomach to eat them. I cannot decide whether they are Fish or Flesh, nor can any Man comprehend it; for we see they cast themselves off the Trees into the Water, and live in it, and yet others are found up the Country, far from any River. Another sort they call *Hicoteas*, which are also good Food, but more like Tortoises. Here is Plenty of Peacocks, Pheasants, Parrets of several sorts, and *Guacamayas*, which are larger, and of various Colours; as also small Eagles, Turtles, Partridges, Pidgeons and Birds of Prey, and Night Fowl. On the Mountains there are vast Snakes, to which Purpose I will recount a Passage, as most certain, tho' I did not see it my self, but know there were several creditable Men present, it is thus. The Lieutenant *John Greciano* travelling this way, by Order of the Licenciate *Santa Cruz*, to find out the Licenciate *John de Vadillo*, and with him some *Spaniards*, among whom were *Emanuel de Peralta*, *Peter de Barros* and *Peter Ximon*, they spy'd a Serpent, or Snake above 20 Foot long, and very thick. The Head of it was reddish, the Eyes green, and starting out. This Creature would have made at them, but *Peter Ximon* gave it such a Wound with his Spear, that it dy'd after a long struggle, and in the Belly of it they found a small Fawn entire, as it was swallow'd; and I was told, that some *Spaniards*, being press'd by Hunger, eat the Fawn, and Part of the Serpent. There are other Snakes, not so large as this, which when they move make a Noise like that of a Rattle; and their Bite is Mortal. The Native *Indians* tell us of many other sorts of Snakes, and fierce Animals in those Woods, which I do not mention, because I have not seen them. There are Abundance of the *Uraba* Palm Trees, and of other sorts of wild Fruit.

Rattle
Snake.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the mighty Mountains of Abibe, and the Strange and useful Wood growing on them.

HAVING pass'd those Plains and Forests above mention'd, we come to the long, and wide Mountain of *Abibe*, which thrusts on its Ridge to the Westward, runs through many several Provinces, and Parts others. The whole length of it is not certainly known; the Breadth in some Places is 20 Leagues, in others much more, and now and then something less. The Roads the *Indians* had to cross these uncouth Mountains, several Parts whereof are inhabited, were so bad, and difficult, that Horses could not pass along them. Captain *Francis Caesar*, was the first Christian that went over them, travelling Eastward, till, with immense Labour, he came into the Valley of *Guacá*, which is beyond the Mountain, where the Ways are most rugged, being all cover'd with Woods and Shrubs, the Roots whereof are so thick, that they entangle the Feet of Men and Horses. It is very troublesome climbing to the Top of the Mountain, and the Descent more Dangerous. When we went down it, with the Licentiate *John de Vadiño*, the sides of it, for the most Part, being very upright and difficult, a sort of Wall was rais'd with forked Timbers and Poles, and a great deal of Earth, that the Horses might go safe; and tho' this did some good, yet several Horses tumbl'd down, and were beaten to Pieces, and even some *Spaniards* dy'd, and others were so sick, that rather than go on with so much Toil, they hid themselves among the Thickets, on the Mountains, expecting Death in a most miserable Condition; for Fear those who were in Health should carry them away, if they were found. Some Horses were also left behind alive, being so spent that, they could go no farther. Many Blacks ran away, and others perish'd. We that went that Journey suffer'd; very much, as will appear by what I have said. There are no Habitations on the Top of the Mountain, or if any be, they are remote from that

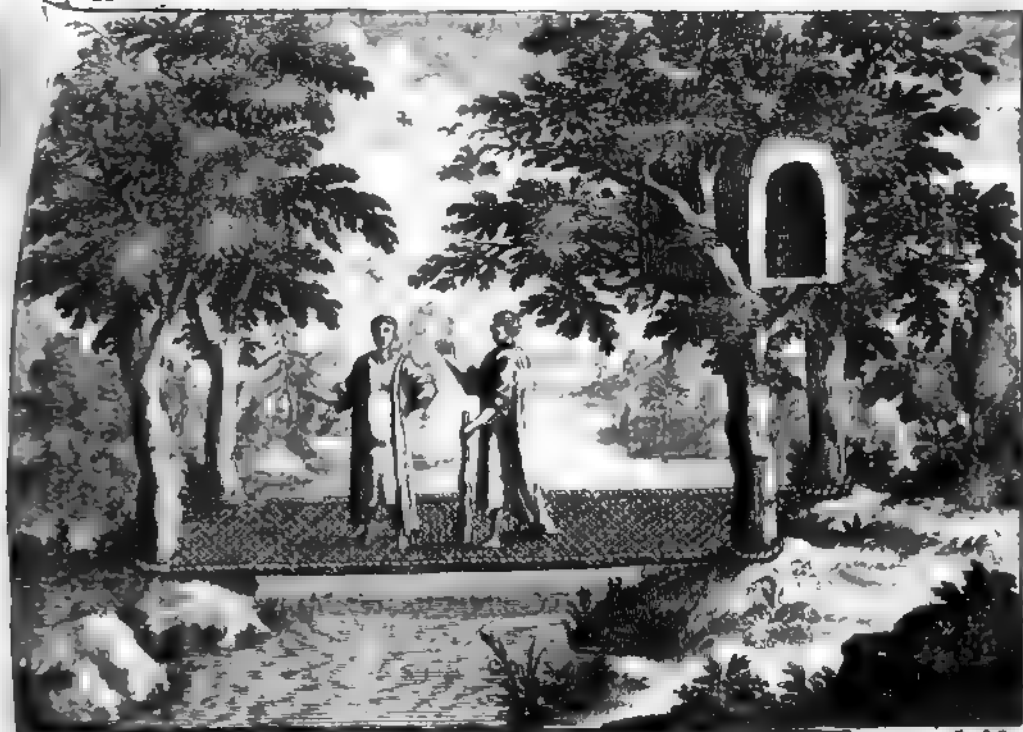
*Abibe
Mountain.*

Part where we cross'd it, for there are every where Valleys in the Breadth of these Mountains, and in them Abundance of *Indians*, very rich in Gold. The Rivers that fall from this Mountain to the Westward, have been found to roul much of that Mettle. It rains on them the greatest Part of the Year, and the Trees are continually dripping with the Water that falls. There is no Grass for the Horses, but only some short Palm-Trees, which shoot long Leaves, and the *Palmitos* in the Heart of them excessive bitter, which I have eaten through extraordinary Hunger. The Rain being continual, and the *Spaniards*, and other Travellers always wet, they must inevitably perish, if they wanted Fire. And tho' there is no want of Wood on these Mountains, it is all so wet, that it would rather quench than feed the Flame; to supply this want, which would be very great, Nature has provided certain tall slender Trees, that look almost like Ashes, the inside Wood of them white and very dry. These being cut down soon take Fire, and burn like dry Fir, never going out till quite consum'd. The finding of this Wood sav'd our Lives.

Where the *Indians* have their Dwellings, there is Plenty of Provisions, Fruit and Fish, and Abundance of their Cotton Cloth of several Colours. None of the Poisonous Composition us'd at *Uraba*, is found in these Parts; nor have these Mountain *Indians* any other Weapons, but only Spears of Palm-Tree Wood, Darts and *Mazasas*, or heavy Wooden Swords. Over the Rivers, which are very many, they lay Bridges of a sort of thick, and tough Withies, if we may so call them, being like long Roots, growing among the Trees, some of which are as strong as Hempen Ropes. They twist many of these together in the Nature of Cables, and lay several of them over the River close to one another, making fast the Ends to the Trees on the Banks, and knit all together with strong Pieces of Wood laid cross. They are so dangerous, that I would rather chuse to go fifty Miles about, than to pass the best of them; and yet the *Indians* and their Wives cross the Rivers on them with Burdens, and small Children on their Backs, as unconcern'd as if they went on dry Land. All, or most of the People inhabiting

Strange
Bridges.

inhabiting these Mountains; were subject to a mighty *Cacique*, whose name was *Nutibara*. Beyond these Mountains is a pleasant Vale, all Down, or *Savana*, that is, without any Wood, but only some steep and lofty bare Ridges, very bad to travel over, bating that the *Indians* have some scurvy Roads along the Tops and Sides of them.



CHAP. XI.

Of the Cacique Nutibara, and his Dominions; and of other Caciques within the Liberties, or Jurisdiction of the City Antiocha.

WHEN we came into this Vale, with the Licenciate *Joh. de Padillo*, it was full of many very large Timber Houses, Thatch'd with a sort of long Straw; and

Nutibara
Vale.

Pixibaes
Palm-trees

and all the Fields stock'd with such Provisions as they use. Many stately Rivers rise in the upper Part of the Mountains, the Banks whereof are cover'd with Variety of Fruit-Trees, and among them very tall, slender, and prickly Palm-Trees; on whose Tops grows a Cluster of Fruit, which they call *Pixibaes*, and are large and extraordinary useful; for they make Bread and Wine of it; and when the Tree is cut down, they take out of the Heart of it a *Palmito*, or Pith, of a considerable Bulk, sweet and well relish'd. There is also Plenty of the Trees they call *Agua-cates*, of *Guava*, *Guayavas*, and delicious Pine-Apples. One *Nutibara*, Son to *Anunaybe*, was Lord, or petty King of that Province. He had a Brother call'd *Quinucho*, who was his Lord Lieutenant, or Viceroy over the *Indians* inhabiting the Mountains of *Abibe*, we have already mention'd and other Parts. He always furnish'd the *Cacique* with Abundance of Swine, Fish, Fowl, and other things that Country affords, and they paid him Tribute in Cotton Cloth, and Gold. When he went to the Wars he was follow'd by great Numbers of Men in Arms, and when he happen'd to travel about the Vales, was carry'd by the Prime Men, on a thing like a Bier, adorn'd with Gold. He kept many Wives; and before his Door, as also before those of his Commanders, many Heads of their Enemies were set up, as Trophies, after they had eaten their Bodies.

All the Natives of this Country did eat Man's Flesh, without any Mercy, for they devour'd all they took, provided they were not of the same Town. There are Abundance of large burial Places, which it is likely must be very rich; and they had formerly a great House, or Temple dedicated to the Devil; the Timber Work whereof I saw my self. When Captain *Francis Caesar* enter'd this Vale, the Natives conducted him to that House, or Temple, believing, that since the Number of Christians he had with him was so small, they might easily kill them, and accordingly above 20000 Men appear'd in Arms, with much Noise and Confusion; yet tho' the *Spaniards* were but 39, and had only 13 Horses, they behav'd themselves so bravely, that the *Indians* fled, after an obstinate Fight,
which

which lasted a considerable Time, leaving the Christians Masters of the Field, where *Cesar* shew'd he well deserv'd that Name. Those who write of *Cartagena*, have enough to say of this Commander; what I mention is only for the rendring my Work more plain and intelligible. Had any considerable number of *Spaniards* enter'd this Valley with *Cesar*, they wou'd all most certainly have enrich'd themselves, and carry'd away Abundance of Gold, which the *Indians* afterwards remov'd, by the Advice of the Devil, who gave them notice of our Coming, as they themselves do declare, and affirm. Before the *Indians* fell upon Captain *Cesar*, they conducted him to the House, above-mention'd, which, as they say, was deputed to honour the Devil, and digging there, discover'd a Vault handsomely built, with the Mouth of it towards the East, and in it many Pots full of Gold Ornaments, most of it one and twenty Carats fine, which amounted to above 40000 Ducats. They told him, there was another House farther on, and by it another Tomb, like that, but much richer; besides which they affirm'd he wou'd meet with others in the Valley, still greater and wealthier, tho' that they spoke of was very considerable. When we came afterwards with *Vadillo*, we found some of those Tombs empty'd, and the House, or Temple burnt down. An *Indian* Woman, that belong'd to one *Baptist Zimbron* told me, That when *Cesar* was gone back to *Cartagena*, all the prime Men of those Valleys met, and after performing their Sacrifices, and Ceremonies, the Devil, whom in their Language they call *Guaca*, appear'd to them, in the Shape of a fierce Tiger, and told them, 'That those Christians were come from beyond the Sea; and that they wou'd soon return much stronger, and endeavour to possess them of, and subdue the Country, and therefore they must prepare to War with them. Having given them this Account, he immediately vanish'd, and they began to Arm, first drawing vast Treasure out of many Tombs.

Rich
Graves.

CHAP. XII.

The Manners, and Customs of these Indians; what Weapons they use and what Ceremonies they practise, and who founded the City of Antiocha.

Habit. THE People of these Valleys were brave, for *Indians*, and therefore they were much dreaded by their Neighbours. The Men go naked and barefoot, wearing only narrow Clouts, which cover their Privities, ty'd about their Waste with a String. They value themselves upon having very long Hair. The Weapons they use are Darts, and long Pikes, made of the black Palm-Tree above-mention'd, Javelins, Slings, and long Staves, like two Handed Swords, or Faulchions, which they call *Mazanas*. The Women from the Waste downwards have Pieces of fine Cotton Cloth curiously colour'd, wrapp'd about them. When the great Men marry, they perform a Sort of Sacrifice to their God, and assembling together in a House, where the most beautiful Women are plac'd beforehand, they pick out her they like best, and her Son is Heir, but if the Lord has no Son, then his Sister's Son inherits.

Tatabe. These People border on another Nation, call'd *Tatabe* very full of wealthy, and warlike *Indians*, much resembling their Neighbours in Manners. They build their *Houses on Trees.* Houses on mighty Trees, and fram'd with tall thick forked *See Cut 2d.* Timbers, each of them containing above 200 Inhabitants; the Joices and Rafters are no less bulky, and they cover'd with Palm Leaves. These Nations extend as far as the South Sea Westward, and Eastward they border on the great River of *Darien*. All the Country hereabouts is full of wild and dreadful Mountains; and about this Place is said to be the prodigious Treasure of *Dabaybe*, so much spoken of in the Province of *Tierra Firme*. On the other Side of this Valley, that is subject to *Nutibara*, the Borderers are certain *Indians*, inhabiting the fertile, and plentiful Valleys call'd of *Nore*, and in one of them now stands the the City of *Antiocha*. These Valleys were formerly

had been done already. *Vadillo* amaz'd at what he heard, said. How can you eat her, since she is your Wife? And the *Cacique*, raising his Voice reply'd; take Notice, I will eat the Child she shall be deliver'd of. What I here Write hapn'd in the Valley of *Nire*, and in that of *Guacá*, which I said was behind it. I several Times heard this *Licenciate Vadillo* declare, that some Old *Indians*, had by means of our Interpreters inform'd him, that when the Natives went out to War, they made Slaves of the *Indians* they took Prisoners, whom they Marry'd to their Kinswomen and Neighbours, and then eat the Children they got on them, and when the Slaves themselves were grown too Old for Procreation, they devour'd them too. The Slaughter of so many People was the Occasion, that when we discover'd those Countries, we found such Numbers of Heads of *Indians*, before the Doors of the prime Men, that they look'd as if Shambles of Human Flesh had been kept before each of them.

Funerals. When any of the Lords of these Valleys dy'd, they were lamented for many Days, their Wives cut off their Hair, the best belov'd among them kill'd themselves, and they made a vast Grave, or Tomb, as big as a little Hill, with the entrance into it towards the East. Within it was a Vault larger than for the dead Person, Pav'd with Stones, in which they laid the Dead Body, well wrapp'd in Cotton Blankets, and with it Gold, and the Arms he had, then making his most beautiful Wives, and some Boys, that serv'd him drunk, with Liquor of *Maiz*, or, *Indian* Wheat, and other Roots; they put them alive into the Vault, where they left them, that their Lord might go to the Devil with Company.

Antiocha City. The City of *Antiocha* is seated in one of these Valleys, lying between the famous, and most wealthy Rivers of *Darien* and *Santa Marta*, and the two Ridges of Mountains. The Situation is very good, in a large Plain, near a small River, and more Northward than any City in the Kingdom of *Peru*. Not far from it run many other considerable Rivers, rising on the Mountains on both sides, and many Springs of very clear and well tasted Water. Most of the Rivers roul Abundance of fine Gold, and the Banks of them are cover'd with much Variety of Fruit

Fruit Trees. All the Provinces round about inhabited by *Indians*, who are very rich in Gold, which they gather in their own Townships, and drive a great Trade, using little Stilliards, and Weights to Weigh it. They are all great Devourers of Man's Flesh, and never spare those they take Prisoners. When Captain *George Robledo* founded the City *Antiocha*, on the Hills, whence it was afterwards remov'd, by Order of Captain *John Cabrera*, to the Place where it now stands, I happen'd to be in a Field of *Maiz*, or *Indian Wheat*, where at a very small Distance from me, I saw four *Indians* set upon another, who came that way, and kill'd him with their *Mazanas*, or Wooden Swords; and upon my crying out to them, they left the Body, carrying away his Legs, having before the poor Wretch was Dead, suck'd his Blood and eat Morfels of his Entrails.

Man Eaters.

They use no Arrows, nor any other Weapons than those already mention'd; nor did we ever find any Temple, or House of Worship they had, besides that which was burnt in the Vale of *Guaca*. They all generally converse with the Devil, and in every Town there are two, or three ancient *Indians*, well skill'd in Superstitions, who particularly talk with him, and these give his Answers, and declare what he says shall happen. They have no perfect Knowledge of the Immortality of the Soul. All the Product of the Earth, and Water they assign to Nature, tho' they have some Notion of a Creator, but it is a false one, as I shall shew hereafter. This City of *Antiocha* was first founded by Captain *George Robledo*, in the Name of the mighty Emperour *Charles the Vth.* King of *Spain*, and the *West Indies*, and under the Direction of the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Sebastian de Belalcazar*, his Governour, and Captain General of the Province of *Popayan*, in the Year 1541. The City stands in 7 Degrees of North Latitude.

Religion.

CHAP. XIII.

The Description of the Province of Popayan, and the Reason why the Indians of it are so hard to be subdu'd, and those of Peru so gentle.

I Will spake of this Province of *Popayan* together with that of *Peru*, because it was discover'd, and Peopled by the Commanders belonging to the latter; yet will I not make one and the same of them, because the Natives differ very much, as does the Nature of the Soil, and all other Particulars. For which Reason it will be requisite, that I describe its Scituation, and give an Account of all Particulars, from *Quito*, where *Peru*, properly so call'd, commences, and *Pasto* where this Province also begins on that side, as far as *Antiocha*, where it ends.

Popayan
Province.

This Province had the name of *Popayan* given it, from the City so call'd which is its Metropolis. The length of it is about 200 Leagues, little more or less, and the Breadth 30, or 40, widening in some Parts, and narrowing in others. On one side it has the South Sea, and vast high uncooth Mountains, which run along it to the Eastward. On the other side is a long Ridge of Mountains call'd the *Andes*, from both which many Rivers, some of them very considerable, run down, and form spacious Vales; and through one of them, which is the greatest in all these Parts of *Peru*, passes the mighty River of *Santa Marta*. Within this Government are the Cities of *Palta*, and *Popayan*, of *Cali*, near the Port of *Buenaventura*; those of *Cartago*, and *Antiocha*; the Town of *Tmiana*, beyond the Mountains *Andes*, that of *Anzerma*, that of *Aima*, and others built since I came from thence.

Some Townships here are hot, others cold, some Places Healthy, and other Sickly; in some Parts it rains very much, and in others very little; in some Districts the Natives eat Man's Flesh, and in others not. On one side it borders on the New Kingdom of *Granada*, which is

is beyond the Mountains *Andes*, and lies on the East; on the South the Kingdom of *Peru*, on the West the South Sea, and Government of *Rio de San Juan*, or *St. John's River*, and on the North the Province of *Cartagena*. Many admire that these *Indians* have prov'd so Obstinate, and Difficult to be subdu'd, considering that several of their Towns stand in such Places as may be easily reduc'd, and that throughout all this Government, excepting only the Town of *Pasto*, there is no excess of Heat, or Cold; nor do there want any other Conveniencies of Conquest; and that those of *Peru*, whose Valleys lye among Mountains of Snow, with many Rocks, and Rivers, and the People are more Numerous than the others; besides, that they have many Deserts, are so submissive, peaceable and tame. To this I answer, that all the *Indians* Subject to the Government of *Popayan*, ever were, and still are a free People, having no Lords that they stood in awe of. They are Slothful and Lazy, and utterly averse to any Subjection, which was a sufficient Reason for them to oppose being brought under by a strange Nation. Yet this would not have avail'd them, for Necessity must have reduc'd them to do as others did; but there is a stronger Reason, which is, that all these Provinces are extraordinary fertile, and every Way there are thick Woods, Fields of Canes, and other Places of difficult Access; so that when the *Spaniards* press'd them, they burnt the Houses they dwelt in, as being of Timber Thatch'd, and went a League, or two farther, where in three or four Days, they built others and in as short a time Sow'd as much *Indian* Wheat, as they had Occasion for, and Reap'd it within four Months after. If they were pursu'd thither, they either went away farther, or turn'd back again, and wheresoever they were, found enough to eat, and a fertile Soil to furnish them with Fruit. Therefore they continu'd in Subjection when they pleas'd, had the Power of Peace and War, and never wanted a Subsistence. Those of *Peru* are peaceable, and submissive, because they were all subdu'd by the *Inga* Kings, to whom they paid Tribute, and did them service; they were born under that Obligation, and if they would not do it, necessity compell'd

why difficult to Conquer.

pell'd them; because the Country of *Peru*, is full of Deserts, and Mountains, and Fields of Snow; so that, if they withdrew from their Towns, and Valleys, to these Solitudes, they could not live, the Soil producing no Fruit, nor is there any to be found, but in their own Vales, and Provinces. This obliges them to serve, and not forsake their Lands, rather than starve, and is a sufficient Argument to solve the aforesaid Doubt. I will now proceed to give a particular Account of the several Provinces in this Government, and of the *Spanish* Towns erected in it, with the Names of the Founders. From this City of *Antiocha* there are two Roads, the one leading to the Town of *Anzerma*, and the other to the City of *Cartago*. I will first speak of that which goes to the Town of *Anzerma*, and then return to the other conducing to *Cartago*, and *Arma*.

CHAP: XIV.

Of the Road from the City Antiocha, to the Town of Anzerma, the Distance between them, and the Lands and Districts in the Way.

*Buritica
rich hill.*

IN the Way from *Antiocha* to *Anzerma*, is to be seen that Famous and Wealthy Hill of *Buritica*, which has yielded such immense Quantity of Gold in past times. The Distance between those two Places is 70 Leagues, the Road very craggy, over great bare Mountains, with little Wood. All, or the greater part is inhabited by *Indians*, who have their Houses very remote from the Road. A little way out of *Antiocha*, is a small Hill, call'd *Corome*, standing amidst small Vales, where there us'd to be many Dwellings of *Indians*, but they are much decreas'd, since the *Spaniards* came in to conquer them. To this Town belong very rich Gold Mines, and several Brooks, where they may gather it. Few Fruit-Trees, and but little *Indian* Wheat grow about it. The Language, and Customs

Customs of the *Indians* are the same as those we have spoken of.

Hence the Road proceeds to a Settlement standing on a great Hill, where formerly was a Town consisting of great Houses, all of them belonging to Miners, who dug Gold, the Place being very rich. The neighbouring *Caciques* have Houses there, and the *Indians* us'd to gather them much Gold; and it is certainly believ'd, that most of the Wealth found at *Cenu*, in the Graves dug up there, many considerable ones of which Number I saw pillag'd, before we went upon the Discovery of *Urute*, with Capt. *Alonso de Caceres*, came from this Hill. To return to the Point, I remember; that when we discover'd this Town, with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, a Clergy-man call'd *Francis de Frias*, who march'd with the Forces, found in a House, or Hut of this Town of *Buritica*, a *Totuma*, which is like a great Pan, full of Earth, among which there appear'd very many large Grains of Gold. We also saw there, the Mines where it grew and was taken, and the *Mazanas*, or *Coas*, that is, the Wooden Instruments, they work'd it with. When Captain *George Robledo* founded the City of *Antiocha*, he went to see these Mines, and they wash'd, a Trough full of Earth, from which there came a considerable Quantity of something very small; one Miner said it was Gold, and another that it was not, but only that we call *Margaxita*, which is a glittering Sand like it, and we being upon our Journey, no farther enquiry was made into it. When the *Spaniards* came to this Town, the *Indians* burnt it, and wou'd never come again to inhabit it.

Plemy of Gold.

I remember that a Soldier call'd *Toribio*, going out to look for Provision, found a Stone in a River, as big as a Man's Head, all full of Gold Veins that ran cross it, from one Side to the other, which he took up to bring it to our Quarters; but coming up a Hill, he met a little *Indian* Dog, which he ran at to kill him to eat, throwing down the Stone, which roll'd back to the River, and he secur'd the Dog, valuing him above Gold, for the Hunger he endur'd; so that the Stone remain'd in the River, from whence it was first taken; and had it been converted into any thing that was eatable, there had been enough

Gold despis'd for burger.

enough that would have gone back for it, we being then in great Distress for Provisions.

Santa
Fe Town.

I saw a Black belonging to Captain *George Robledo*, at another River take two very large Grains of Gold, out of one Trough full of Earth. In short, had the Natives been gentle, and of a good Disposition, not so bloody as to eat one another, and our Commanders and Governors more compassionate, so as not to consume them, the Land thereabouts would have yielded much Wealth. At the Town that stood on this Hill call'd *Buritica*, springs a small River, and below it is a large Plain, like a Vale, where is seated a Mine Town, nam'd *Santa Fe*, or *S. Faith*, built by the same Captain *George Robledo*, which is Suffragan to the City of *Antiocha*, and therefore no more needs be said of it. Rich Gold Mines have been found near this Town, upon the great River of *Santa Marta*, that runs by it. In Summer, the Blacks and *Indians* gather much Wealth on the Shores, and when there are more Blacks they will get greater Treasure. By this Town is also another call'd *Xundabe*, of the same Nation, and Manners, as its Neighbours. There are many very populous Vales, and a Ridge of Mountains in the Midst, which divides one Part from the other. Still farther on is another Town, call'd *Caramanta*, and the Cacique, or Lord of it was *Cauroma*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Customes, and Manners of the Indians of this Country, and of the Mountain there is in the Way to Anzerma.

Springs
that yield
Salt.

THE People of this Province are comely, warlike, and differ in Language from those we have pass'd. This Vale is encompass'd on all Sides with very rugged Mountains, across the midst of it runs a gentle River, besides several other Brooks, and Springs, where they make Salt, as they do in a small Lake in this Vale, whereof I shall speak hereafter.

hereafter. The Lords, or *Caciques*, and their Officers had very large Houses, and before their Doors there were thick Canes of the Growth of the Country, like small Beams, on which were many Heads of their Enemies, which they cut off, when they took them in War, with sharp Knives made of Flint, or of a sort of Rushes, or the out Rinds of Canes, which they bring to a very good Edge. Others they us'd to put to miserable Deaths, cutting off some of their Limbs, according to their Custom, and then eat them, setting up their Heads on the Top of their Canes, as has been said.

Indian
Cruelties.

Between these Canes they plac'd some Boards, on which they carv'd the Figure of the Devil, in a very hideous Human Shape, and other Idols, and Resemblances of Cats, which they ador'd. When they wanted either Rain, or Fair Weather for their Land, they made Application to these Gods of theirs, as the Natives themselves inform'd us. Those who were appointed for that Function, convers'd with the Devil, they were very superstitious, and great Sorcerers, and observ'd many Signs and Tokens, performing several vain Ceremonies. When we went thither with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo* upon the first Discovery, the Interpreters told us, that the Chief Lord of them, call'd *Cauroma*, had many of those Idols we saw in Wood, made of most pure Gold; and they affirm'd, there was such Plenty of this Metal, that the said Lord took as much as he pleas'd out of one River.

They were cruel Man Eaters, and had open spots of Ground before their Houses, where they rear'd the Canes already spoken of, and in these Places they had their Graves, or Monuments, after their Country Fashion, like those before mention'd. The Soil is plentiful, yielding much *Indian* Wheat, and such Roots as they Sow. There are few, or no Fruit Trees.

Burial
Places.

On the Back of this Province Eastward, is that they call *Cartama*, being as far as Captain *Sebastian Relacazar* discover'd. They us'd the same Language, and had the same Customs with the last, were rich in Gold, had little Houses, and all the Men went Naked, without any Cloathing, but only little Clouts before their Privities. The Women had small Cotton Cloths, which cover'd them

Cartama
Province.

from the Waste downwards, the rest all Bare. Just beyond the Province of *Cartama*, is a Mountain very thick Wooded, and above 7 Leagues over, where we suffer'd much by Hunger and Cold, when we went with *Vadillo*, and I may safely affirm, I never endur'd so much Famine as I did then, tho' I have been upon some very fatiguing Discoveries and Excursions. We were so much concern'd, to find our selves in such thick Woods, that we could not see the Sun, nor find any Way, or meet a Guide, or any Body to tell us, whether we were near any habitable Place, or far of, that we were upon the Point of returning to *Cartagena*. It was a great Help to us to find that sort of green Wood I said there is on the *Abibo*, for it serv'd us to make as much Fire as we would. Thus we open'd a way with meer force of Arms, and pass'd these Woods, leaving some *Spaniards*, and several Horses behind starv'd to Death.

Beyond this Mountain lies a small Vale, without any Wood, and thinly Peopled; but a little farther we saw a large delicious Valley very populous, the Houses in it standing close together, and all New, some of them very spacious, and the Fields full of Provisions, of their Roots, and *Indian* Wheat. Most of these Houses were afterwards abandon'd, and the Natives forsook their Country. Many of them to shun the Cruelty of the *Spaniards* went away to a parcel of Rugged high Mountains, that are beyond this Valley, which is call'd of *Cima*. Two Leagues and a half from it is another small one form'd by a Ridge, proceeding from the Mountain, where now stands the Town of *Anzerma*, at first call'd *Santa Anna*. *Anzerma Town.* *de los Cavaleros*, or *St. Anne* belonging to the Knights, which is seated between two small Rivers, on a little Hill, plain on both Sides, cover'd with Abundance of beautiful Fruit Trees, both of the Country Growth, and others brought from *Spain*, and full of Grain, which grows very well. The Town overlooks all the Country about it, as standing on the highest Ridge, nor is it to be approach'd any way, without Discovery from it; and it is encompass'd on all Sides by considerable Dwellings of several *Casiques*, or little Lords, who were Friends among

among themselves; their Towns stood near one another;
But the Houses at some Distance.

CHAP. XVI

Of the Manners, and Customs of the Caciques and Indians in the Territory of the Town of Anzerma, of its first Foundation, and by whom it was laid.

THE Place on which the Town of *Anzerma* stands, is by the Natives call'd *Umbra*; but when the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Sebastian de Belalcázar* enter'd this Province, upon the first Discovery, having no Interpreters, he could not understand any of the Secrets of the Province. The *Spaniards* hearing the *Indians* when they saw Salt call it *Anzer*, which is the Name for it in their Language, apply'd the same to the Place, and thus the Town came by that of *Anzerma*. Four Leagues West from it is a Town, not very large, but Populous, as having large Houses, and a Spacious Territory. A small River runs close by, and it is a League from the great one of *Santa Marta*, of which, I design to write a particular Chapter, giving an Account of its Source, and how it divides into two Branches. These *Indians* had a Chief or Lord of a good Presence, whose Name was *Gricha*. When I was there, a very great House of his stood just at the entrance into his Town, and many others in several Parts of it; and before that great one was an open Spot of Ground; all over set with those thick Canes, I said there were at *Caramanta*, with the Heads of *Indians* they had eaten on the Tops of them. He had several Wives.

These *Indians* use the same Language, and Customes as those of *Caramanta*, and are more bloody, and fond of Man's Flesh. That the Reader may conceive the Hardships endur'd by those who go upon Discoveries, I will relate what happen'd in this Town, when we came to it, with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, and was, That the Natives having hid all their Provisions, in some Places

Anzer-
ma why so
call'd.

Man's
Flesh eaten
by Mistake.

we found no *Indian* Wheat, nor any other thing to eat; and as for Flesh we had tasted none for above a Year, unless it were that of the Horses that dy'd, or some Dogs, and such was our want, that we had not so much as Salt. About 25, or 30 Soldiers, going abroad a Marauding, or to speak plain, to steal what they could find; near the great River they lighted on some People, that had fled, for Fear of being seen, and taken by us. There they found a great Pot, full of boil'd Meat, and their Hunger was so great, that they thought of nothing but eating, believing the Flesh was of those Creatures they call *Curies*, because they found some of them in the Pot; but when they were well satisfy'd, one of them pull'd out a Hand, with all its Fingers and Nails; besides which they afterwards discover'd pieces of Feet, of two or three Quarters of Men there were in it. The *Spaniards* beholding that Spectacle, were sorry they had eaten of the Meat, and their Stomachs turn'd at the sight of the Hands, and Fingers; but it pass'd over with them, and they return'd satisfy'd, having gon out hungry.

Zopia
Province.

Several small Rivers rise on a Mountain, that is above this Town; and from them much fine Gold has been, and is taken, by the *Indians* and Blacks. These were Friends, and Confederates with those of *Caramanta*, and ever Enemies to, and wag'd War with their other Neighbours. There is a strong Rock in this Town, where they secur'd themselves in Time of War. The Men went naked and barefoot, and the Women wore small Blankets, being generally well Countenanc'd, and some of them Beautiful. Beyond this Town is the Province of *Zopia*. Between these two Places was a River, very rich in Gold, on which the *Spaniards* have made two Settlements. These *Indians* also went naked. The Houses stood apart from one another, like the rest, and they bury'd their dead in large Graves within them. They had no Idols, nor any Place of Worship; but convers'd with the Devil; Marry'd their Nieces, and some of them their own Sisters, and the Principal Wives Son inherited the Lordship, for all the *Indians* of Note had several Wives, and if they had no Sons, the Sisters Son was Heir. They border on the Province of *Cartama*, through which the great River, above mention'd, passes.

On

On the other Side of it is the Province of *Pozo*, where they traded most. On the East of the Town are other large *Indian* Dwellings, the Lords whereof were proper, well look'd Men, and have Plenty of Provisions, and Abundance of Fruit Trees. They are all Friends at present, tho' formerly there was War between them; but they were not so greedy of Man's Flesh, as those before mention'd. The *Caciques* are very dainty, and many of them were carry'd in Hammocks, or on Biers, before the *Spaniards* came among them. They had many Wives, and those beautiful, for *Indians*, wearing Cotton Blankets of several gay Colours. The Men went naked, only the Chief of them were cover'd with a long Blanket, and wore Clouts about their Waste, like the rest. The Women, besides the Cloathing I have mention'd, had their Hair curiously comb'd, with Collars of several pieces of Gold about their Necks, and Rings in their Ears; making Holes in their Nostrils to stich Gold Beads in them, some small and others large. The Lords had many Gold Vessels to drink out of, and Abundance of Blankets for themselves and their Wives, adorn'd with Gold Plates, some round, and some like Stars, besides many other Jewels of several sorts, of this same Metal. They call the Devil *Xixarama*, and the *Spaniards* *Tamaraca*. Some of them were great Sorcerers, and Botanists. They Marry'd off their Daughters, after they had lost their Maiden-heads, and did not value Virginity. In their Marriages they us'd no sort of Ceremony. In one Part of this Province call'd *Tanya*, when their Lord dy'd, they laid the Body into a Hamack, and made a great Fire all about it, digging a Hole under the Carcas, into which the Moisture, and Grease melted by the Heat dropt. When the Body was half burnt, the Kindred came about, making mighty Lamentation, which ended they drank their Wine, and repeated their Psalms, or Blessings dedicated to their Gods, after their Manner, and as they were taught by their Forefathers. This done, they lay'd the Body wrapped in several Blankets into a Coffin, and kept it some Years unbury'd; when thoroughly dry'd up, they plac'd it in the Tombs, or Graves they made in their Houses.

Dead Bodies parched.

They

They had little of Civility, and not much use of Reason. Their Weapons were Darts, Spears, *Mazanau*, or Wooden Swords, made of the black Palm, or of another hard White Tree, growing in those Parts. We never saw any particular Place of Worship they had. When they convers'd with the Devil, they said, it was in the Dark, without any Light, and that one appointed for that Purpose, spoke for them all, and return'd the Answers. Their Towns are seated on vast Mountains, without any Wood. Up the Country Westward, is a great Mountain they call *Cima*, and beyond it, towards the South Sea, great Numbers of *Indians*, and large Towns, about the Springs of the great River of *Darien*. Chaptain *George Robledo* Founded this Town of *Anzerma*, when *Don Francisco Pizarro* was Governour, and Captain General of all these Provinces, under the Name of *Santa Ana de los Cavaleros*, or *St. Anne* belonging to the Knights.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Towns, and Provinces lying between the City of Antiocha, and the Town of Arma, and of the Customs of the Natives.

Pueblo
Llano.

I Will here leave the Road I have been upon, and return to the City *Antiocha*, to lay down the way from thence to the Town of *Arma*, and as far as the City *Cartago*. Departing *Antiocha* on the way to *Arma*, we come to the great River of *Santa Marta*, which is 12 Leagues distant. Having pass'd the River in a Boat, there is for that Purpose, or on Floats, which never fail, or at least Matter to make them of, there are few *Indians* along the River Side, and the Towns are small, because most of them are withdrawn from the Road. After some Days Travel, we come to a Town call'd, *Pueblo Llano*, or Plain Town, which was once very large; but when the *Spaniards* came into the Country, the Inhabitants retir'd to some little Hills, about two Leagues from that

that Place. The *Indians* are small of Body, and have some Arrows brought from beyond the Mountains *Andes*, where they use them. They are great Traders, and their principal Commodity Salt; but go naked; as do the *Women*, having only small Clouts, that cover them from the Belly to the Thighs, yet they are rich in Gold, and the Rivers rowl much of this Metal. In other Particulars they are like their Neighbours.

At a Distance from this Town, is another, call'd *Mugia*, where there is great Plenty of Salt, and many Merchants, who carry it beyond the Mountains; for which they bring back much Gold, Cotton Cloth, and other things they want. Beyond this Town Eastward lies the Valley of *Aburra*, in the way to which the Passage over the *Andes* is easy, there being little Mountain, and but one Days Journey. This we discover'd with Captain *George Robledo*, and saw only some small Towns, different from those we were past, and not so rich. When we enter'd the Vale of *Aburra*, the Natives took such a Dislike to us, that they and their Wives hang'd themselves on the Trees, in their Hair, or with the Clouts they tye about them.

Mugia
Town.

Aburra
Vale.

In this Vale of *Aburra* there are several flats, the Land is very fertile, and some Rivers cross it. Farther on, we saw an ancient great Road and some others, along which they travel to trade with the Nations that lye East of them, which are many, and considerable, but I did not travel through them. Beyond *Pueblo Llano* is another call'd *Cenafara*, rich, and where it is believ'd there are Graves containing much Treasure. The Natives are well shap'd, and like those before mention'd in most Particulars. Farther on is *Pueblo Blanco*, or White Town, and to go on to the Town of *Arma*, we leave the great River on the right Hand.

Cenafara
& *Pueblo*
Blanco
Town.

There are many more Rivers along this Road, which I omit because of their Number, and for that they have no particular Names. Near *Cenafara* is a River coming from the Mountain, and very stony, along which they travel almost a Days Journey; on the left of it is a large and populous Province; of which I will speak presently. These Towns, and Territories were at first under the City

City *Cartago*, and within its District; the Limits whereof were extended as far as the great River, by the Founder Captain *George Robledo*; but the *Indians* being so wild, and averse to do any Service, or go to the City *Cartago*, the *Adelantado* or Lord Lieutenant *Belalcazar*, his Majesties Governour, order'd they shou'd be divided, leaving all these Towns out of the Territory of *Cartago*, and that a *Spanish* Town should be built there; which was accordingly done by *Michael Munnoz*, in the Year 1542. It was at First seated on a Hill, entering the Province of *Arma*; but the Natives Warr'd so fiercely upon the *Spaniards*, that this, and the want of Ground to Sow, and make their Settlements, oblig'd them to remove it, somewhat above two Leagues from that Place towards the great River, and it stands 23 Leagues from the City *Cartago*, 12 from the Town of *Anzerma*, and one from *Rio Grande*, or the great River, in a Plain spot there is between two small Rivers, like the side of a Hill, encompass'd by great Groves of Palm-Trees, different from those above mention'd, but more beneficial; for they take very well tasted *Palmitos* from the Heart of them, and the Fruit they bear is very good, which being bruiz'd with Stones yeilds a Liquor whereof they make excellent Cream, and Milk, as also a Subitance that burns in Lamps, like Oil. I have seen, and made the Experiment of what I say.

The Situation of this Town is look'd upon as somewhat unwholsome. The Soil is so fruitful, that they only thresh the Straw, and burn the Reeds, and when this is done one Bushel of *Indian* Wheat they Sow yeilds an hundred and more, and this they do twice a Year. Other things also thrive plentifully. No *European* Wheat has been as yet Sow'd, so that I know not whether it will grow, or not. The Mines here are rich, and more at *Rio Grande*, or the great River, which is a League from this Town, than in other Places; for if they set Blacks to work, every one cannot fail of getting his Master three, or four Ducats a Day. In Proceis of Time, this will be one of the Richest Countries in the *West Indies*. The Estate given me, for my Services was within the Liberties of this Town.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the Province of Arma, the Customs of the Natives,
and other remarkable Things in it.*

THis Province of *Arma*, which gave its Name to the Arma
Province. Town, is very large, populous, and richer than any about it, containing above 20000 *Indians* able to bear Arms, at the Time when I writ this, which was when first we *Spaniards* enter'd it, without reck'ning Women, and Children. Their Houses were very large and round, compos'd of great Poles, and Beams, reaching from the Top to the Bottom, and forming a small round Arch above, where the Timber Work ended, the Covering of Straw. Within these Houses there were several Apartments sever'd with Mats, and they contain'd many Inhabitants. The Length of the Province is about ten Leagues, and the Breadth six, or seven; full of very un-
smooth bare Mountains, without any Wood. The Vales and Sides of the Hills look like Orchards, they are full of all sorts of Fruit Trees these Parts afford, and of one particular which is very pleasant, of a purple Colour, and call'd *Pitahaya*. This Fruit is of such a Quality, that Pic -
hayaFruit if a Man eats but one of them, his Water will look like Blood. Another sort of Fruit is found on the Mountains, which I reckon very singular, they call it *Uvillas*, that is, little Grapes, being small, and of a delicious Scent.

Several Rivers have their Springs on the Mountains, and one of them, call'd the River of *Arma*, is troublesome to cross in Winter, the others are not considerable; and according to the Nature of them, I verily believe, there will be Gold dug out of them in Process of Time, as plentifully as Iron in *Biscay*. Those who read this, if they have seen the Country as well as I, will not think it Fabulous. The *Indians* have their Farms along these Rivers: They had always bloody Wars among themselves; and in many Places their Languages differ, insomuch, that there is a strange Tongue in every Township, and

*Armour
of Gold.*

and upon every Hill. They were, and still are vastly rich in Gold, and had ~~they~~ been as gentle as those of Peru, I dare maintain they would have pay'd above 500000 Pieces of eight in Gold Yearly out of their Mines. They us'd many and large Ornaments of this Metal, so fine, that the coarsest rises to 19 Carats. When they went to the Wars, they wore Crowns, Plates on their Breasts, curious Plumies of Feathers, Bracelets, and many other Ornaments. The first time we came thither upon Discovery, with Captain *George Robledo*, I remember, there were *Indians* seen in Gold Armour from Head to Foot, and the Place where we saw them to this Day retains the Name of *la Loma de los Armados*, that is, the Hill of the Men in Armour. They us'd to carry Flags of great Value on long Spears, or Pikes. Their Houses were built on the Flat Tops of the Hills, or Extremities of the Mountains, which are very rough and craggy. They fortify'd their Towns with the thick Canes above mention'd, pull'd up Roots and all, which they planted again by twenties and twenties in Ranks, like Walks. In the midst of this Fortress, when I saw them, they had a Scaffold rais'd high, and artificially contriv'd of the same Canes, to offer their Sacrifices on.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Religious Rites, and Sacrifices of these Indians, and how much they are addicted to eating of Man's Flesh.

THE Weapons us'd by these *Indians* are, Darts, Spears, Slings and Shafts; which they Cast with Thongs, like Slings. They are very hoisty, and, when they go to the Wars carry many Cornets, Drums, Pipes, and other Instruments. They are extraordinary crafty and deceitful, and never observe the Peace they make. The Devil had a strange Dominion and Power over them; for he often appear'd to them visibly. On the Scaffold we have mention'd, they had Bundles of Cords, made of *Cahya*, which is like Withies,

and *Pixibaes* Palm-trees. The Prime Men married any Women they lik'd best, one of which was reckon'd the Chief; and the other *Indians*, took one anothers Daughters and Sisters, without any Rule, or Order, and very few found their Wives Maids. The Great Ones had many, the rest one, two, or more, according to their Ability. Burials and Inheritance as has been said in other Places.

Barbarity.

These *Indians* were so greedy of Human Flesh, that they have been known to make Prisoners of Women ready to be deliver'd, and tho' they belong'd to their next Neighbours, to rip up their Bellies, with their Flint, or Cane Knives, and taking out the Infant, to roast it at a Fire made in a Pan, and devour it immediately; and then cutting the Mother in Pieces, to eat her, in that filthy Condition, so basely, that it was amazing to behold.

Power
of Caci-
ques.

All the Authority the *Caciques* have over them, is, that they build their Houses, till their Lands, give them as many Wives as they desire, and gather them Gold in the Rivers, wherewith they Trade in the Neighbouring Parts; and they call themselves Commanders in War, and are in all the Battles they fight. They are an unsteady People in all Respects, have no manner of Shame, nor do they know what Virtue is; but are sharp enough among one another for any Knavery. Somewhat to the Eastward of this Province, is the aforesaid Mountain call'd *Andes*, very high and craggy. In all these Parts the Women are deliver'd without Midwives, as is done generally throughout the *West-Indies*, and as soon as the Infant is born, they go and wash themselves and their Children in the River, without keeping up one Moment, or receiving any Harm by the Air, or Weather. Fifty of them, I am sensible, do not endure so much Pain in Child bearing, as one of ours. I know not whether the tender keeping of the one Sort, or the Brutishness of the other, be the Occasion.

CHAP.

OF THE MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS OF THE PROVINCE OF
THE *Andes*, AND OF THE MOUNTAIN CALLED
THE *Andes*, AND OF THE MOUNTAIN CALLED
THE *Andes*.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Province of Paucura, and of their Manners, and Customs.

Beyond the great Province of *Arma*, is another call'd *Paucura*, which contain'd 5 or 6000 *Indians*, when first we enter'd with Captain *George Robledo*, and differ in Language from the last; but their Customs are the same; excepting, that these are better People, and more likely, and that both Men and Women wear small Cloths, which cover part of their Bodies. The Soil is very fruitful for *Indian* Wheat, and other things; but yields not so much Gold; nor are the Houses so large, nor the Country so rugged. One River runs through it, besides many Brooks. Before the Chief Lord's Door, whose Name was *Pimana*, stood a Wooden Idol, as big as a lusty Man, looking towards the East, and the Arms extended. The *Indians* told us, they Sacrific'd two Men to the Devil, every *Tuesday*, in this Province of *Paucura*, and the same in that of *Arma*; yet if they did so, I know not whether the Persons so Sacrific'd were Natives, or Prisoners taken in War. They keep many of those thick Canes, above spoken of, in the Houses of the Lords, which when dry are extraordinary strong; and with them, they make an Enclosure like a Cage, long, narrow, and not very high, so fast knit and bound together, that those they put in, cannot possibly get out. In these Pens they us'd to shut up the Prisoners taken in War, ordering them to be well fed, and when Fat took them out to those open Spots of Ground before their Houses, where, upon their Festivals, they cruelly slaughter'd and devour'd them. I saw some of these Pounds, or Prisons, in the Province of *Arma*, and it is to be obser'd, that when they were to kill any of those Wretches, to eat, they made them kneel down, and bowing their Heads, gave them a Blow, on the Neck, which stunn'd them, and they neither complain'd, nor spoke one Word. I have several times seen what I write, that is, the *Indians*.

*Paucura
Province.*

dians slain, without uttering a Syllable, or begging for Mercy; on the contrary, some of them laugh when they murder them, which is very wonderful, and proceeds rather from Brutality than true Courage. The Heads of those so eaten, they plac'd on the thick Canes, as has been said. Proceeding still the same Way, beyond this Province, we come to a high Hill, which is full of great Towns, or Villages, both Top, and Sides; so it was the first time we came to it, and the Houses were very Large. This Place is call'd *Pozo*, using the same Language and Customs as those of *Arma*.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Indians of Pozo, and their Bravery, and how much they are dreaded by their Neighbours.

Pozo
Province.

Here were three *Caciques*, or Lords, and other great Men in this Territory of *Pozo*, when we enter'd it with Captain *George Robledo*. They and their *Indians* were, and still are, the bravest of all the adjacent Parts. On one side of them is *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, and on the other, the Provinces of *Carrapa* and *Picara*, of which I shall soon treat. These People did not entertain Amity with any of the other Nations about them. As they inform'd us, they deriv'd their Original, from certain *Indians*, who in former times came out of the Province of *Arma*, and taking the Soil, where they now are, settled there, and from them came the present Inhabitants. Their Language and Manners are the same as those of *Arma*. The Lords, or Prime Men, had very large, lofty and round Houses, in which there were 10, or 15 Inhabitants, and sometimes fewer, as the House was. Before them were strong Palisadoes, and Fortifications made of their thick Canes, and in the midst of these Fortresses very high and spacious Scaffolds erected, cover'd over Head with Mats; the Canes standing so thick, that no Spanish Horseman could pass between them. They kept Sentinels on the Scaffolds to look about, and discover any People that came

came along the Roads. The Chief Lord of this Town
 was call'd *Rimaraqua*, when we came thither with *Robledo*.
 The Men are of a better Presence than those of *Arh*
ma, and the Women very large, and ill Countenanc'd;
 who there be some handsome, but I saw few such. Just
 within the Houses of the Great Men, stood a Row of 14
 or 20 Idols in Rank, and each as big as a Man; their
 Faces made of Wax, very deform'd, in such Shapes and
 Figures as the Devil appear'd to them. They told us,
 that when he was call'd upon, he would sometimes get
 into the Bodies of those Wooden Idols, and give his An-
 swers through them. The Heads of them were made of
 dead Men's Skulls. When the Lords died, they buried
 them in large Graves, within their own Houses, in the
 same Manner as has been said before. I remember, the se-
 cond time Captain *Robledo* pass'd through the Province of
Arma, one *Anthony Pimentel* and I, went, by his Order, to
 search a Grave, in the Town belonging to the *Cacique*
Tayo, where we found above 200 small Plates of Gold,
 which they call *Chagualesas*, and fasten on their Blankets,
 or Cloths they wear about them, besides other larger
 Plates, and cou'd not take out all, by reason of the Stench
 of the dead Bodies; and were that gather'd which is bu-
 ried in *Pera*, and these Parts, the Value wou'd be im-
 mense; and much more than all the *Spaniards* have hither-
 to had thence! When I was at *Cuzco*, making Enquiry
 concerning the *Tugas*, among the Prime Men, I was told
 that *Paul Tayo*, and other Great Ones said, That if all
 the Treasure that was about the Provinces, and *Guacas*,
 which are their Temples, and in their Graves were ga-
 ther'd, all the *Spaniards* had carried away wou'd be no
 more miss'd, than if one single Drop were taken out of
 a whole Vessel of Water. To make this Comparison more
 plain, and demonstrable, they fill'd a great Measure with
Indian Wheat, and taking a Handful out of it, said,
 Thus much the *Spaniards* have had; the rest is in Places,
 which we our selves know not. Thus we see what prodigi-
 ous Wealth is lost in these Countries; and had not
 the *Spaniards* got what they have, it would all, or most
 of it have been dedicated to the Devil; and to their
 Temples and Graves, where they bury'd their Dead; for

Immense
 bidden
 Treasure.

these *Indians* made no other use of it, as not paying their *Soldiers*, or purchasing Lands with it, nor did they desire any more than to be adorn'd whilst living, and to carry it along with them, when they dy'd.

Brave
Indians.

These *Indians* and their Wives went naked, like their Neighbours, and were much addicted to Husbandry. When sowing, or digging, they held the *Mazana*, or Instrument to break the Ground in one Hand, and the Spear in the other to fight. The Lords here were more respected than in other Parts, and their Sons, or for want of them, their Nephews Inherited. The Territories of *Picara*, which is two Leagues from this Town, that of *Paucura* being a League and a half, and that of *Carrupa* about the same Distance, had each of them three Times as many *Indians* as this, and yet they always maintain'd bloody Wars with and were dreaded by them all, and they coveted their Friendship. They went abroad in great Numbers, leaving enough at home to guard the Town, and march'd against their Enemies with Abundance of noisy Instruments, as Cornets, Drums, and Pipes; carrying strong Ropes, to bind the Prisoners, they took. When they came to the Field of Battle, both Sides gave great Shouts, and made a hideous Noise, and falling on they kill'd one another, took Prisoners, and burnt Houses. These *Indians* of *Pozo* were always the bravest in Fight, as all their Neighbours own. They are as greedy of Human Flesh, as those of *Arma*; for I one Day saw them devour above an hundred *Indian* Men and Women, they had kill'd, and taken in War.

When the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant, *Don Sebastien de Belalcazar* was reducing the Territories of *Ricuru*, and *Paucura*, which had revolted, these People of *Pozo* being with us, under their *Cacique Perequita*, they slew the *Indians* I have spoken of, beating the Bushes for them; as if they had been Hares; and 20, or 30 of them went together in Parties along the Banks of Rivers; where they drew those People from among the Rocks, and Bushes, not one of them escaping. One *Roderick Alonso*, two other Christians, and I, being in pursuit of certain *Indians*, in the Province of *Paucura*, one of the freshest colour'd and most beautiful *Indian* Women I ever saw in those Parts, happen'd to be coming towards us, we call'd to her, and as soon as she spy'd us, she turn'd away as if

IF she had seen the Devil, towards the *Indians* of *Pozo*, Bloody
Cruelty
that were with us, chusing rather to be kill'd and eaten
by them, than to fall into our Hands. One of those *In-
dians*, who were then our Confederates and Friends, and
abroad with us, before we cou'd prevent it, gave her
such a Blow on the Head, as stunn'd her; and then ano-
ther came up and cut off her Head with a Knife made of
Flint. The Woman, when she went towards them, knelt
down, and expected the Fate she met with. They im-
mediately suck'd up her Blood, and devour'd the Heart,
and Bowels raw, carrying away the Head and Quarters,
to eat at Night.

I saw two other *Indians* kill two of those of *Paucura*,
who laugh'd as heartily as if they were not the Persons
to be slain. Thus we see all these *Indians*, and their
Neighbours us'd to eat Man's Flesh, before we came a-
mong them. These of *Pozo* are very rich in Gold, and
have great Mines of that Metal near their Town, on the
Banks of *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, which runs by
it. In this Town the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant
Don Sebastian de Belalcazar, and his Lieutenant General
Francis Hernandez Giron, took the Marshal *Don George Ra-
bledo*, and cut off his Head, putting some others to Death,
at the same time, and there being no Conveniency for
carrying the Bodies to *Arma*, the *Indians* devour'd them
all, notwithstanding they were buried, and a House burnt
over them.

1571

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Province of *Picara*, and its *Caciques*, or *Lords*.

TO the Eastward of *Pozo* is the Province of *Picara*, Picara
Province.
large and populous. The Principal *Caciques* or *Lords*
there, when we discover'd it, were call'd *Picara*, *Chus-
quruqua*, *Sanguitama*, *Chambiriqua*, *Ancora*, *Auripimi*, and o-
thers of Note. Their Language, and Manners like those
of *Paucura*. This Province stretches out towards a Par-
cel of Mountains, where there are Springs of very good
and

H

and pleasant Water. The Country is rich in Gold, being Mountainous like that we are pass'd, but more populous, for all the Tops of the Hills, their Sides, the Vales, and Fields of Reeds are so well till'd, that it's pleasant to behold such fine Corn Fields. There were abundance of Fruit-trees in all Parts; but few Houses, because they burnt them in their Wars. When first we enter'd the Country, it contain'd above 12000 *Indians*, that bore Arms, and all Naked, neither Men, nor Women wearing any thing, but small Clouts to cover their Privities; in all other Particulars they resemble those already spoken of, in Eating, Drinking, and Marriages; and accordingly Bury their Lords like the other *Indians* of these Parts before mention'd; and have their Enemies Heads set on Canes before their Doors, which are dreadful to behold, for they look like Devils, with their long Hair, and Faces hideously painted. They cut Holes in the lower Part of the Canes to suck in the Air, so that when the Wind blows they make a Hellish sort of Musick.

These *Indians* like Man's Flesh as well as those of *Pora*, for when we were there the first time, with the Commander *George Robledo*, above 4000 of these Natives of *Picara* follow'd us, and so order'd it, that they kill'd, and eat at least 300 *Indians*. These People had always pointed Stakes of the Black Palm-tree, as sharp as Steel, stuck up in Pits, and dexterously cover'd over with Straw, or Grass. When the *Spaniards* and they were at War, they plac'd so many, that it was troublesome travelling about the Country, and many had them run into their Feet, and Legs. Some of them use Bows and Arrows, but not poison'd, nor do they know how to shoot them, so that they do little Harm. Slings they have, and cast Stones with them furiously. The Men are of a middle Stature, as are the Women, and some of these Handsome. Departing hence towards the City of *Carrago*, we come to the Province of *Carrapa*, which is not far distant, but populous, and wealthy.

the rest, and bury their Dead in their Houses with their Wives and Treasure as above.

When any of these *Indians* were sick, they offer'd mighty Sacrifices for their Health as they were taught by their Forefathers. The Prime Men married their Neices, and some their own Sisters; and had many Wives; and did eat the *Indians* they kill'd, like their Neighbours. When they went to War, they all wore Valuable Ornaments of Gold, great Crowns on their Heads, and massive Bracelets on their Arms, and carried rich Colours before them. I saw one they presented Captain *George Robledo*, the first time we came into their Province with him, which weigh'd 3000 and odd Pieces of eight; and at the same time they gave him a Gold Cup, worth 290, besides two Mens Burthen of this same Metal, in several sorts of Ornaments. The Standard was a long and narrow Piece of Cloth, set upon a Staff, and all cover'd with small Pieces of Gold, some like Stars, and others round.

In this Province there are Abundance of Fruit-trees; some Deer, and those they call *Guadaquinajes*, and other Game, as also several other sorts of Provisions of the Growth of the Earth, and savoury Roots. From hence we proceeded to the Territory of *Quimbaya*, in which the City *Cartago* is seated, being twenty two Leagues from the Town of *Arma*. Between these two Territories of *Carrapa* and *Quimbaya* lies a very spacious Valley, not inhabited, which belong'd to the Tyrant abovemention'd, call'd *Tyrus*, who commanded at *Carrapa*. His Predecessors and he had bloody Wars with the People of *Quimbaya*, who forc'd them from their Native Country, and they possess'd themselves of *Carrapa*. It was reported; there were wealthy Graves of great Men in it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Province of Quinbaya, and the Customs of its Caciques; and of the Founding the City Cartago, and by whom.

THE Territory of *Quinbaya* is about 15 Leagues in Length, and 10 in Breadth, from *Rio Grande*, that is, the Great River, to the Snowy Mountain of the *Andes*, all of it very populous, and not so uncooth and craggy as the last. There are spacious Fields of Canes in it, so thick, that there is no passing through them, without much Trouble, and all the Country is so full of them, that I have never seen or heard of the like in any Part of the *West-Indies*, which Nature seems to have provided, that the Natives might not be at a Loss to build their Houses. The Snowy Mountain, that is the great Ridge of the *Andes*, is seven Leagues from the Towns of this Province. On the Top of it is a fiery Irruption, which in clear Weather is seen to cast out Abundance of Smoke, and from it come down several Rivers, watering all the Country. The Chief of these are that of *Tacurumbi*, that of *Cegue*, that which runs by the City, and others too tedious to enumerate. In Winter, when they are swoln, they have Bridges over them made of Canes bound together with strong Withes, and fastned to the Trees on both Sides. Here is Plenty of Gold; for when I was in this City, in the Year 1547, above 15000 Pieces of Eight were gather'd, in 3 Months, and then the greatest *Spaniard* had not above 3, or 4 Blacks, and a few *Indians*. Some Valleys are form'd, where these Rivers run, though, as has been said, they are full of Canes, and among them Abundance of the Country Fruit-trees, and whole Woods of the Palm-trees they call *Pixiuas*.

Among these Rivers there are Springs of Salt Water, and it is wonderful to see how they rise amidst them, I shall hereafter make a particular Chapter of them, as being very remarkable. The Men proper, and well countenanced, as are the Women, and these very loving. Their

Quinbaya Province.

Burning Mountain.

Salt Springs.

Their Houses small, cover'd with the Leaves of Canes, and the Soil produces Abundance of *European* and *Indian* Plants, set by the *Spaniards*. The *Caciques* were dainty, kept many Wives, and all of them in this Province Freinds and Confederates. They us'd not to eat Man's Flesh, unless upon great Entertainments, and only the Lords were rich in Gold, having the Representations of all things they had ever seen made in that Metal, and very large Vessels of it to drink their Wine. I saw one the *Cacique Tacurumbi* gave Captain *George Robledo*, which held 3 Quarts. The same *Cacique* gave a larger and richer to *Michael Munnoz*. Their Arms are Lances, Darts, and a Sort of Slings, which they swing about, and with them cast Arrows, being scurvy Weapons. They are generally Understanding, and Discreet, and many of them great Sorcerers. At their merry Meetings they make Sports, and after smart Drinking, the Women draw up in Bodies, one on the one Side, and another on the Opposite, the Men do the like, and the Boys are not idle; for they follow their Example, and all run at one another, crying with a Tone, *Batatabati, Batatabati*, that is, Let us play, Let us play, and thus they begin the Game casting Sticks, and Darts, and it ends in many Wounds, and the Death of some. They make great Targets of their Hair, and carry them to the Wars.

Bloody
sports.

These were an obstinate People, and hard to be subdu'd, till the old *Caciques* were executed, tho' I know not with how much Justice some of them suffer'd; since all the Quarrel was about taking away their Gold, and other things, we shall speak of in their Place. When they went abroad to their Solemnities and Festivals, they all met, and two of them play'd upon Drums; then another led up the Dance, and all the rest follow'd, every one carrying a Vessel of Liquor in his Hand; for they Drink, Sing, and Dance at the same time. In their Songs they recount their present Sufferings, and the Actions of their Forefathers. For Religion they have none, but converse with the Devil, like the rest.

Dancing.

When sick, they us'd frequent bathing, and said they then saw frightful Visions and since I am upon this Subject, I will here relate what happen'd in this Province of

Quinaga,

rit, and for want of them the Nephews by a Sister. These *Indians* of *Quimbaya* were not originally of this Country; but came into it long since, destroying all the Natives, who it is likely were numerous, as appears by the Quantity of till'd Land; for all those which are now Fields of Canes do seem to have been formerly till'd, and inhabited, and so do those Parts that are Wooded, where some Trees are as thick as two Oxen, and others more, which makes me conclude it is very long since these *Indians* came to inhabit here. The Air of the Country is very healthy, and the *Spaniards* live long, and free from Diseases, nor is there much Heat, or Cold.

CHAP. XXV.

Continues the same Subject as the last, concerning the City Cartago, and its Foundation; and of the Creature call'd Chucha.

Bees and Honey.

THESE Fields of Canes, I have spoken of, are so thick, that unless a Man be very well acquainted with the Country, he will be lost in them, and never find his Way out; and among them there are many of those Trees they call *Ceybas*, very thick and spreading, besides several other Sorts of Trees I cannot mention, as not knowing their Names. There are vast Cavities in some of them, where Bees breed, and when they have made their Combs, there is as good Honey taken from them, as any in *Spain*. There is one Sort of Bees, that are little bigger than Gaats, close to the opening of the Comb, after it is well put together, there sticks out a little hollow Pipe, or Fistula, like Wax, and about the Length of half a Finger, thro which these Bees pass to work, loaded with what they have gather'd from the Flowers. The Honey of these Bees is very thin and a little tart, and each Hive yields somewhat under a Pint of it. There is another Sort of them, a Degree larger, and black, the others being white. The Way these have to get into the Tree is made of Wax, with some

that the Inhabitants need not fear it should be taken from them; and the Reason is, because no Man can see it, till he comes up to the very Houses. The Founder was the same Captain *George Robledo*, who built the rest already mention'd; in the Year 1542. The Name of *Carthago*, or *Carthagena*, was given it, because most of the Conquerors and Discoverers that were with Captain *Robledo* at that Time, came from *Cartagina*.

Now I am come to this City of *Carthago*, I will proceed, to give an Account of the great and spacious Vale, in which the City *Calì* is seated, and that of *Popayan*, the way, to which is through Fields of Canes, till we come out to a Plain, that is cross'd by a great River, call'd *de la Virgen*; that is, of the Old Woman, being four Leagues from the City, and troublesome enough to pass in Winter. Next we came to *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, a League from it, and having cross'd it on Floats, or in Canoos, the two Roads join in one, that is, those from *Cartagina*, and from *Anserina*. From the last of them to the City *Calì* is 50 Leagues; and from the first little above 45.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Districts, or Territories in this large and delightful Vale, till we come to the City Calì.

Vale of
Calì.

THIS Vale begins to spread it self from the City of *Popayan*, among the Ridges of Mountains I have mention'd, being 12 Leagues over, in some Places more, and, in others, less, contracting so much at Times, and so confining the River which runs through it, that there is no Possibility of going on it in Beats, Floats, or any other way, for the Stream is so Furiously Rapid, and there are so many Rocks and Whirlpools, that they sink all that is on it, and many *Spaniards* and *Indians*, with Goods of much Value have been cast away, without being able to reach the Shore. All this Vale from the City

Monstrous Prices. Don Sebastian de Balazar, recdver'd out of the Goods of the Marshall Don George Robleda, who was the Buyer; and I saw that same Sow eaten one Day, at an Entertainment made, presently after we came to the City Cali, with Vellido. John Pacheco, one of the Conquerors, who is now in Spain, gave 225 Pieces of Eight for a Pig, and Knives were sold for 15 Pieces of Eight each. I heard Jerome Leitis Texelo say, that when he went with Captain Michael Munoz, upon the Expedition they call *de la Pieja*, he gave thirty Pieces of Eight for a Packing Needle, to make a Pair of Packthread Buskins, and I my self have given Eight Pieces of Eight in Gold for a Pair of those Buskins; and a single Sheet of Paper was sold at Cali for thirty Pieces of Eight.

Much more might be said here to the Honour of our Spaniards, for they value Money no more than Dirt, when they want any thing. They gave an hundred Pieces of Eight and more for Pigs in the Sows Belly, before they were farrow'd. I will not go about to argue, whether they were to be commended, who bought at these Rates, that there might be an Increase; but the Reader may observe how much was discover'd, and inhabited from the Year 1527 to 1547. This will make all Men sensible of the Honour that is due to the Discoverers and Conquerors, who have labour'd so much in these Parts; and how reasonable it is, that his Majesty should reward those who have undergone such Fatigues, and serv'd him Loyally, without treating the Indians barbarously; for those who have been guilty of it, in my Opinion, rather deserv'd to be punish'd than prefer'd. At the time when this Province was discovering, they bought Horses at 3 and 4000 Pieces of Eight, and there are some to this Day, that have not been able to discharge those old Debts, and tho' their Bodies are full of Scars, and worn out with long Service, their Creditors throw them into Goal upon that Score.

Beyond the Mountains lies the great Vale abovemention'd, where the Town of Nyon stood, and to the Westward of it, there are Greater and more Populous Towns on the Hills, for I have already shewn how those in the Plains came to fail. The Mountain Towns reach to the Coast of the South Sea, and run on Southward. Their Houses

Houses are like those I mention'd at *Tarabe*, built upon large Trees, rais'd like upper Stories, in which many Inhabitants live. The Soil is very fertile, and abounds in *Swine*, *Damas*, and other wild Beasts, and Birds, as Peacocks, Parrots, Guacamayas, and Pheasants; and there is plenty of Fish. The Rivers we may safely affirm are extraordinary rich in Gold. Not far off runs the great River *Darien*, much spoken of, on account of the City that stood upon it. Most of these Nations eat Man's Flesh. Some of them have Bows and Arrows, and others the Clubs or *Mazajas* abovemention'd, as also long Spears and Darts.

Houses on Trees.

Another Province lies above this Vale to the Northward, bordering on that of *Anzerma*, the Natives whereof are call'd *Chincoas* a People so large, that they look like Giants, broad back'd, strong, very long visag'd, and broad headed; for in this Province, in that of *Quimbaya*, and other Parts of *India*, as I shall observe hereafter, they shape the Child's Head, when first it is born, as they please, so that some have no Nape of the Neck, others the Forehead sunk, and others very long; which they do with little Boards when they are just born, and afterwards with Ligatures. Their Women are as lusty as themselves, and both of them go naked and barefoot; wearing nothing but *Mauros* or Aprons to cover their Privities, and those not of Cotton, but taken from the Barks of Trees, and made very thin and soft, a Yard long, and two Spans broad. In Fight they use large Spears and Darts, sometimes going out of their Country, to invade their Neighbours of *Anzerma*. When the Marshal *Robledo* came to *Carrago*, the last time, to be receiv'd as Lieutenant to the Judge *Michael Diaz Armendariz*, he sent a Party of *Spaniards* to secure the Road that leads from *Anzerma* to the City of *Cali*; who there found some of those *Indians*, that were coming down to kill a Christian, as he was driving Goats to *Cali*. They slew one or two of those *Indians*, and were amaz'd to see their Bulk. Along the Hills coming down from the Mountain, which lies to the Westward, and in the Vales they form, there are great Towns, and abundance of *Indians*, reaching near to the City of *Cali*, and bordering on those of the *Barbacoas*. Their Villages lie scatter'd along the Hills, the Houses

Chincoas People.

for standing together, ten or fifteen in a Place, sometimes more and sometimes fewer. These Indians were call'd *Gorrones*, because when the Spaniards settled in the Vale, belonging to the City of *Cali*, they us'd to come loaded with Fish, crying *Gorron, Gorron*, for so they call Fish, and our People not knowing any peculiar Name they had, call'd them *Gorrones*, from the said Fish, as they gave the Name *Azcerna*, above mention'd, from the Salt, which the Indians call *Aizer*. The Houses of these Natives, are large, round, and cover'd with Straw.

They have very few Fruit-trees, and much low Gold, not above 4 or 5 Carats fine, but very little higher. Thro' their Villages run some Rivers of good Water. Within their Doors they kept abundance of the Hands and Feet of Indians they had slain, by way of Grandeur, and that nothing might be lost, they stuffed the Guts with Flesh or Ashes, some like Black Puddings, and others like Sausages, whereof they had great Store; and so they kept the Heads set up, and several Quarters. When we came to these Dwellings, with the Licentiate *John de Vadillo*, a Black belonging to *John de Céspedes*, seeing these Guts, and supposing them to be Sausages, ran to take some of them to eat, and had done it, but that they were so very dry with the Smoak and Length of Time. Without the Houses there is an incredible Quantity of Heads, Legs, Arms, and other Parts of the Body set up in Order. Had I not seen this, and known there were many in Spain that cou'd justify it, as well as my self, I shou'd not venture to write that these People were guilty of murdering so many Men to eat; but we know these *Gorrones* are mighty Cannibals. They had no Idols nor any particular Place of Worship, but such as were appointed for it, convers'd with the Devil. Our Priests and Clergy-men durst not go to preach and teach among them, for fear of being eaten, till they were subdu'd.

These Indians are two, three, and four Leagues from the great Valley and River, and others more; and at times they come down to fish in the Lakes and *Rio Grande*, whence they return loaded with what they take. They are small of Body, and aust for Labour, and wear no other Garment, but only the *Awaw* or Aprons, I have said above

of Men's
Guts.

Habit.

are

are us'd by other *Indians*; yet the Women are all wrapp'd
up in great Cotton Blankets. The Dead of Note, are roll'd
up in several of those Blankets, which are 3 Yards long,
and 2 in Breadth. When they are thus wrapp'd up, they
bind them about with a Cord, made of 3 Strands, aboye
200 Fathom long; having plac'd some Gold Ornaments
among the Blankets. Others are buried in deep Graves.
This Province is within the District, and under the Go-
vernment of the City of *Cali*.

Near them, and in the Bottom made by the River,
stands a Town, not very great at present, because the In-
habitants, who were once numerous, have been consumed
the Wars. There is a great Lake by this Town, which
fills when the River is flooded, and hases Drains, when
falls. In this Lake they take an infinite Quantity of
Fish, which they give to Travellers, and trade with it to
the Cities of *Cutago* and *Cali*, and other Places. Besides
what they eat and give away, they have great Stores of it
to sell on the Mountains, and large Pans of Oil they draw
from the Fish. When we were upon Discovery with the
Licentiate *John de Villalba*, we came to this Town in great
Want, and found some Fish, and afterwards, when we
went with Capt. *Roldo* to build the Town of *America*,
there was as much as wou'd have loaded two Ships. This
Province of the *Garrano* abounds in *Indian* Wheat and
other Necessaries, and has great Numbers of Deer, *Guinea*
quises, and other wild Beasts and Birds. Tho' the great
Vale of *Cali* is very fruitful, there are large Fields left in
common, and only serve for the Deer and other Creatures
to graze, because there are not People enough to possess
such spacious Plains.

Fish plenty-
ful.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Situation of the City of Cali, and of the Indians in its Districts, and who was the Founder of it.

Rio Frio,
Cold River.

TO come to the City *Cali*, we must cross a small River, call'd *Frio* or Cold, hid among Woods and Forests. The Way to it is down a Hill, above 3 Leagues in Descent. The River runs swift and cold, as coming from the Mountains, whence it glides across part of this Vale, and loses its Name in *Rio Grande*. Beyond this River the Road is along vast Plains, where there are abundance of small Deer, but very fleet. In these Plains the *Spaniards* have their Settlements or Farms, where their Servants reside to look to their Estates. The *Indians* come to sow and reap the *Indian* Corn, belonging to the Towns, which grows on the Hills. Near these Plantations are many curious Trenches or Cuts that serve to water the Corn Fields, besides which there are some small Rivers of very good Water. Along the said Rivers and Trenches are planted abundance of Orange, Lime, Lemmon, Pomgranate, and Plantain Trees, and mighty Fields of Sugar-Canes; besides all which there are Pine Apples, *Guayavas*, *Guayus*, *Guanabanus*, *Paltas*, and a sort of little Grapes that have a hard Rind over them and are well tasted; also *Caymotes*, Plumbs, great Store of other Sorts of excellent Fruit in their Season, *Spanish* Melons, Plenty of *European* and *Indian* Herbs and Grain. Our Wheat does not grow as yet, but they say it will thrive in the Vale of *Lila*, which is 3 Leagues from the City. Vines have not been planted, but the Country is like to produce them as well as *Spain*.

The City is seated a League from *Rio Grande*, or the *Cali* City. Great River afore said, upon a small one of excellent Water, coming down from the Mountains above it. The Banks are all delightful Orchards, always full of the Greens and Fruit already mention'd. The Town stands on a flat Spot, and were it not for the excessive Heat, it

Mens Skins
stuffed.

Near to this Vale was a Town, belonging to a *Cacique* call'd *Petecuy*, who was the powerfullst of all his Neighbours, and most respected. In the midst of this Town was a great, lofty round wooden House with a Door in the middle, and had four Windows above to give Light, and the Covering of Straw. Just within it, on high was a long Board, reaching from the one side to the other; and on it lay in Order many Bodies of dead Men, of those they had conquer'd and taken in War, all of them ripp'd open, which they did with Knives made of Flint, and flaid them, and after eating the Flesh fill'd the Skins with Ashes, and made Wax Faces to their own Sculs, and laid them on the Board in such manner, that they look'd like Men alive. Some of them had Darts, others Spears, and other *Mazanas*, or Wooden Swords in their Hands. Besides these Bodies, there were Abundance of Hands and Feet hung up about this great Cottage or House, and in another hard by it there lay such a great Number of dead Carcases, Heads, and Bones, that it was hideous to behold, considering they had been all slain by their Neighbours, and eaten, as if they had been wild Beasts, which they glory'd in, and look'd upon it as a great Piece of Bravery, saying, they learnt it from their Parents and Forefathers. Thus not satisfy'd with Natural Food, they made their Bellies insatiable Graves to one another; but now they eat no more of this Food, - being become Christians.

Tropheys

I ask'd an *Indian*, of a Town call'd *Uenche* in this Province, what was the Reason they kept such a Multitude of dead Bodies there? Who answer'd me, it was for the Grandeur of the Lord of that Valley, who would not only have the *Indians* he had kill'd preserv'd in his Presence, but order'd their very Weapons to be hung upon the Beams of the Houses, as a Memorial; and that very often, When the People within were all asleep at Night, the Devil enter'd into those Bodies which were full of Ashes, and frighted the Natives with such dreadful Apparitions, that some of them died for Fear.

Most of those dead *Indians* the Lord of this Valley kept as Tropheys aforesaid, were of the great and spacious Valley of the City *Calli*; for as I had before, it was divided into large Districts, full of thousands of *Indians*, and they were

Timbas
Province.

Beyond these Provinces, towards the South Sea is one they call *los Timbas*, where there are three or four Lords, and it lies among great and uncouth Mountains and Woods, forming several Vales, where they have their Villages and Houses scatter'd abroad, and the Fields well till'd, and full of Provisions, and Fruit-Trees, as Palms &c. Their Weapons are Spears and Darts. They were troublesome to subdue, because of the difficult Access to them, and their own Bravery, so that they kill'd many *Spaniards*, and did much Harm. Their Manners are the same as before, and their Language differs very little. Farther on there are other Towns and Territories reaching down to the Sea, all using the same Language and Customs.

CHAP. XXIX.

*Concludes what more is relating to the City of Cali;
and of other Indians on the Mountain near the Port
call'd La Buena Ventura.*

Mountain
Indians.

BESIDES those already mention'd, there are many more *Indians* subject to the City of *Cali*, who live in wild Woods, on the most uncouth Mountains in the World; some on the Ridges, and others in the Vales they form; and tho' so difficult of Access, and thick of Trees, the Country is very fertil, and abounds in Provisions and all sorts of Fruit more than the Plains. There are every where very fierce Beasts, particularly large Tigers, who have kill'd many *Spaniards* and *Indians* going down to the Sea, or coming thence to the City. The Houses are somewhat small, cover'd with Palm-Tree Leaves, whereof there is great Store, and enclos'd with thick and long Stakes, like a Wall, which is a Fence in the Night, against the Tigers. Their Weapons, Habit, Manners, and Language, shew them to be the same with the People of the Vale of *Lila*, and they are brawny strong Men. They have ever continued peaceable since they submitted to his Majesty, and strictly ally'd to the *Spaniards*, never offering to hurt
any

ay of those many that continually travel through their
 Towns, but give them Meat, as soon as they come. Buena Ventura Port.

The Port of Buena Ventura, is three Days Journey from
 these Indian Towns, all Mountain Way, full of Briars and
 Palm-Trees, and very Boggy ; and it is 30 Leagues from
 the City Cali, without the Support of whose Inhabitants,
 it cannot subsist. I make no particular Chapter of this Port,
 because there is nothing to be said of it, but that the Town
 was founded by John Ladrillo, who discover'd the River,
 under the Direction of the Adelantado, or Lord Lieutenant
 Don Pasqual de Andagoya, and was like afterwards to be
 abandon'd upon the Absence of the said Andagoya, who
 was taken and sent Prisoner into Spain, on account of the
 Differences and Turmoils there were between them, con-
 cerning the Bobads of their Governments. Then the Coun-
 cil, and Governor of Cali order'd, six or seven Inhabitants
 should always reside at the Port, that when the Ships ar-
 rive there from Tierra firme, New Spain, and Nicaragua;
 they may land their Goods in Safety, and have Houses to
 put them into, which has been accordingly continu'd,
 and those who reside there, are paid by the Merchants,
 and among them is a Commander, who has no Power to
 judge, but to hear Causes, and refer the Decision to the
 Justices of the City Cali. And thus much I think may
 suffice, concerning this Port of Buena Ventura. There is no
 Way of carrying the Goods landed at this Port, to the
 City of Cali, which supplies all the Government, but on
 the Backs of the Mountain Indians, who take it as their
 usual Labour, and there is no doing it otherwise, for I do
 not think it possible to make Roads for Gangs of Horses
 or Mules, by reason of the uncountness of the Moun-
 tains, and tho' there is another Way by the River Dagua,
 along which they bring Cattel and Horses, they go in
 great Danger, and many of them die, the rest that come
 safe being a long time before they are fit for Service.
 When any Ship arrives, the Caciques presently send as ma-
 ny Indians as each Town can spare, and they climb with
 Burthens of three Quarters of an hundred and more, some-
 times upon all four, and sometimes holding by Ropes made
 of Withes, in great Danger of tumbling down headlong ;
 and some of them carry a Man or a Woman, tho' of great
 Weight

Indians
 carrying
 Burthens.

Weight, in a little Chair, made of the Barks of Trees. Thus they travel with their Burthens, without seeming to be tir'd or over fatigu'd, and were they allow'd any Pay, they wou'd go merrily home, but the Proprietors take all they earn; however they that do this pay very little Acknowledgment any other Way; and tho' they say, they are very willing to go and come, their Toil is excessive. When they enter the Plains drawing near the City *Cali*, they are spent and go in great Pain. I have heard the *Indians* of *New Spain* much commended for carrying great Burthens, but have been amaz'd at these, nor wou'd I have believ'd or asserted it, had I not seen it, and gone over the Mountains where their Towns are.

St. John's
River.

Beyond these *Indians*, there are other Nations, among whom runs the wonderful rich River of *St. John*, whose Banks are very Populous, and the Houses were built upon Trees; besides other Rivers encompass'd by *Indians* rich in Gold, who could not at first be conquer'd, by reason of the said Rivers and Mountains, but have been all since subdu'd. Their Houses or Huts were very large, each of them containing 20 or 30 Inhabitants. Among these Rivers was founded a Spanish Town, of which I shall say no more, because it did not stand long, and the Natives kill'd one *Payo Romero*, who resided there as Lieutenant to the *Adelantado Andagoya*, who had a Grant of all those Rivers from the King, and call'd himself Governor of the River of *St. John*. The *Indians* fraudulently drew out *Payo Romero* and other *Spaniards* in Canoos to a River, pretending they wou'd give them much Gold, and there so many Natives came upon them, that they slew all the said *Spaniards*, and carry'd away *Romero* alive, as was afterwards reported, putting him to exquisite Torments, and tearing his Body Limb-meal. Besides they took two or three Women alive, whom they much abus'd; but some Christians by good Fortune, and their Valour escap'd. No Town was afterwards built there, nor is it likely there will, by reason of the Badness of the Country. To proceed, for I will not be tedious, nor write any more than makes for my Purpose. I will now give an Account of what is between the City of *Cali* and that of *Pagayan*.

C H A P. XXX.

Of the Way from the City Cali, to that of Popayan, and the Indian Towns there are along it.

FROM the City of Cali, last mention'd, to that of Popayan, there are 22 Leagues, all good open way, without any Woods, tho' there are some Hills, and Ascents, but not so difficult, or craggy, as those we have pass'd. Leaving the City Cali, the way is along open Fields and Plains, with some Rivers in them, till we come to one not very large, call'd *Xamundi*, over which there is always a Bridge of the great Canes, as above describ'd, and whosoever has a Horse puts him over the Ford, and goes safe. About the Source of this River there are Indians, that stretch out three, or four Leagues to a Place call'd *Xamundi*, like the River, which Name they both had from a Cacique so call'd. These Indians Traded with those of the Province of the *Timbas*, and had much Gold, a great Quantity whereof they have given to their Proprietors. Beyond this River, still on the way to Popayan, and 5 Leagues from it, is the great River of *Santa Marta*, to pass which in Safety there are always Canoes, and Floats, in which the Neighbouring Indians ferry over such as travel to and fro between the two Cities.

Xamundi River.

This River up towards the City of Cali had formerly great populous Towns, the People whereof have been consum'd by Time, and by the War made on them by the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Belalcazar*, who was the first that discover'd, and Conquer'd them; tho' the chief Reason of their being so soon lost, is their own, cursed Custom of devouring one another. Some few of them still remain, on both Sides of the River, and are call'd *Aguales*, being subject to the City Cali; but there are Abundance of Indians along both the Ridges of Mountains; who could not be at first subdu'd by reason of the Difficulty of Access, and the Troubles in Peru; yet the indefatigable Spaniards afterwards found, and often defeated them. They all went naked, and had the same Customs as their Neighbours.

Aguales Indians.

bours. Beyond *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, which is 14 Leagues from the City *Popayan*, there is a Boy to pass, being a quarter of a League over, and after that the Road is very good, till we come to a River, call'd *de las Ovejas*, or of the Sheep, or Ewes, dangerous to cross in Winter, as being very deep, and the Ford of it near to its Conflux with the Great River, where many *Spaniards* and *Indians* have been drown'd. Then the Road is along a Ridge of Hills, which holds six Leagues very plain, and good travelling, and at the End of it, a River call'd *Piandamo* is to be cross'd. The Banks of this River and all that Ridge, was once very Populous; those who have escap'd the Havock of the Wars, withdrew from the Road, where they thought themselves safe.

Guambia Province. To the Eastward lyes the Province of *Guambia*, besides many other Towns and *Caciques*, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Beyond this River of *Piandamo*, is another River call'd *Plaza*, all along peop'd on both Sides, from its Source; and farther on Travellers ford *Rio Grande*, or the great River, above mention'd, for it is not above half a Fathom deep. On the other Side of the River, all the Country between it and *Popayan* is full of many curious Plantations, or Farms, where the *Spaniards* keep Sheep, and the Fields are sow'd with *Indian* and *European* Wheat, which last thrives well, the Soil being proper for it. In other Parts of the Kingdom the *Indian* Wheat is ripe in four, or five Months, so that they sow twice a Year, tho' in this Place but once; where the *Indian* Corn is reap'd in *May* and *June*, and the *European* Wheat in *July* and *August*, as in *Spain*. All these Plains and Vales were once very populous, and subdu'd by the Lord call'd *Popayan*, who was one of the greatest Men in those Parts. At present there are but few *Indians*, because during their Wars with the *Spaniards*, they devour'd one another, forbearing to sow, that the *Spaniards* might leave their Country, for want of Provisions. There is great Store of Fruit Trees, and particularly of *Aguacates*, or Pears, which are very pleasant to eat. The Rivers rising on the Mountains *Andes* come down and cross these Plains, and Vales, their Water is very sweet, and Gold has been found in some of them.

The

Mighty
Rivers in
America.

that is about 7 Leagues and this was the greatest River known before the Discovery of the *West Indies*, where some have been found of such Prodigious Magnitude, that they look more like large Bays form'd by the *Sea*, than Rivers running down from the Land. This appears by what several *Spaniards*, who went with the *Adelantado Orillana* affirm, telling us, that the River, on which he went down out of *Peru* into the North Sea, commonly call'd of the *Amazons*, is above 1000 Leagues in length, and above 25 over, in some Places. The River of Plate is so wide that those who have sail'd on it say, the Shores on both Sides cannot be seen from the middle, towards the Mouth, and 8 Leagues is a very common Breadth in many Parts of it. The River of *Darien* is very large, and that of *Uraba* no less, besides which there are many other extraordinary Rivers, and among them this of *Santa Marta*.

Santa
Marta Ri-
ver.

It is form'd of two Branches, the one of them has its Rise among certain *Indians* they call *Cocconucos*, not far from another Town nam'd *Cotara*, lying in the Vales form'd by the Mountains *Andes*, 5, or 6 Leagues above the City *Popayan*, which in former Times were very Populous, and are so still, tho' not so much as then. The two Branches have their Springs above 40 Leagues asunder, and when they join, the River is above a League over, and above 7 where it falls into the North Sea, near the City of *Santa Marta*, its Rapidity being proportionable to the Greatness, and no less the Noise it makes in meeting with the Ocean where it's run is so violent as not to mix with the Salt Water in four Leagues, so that Ships take it up fresh at a great Distance from the Land, from which it departs through several Mouths. From the Mountains of the *Cocconucos*, where I said this Branch has its Source, it comes down like a small Stream, and spreads along the spacious Vale of *Cali*, receiving all the Waters descending from the Hills on both Sides, and when it comes to the City *Cali*, I believe rous as much Water as the *Guadalquivir* does at *Sevil*. Several other Rivers, and Brooks, being again lost in it lower, the Stream is much greater at *Barrica*, which is near the City *Antiocha*. There are so many *Indian* Provinces, and Towns between.

ween the Source of this River, and its Mouth, and such immense Wealth of Gold Mines, and of what the *Indians* had and still have, as also so great a Trade for it, that it seems incredible; which is still the less because the Natives of those Parts are for the most Part a senseless People. Their Languages are so different, that it would require several Interpreters to travel among them, through the Province of *Santa Marta*, the principal Part of *Cartagena*, the New Kingdom of *Granada*, and this Government of *Popayan*. All the Wealth of these Countries lies near this River, and there is Abundance of Gold between the two Branches of it. The *Adelantado*, or Lord-Lieutenant *Don Pedro de Heredia* passed over the Bridge of *Brehuco*, made there by the *Indians*, notwithstanding the Width of the River, with strong Ropes of Withes fastned to mighty Trees, as has been describ'd above. He travell'd some Days Journey in that Country, and return'd because he had but few Men and Horses. [All that Part is since entirely discover'd and subdu'd.] To return to the River of *Santa Marta*, when the two Branches join, they form several Islands, some of them inhabited. Near the Sea there are many fierce Alligators, and other large Fishes, and *Manaties* as big as Calfs and much of the same Shape, which are bred along the Shores, and in the Islands, and go out to Graze when there is no Danger near, whence they return into the Water. About 120 Leagues below the City of *Anillocha* is the City of *Mopox*, belonging to the Government of *Cartagena* where they call this River *Canca*. From its Springs to the Sea its length is above 400 Leagues.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the rest of the Towns, and Caciques Subject to the City of Popayan, and what else occurs within its Jurisdiction.

Provinces
of Guam-
bia Malu-
afa, &c.

Under this City of *Popayan* are several spacious Territories, with many large Towns in them; for to the Eastward, as has been said, is the populous Province of *Guambia*, then the Townships of *Maluafa*, *Polindara*, *Tembia* and *Colaza*, and many others near about, all of them well peopl'd. The *Indians* here have much low Gold, about 7 Carats fine; some more and some less. They had also some fine Gold they made Ornaments of, but it was a small Quantity to the low. They were Warlike, and as great Man eaters as those of *Arma*, *Pozo*, *Antiocha*, &c. These People being void of all Religion, had no regard to their Way of Living; tho' they wanted not cunning enough for their own Advantage, and sought to destroy one another by their Wars, which they also maintain'd obstinately with the *Spaniards*, and would not enjoy Peace after they were Conquer'd, but starv'd themselves to Death, in Hopes that the *Spaniards* would be oblig'd to abandon the Country for want, which they manfully endur'd, whilst many thousands of the *Natives* perish'd, after having devour'd one another.

Coconu-
cos Indi-
-ans.

Towards the Snowy Mountains, or *Andes* there are several Valleys full of the *Indians* already mention'd, call'd *Coconucos*, where the great River rises, These have all the same Manners as those before spoken of, and Eat Mans Flesh. Along the Ridge of the Mountain, there are many Fiery Eruptions, and from one of them gushes hot Water, wherof they make Salt, and the manner of doing it is worth knowing, of which and other strange Springs there are in these Parts, I will treat, after delivering all that relates to the Town of *Pasto*. Near these *Indians* is another Township call'd *Cotara*, and farther on Southward the Province of *Guanaca*; and again to the Eastward

Cotara
Guanaca
and Paez
Townships.

Habit.

They conversed with the Devil, and did many things as directed by him. As to the Immortality they had no perfect Knowledge of it; but believ'd their Ancestors came to Life again; and some held, as I was inform'd by them, that the Souls of those that dye, enter'd into the Bodies of those that are born. Their Burials were, as has been describ'd before, in deep Graves, with some of their Wives and Wealth. In some Places they burnt their great Men to Ashes; in others only roasted their Bodies, till they were quite dry. These Provinces produce the same Sorts of Fruit, and Provisions, as the others above mention'd, except only that Sort of Palm-Trees call'd *Pixibacs*, but they have great Stores of *Papas*, which are like large Pig-Nuts. The Men went barefoot and Naked, bating only small Pieces of Cloth wrapp'd about them, and Ornaments of Gold. The Women are cover'd with Cotton Blankets, and about their Necks wear curious and slightly Collers of fine and low Gold, made like little Flies. I omit their Marriages and other matters of less moment, as Trivial. Some of the People are very Superstitious, and great Sorcerers. They did all of them eat Man's Flesh. There are many good and noxious Plants in those Parts. The Country about this City, was the most Populous near Peru, and had it been subdu'd by the *Incas* all Men believe it would have been the best and Wealthiest.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Of the Country between Popayan, and the City of Pasto; who was the Founder of it, and what is worth Observing of the Neighbouring Indians.

Patia
Vale.

FROM the City of Popayan to that of Pasto is 40 Leagues, Part through these Nations already mention'd; after leaving the which behind, on the same Road, we come to an Indian Town, formerly large, and very populous, as it was when first discover'd by the Spaniards, and still continues. The Vale of *Patia*, through which the River

River above spoken of runs, grows more narrow at this Town, and the *Indians* have all their Dwellings on the West Side, upon great and lofty Craggs. This Place the *Spaniards* call *el Pueblo de la Sal*, or the Town of Salt; Pueblo de la Sal. The Inhabitants whereof are very rich, and have paid Great Duties in Gold to their Lords Proprietors. They differ'd not from those already spoken of in Manners, Habit, or Weapons, saving that they did not eat Man's Flesh, and were more rational. They have plenty of delicious Pine Apples, and trade with the Province of *Chaponchira*, and others adjoining.

Beyond this Town is the Province of the *Masteles*, Masteles &c. containing about 4000 *Indians* able to bear Arms. Adjoining to it, is that call'd *de los Abades*, and the Townships of *Tsancal*, *Pangan*, *Zaquonpu*, *Chorros del Agua*, *Pichilumbuy*, *Tuyles*, *Angayan*, *Pagual*, *Chuchaldo*, and others. Up the Country Westward, there are very populous Nations, that have rich Mines and extend to the South Sea. Other Territories Neighbouring upon these are *Asqual*, *Mallama*, *Tururres*, *Zapuy*, *Iles*, *Gualmasah*, *Fumes*, *Chapal*, *Males*, *Piales*, *Pupiales*, *Turca*, and *Cumba*. All these Nations were call'd *Pastos*, and from them the Town of *Pasto* took Name, because seated among them. Towards the East of these are other *Indians* call'd *Quillaengas*, very Numerous, the Names of the chiefest of their Towns are *Micondino*, *Bendenino*, *Buyzaco*, *Guanzanagua*, *Micoxondague*, *Guananiquay*, and *Macaxanaga*; and still more Eastward is another large and very fertile Province nam'd *Cibundo*, as also another call'd *Pastoco*, and another near a Lake, standing on the very Top of the Ridge of all that Chain of Mountains, the Water whereof is excessive cold, and tho' above 8 Leagues long, and 4 in Breadth, no Fish nor Fowl breed, or live in it, nor does the Land there produce any *Indian* Wheat, or Trees. Not far from this Lake there is another of the same Nature, and beyond them there appear long and mighty Mountains. Country of Pastos.

There are other Towns, and Lordships, within the Territory of this Town of *Pasto*, which I think superfluous to mention, having Nam'd the chiefest, and to conclude, it has more Native *Indians* subject to it, than any other Town, or City in the whole Government of *Popayan*, and

Manners
of the Quil-
lacingas.

and even more than *Quito*, or other Towns of *Peru*. No doubt but it was formerly much more populous, for it is wonderful to behold, that tho' it is of a great Extent, containing many Plains, Rivers, and high Mountains, still there is no part, be it never so uncooth and craggy, but what appears to have been till'd and inhabited, and even when the *Spaniards* Discover'd and Conquer'd it, the People were very Numerous. The *Quillacingas* and *Pastos* differ'd in Manners, for the *Pastos* did not eat Man's Flesh, when they had War with the *Spaniards*, or with the other Natives. The Weapons they us'd were Stones thrown with their Hands, Staves like Shepherds Hooks, and some few of them had misshapen Spears. They are Men of little Courage. The best Sort among them take some Care of themselves, the rest are ill look'd, both they and their Wives, all of them nasty, but simple, and free from Malice. These and all the others we have pass'd by, are so far from being nice, or squeamish, that when they louse themselves, they eat the Vermin, and a very little washing serves the Pots they dress their Meat in, and the Dishes on which they eat it. They had nothing of Religion, nor have any Idols been seen among them, only they believ'd, that after they were dead they should come to life again, in other pleasant and delightful Regions. Some Secrets there are so Religiously kept among these *Indian* Nations, that they are only known to God and themselves. As to their Habit, the Women wore a narrow Cloth, like a Bag, which cover'd them from their Breasts to the Knees, and another small one upwards, which fell over that long one, and most of them were made of Grass, or of the Films of Trees, and some few of Cotton. The Men also cover'd themselves with a long Blanket of three or four Yards, which they wrapp'd once about the Waist, then about the Neck, and the End that remain'd they put over their Heads and over their Privities they wore small *Maures*, or Aprons. The *Quillacingas* us'd Aprons before, to hide their Privities, like the *Pastos*, and then they put on a broad Cotton Cloth, sow'd together, and open on the Sides. The Women wore little Blankets to cover their Bodies, and other small ones hanging over their Backs and Breasts, stitch'd together
the

Habit.

the neck. They convers'd with the Devil, and had neither Place of Worship, nor Religion. The dead were bury'd as in other Places above mention'd, with only this Addition here, when they were *Caciques*, as I have been inform'd, that the Neighbouring great Men, sent every one two or three Women, who being conducted to the Place of Burial, were made drunk with their Liquor of *Indian* Wheat, and then put into the Grave, to bear the Deceas'd Company; so that none of these *Barbarians* dy'd, but he carry'd along with him 20 Persons, or more; besides which they bury'd with them great Pitchers of their Liquor, and other Provisions. When I travell'd through the Country of these *Indians*, I enquir'd very particularly concerning what I write, asking them, why they practis'd so inhuman a Custom, as to get Women from their Neighbours, to bury with the Dead, besides their own; and was told, That the Devil appear'd to them in a dreadful Form, and said they should come to Life again in a mighty Kingdom he had provided for them; and therefore they put those Men and Women into the Graves, that they might go in more State.

Throughout all the Lands of these *Pastos* very little *Indian* Wheat grows, but there are great Breeds of Cattle, and especially Swine. There is Plenty of Barley *Papas* and *Xiquimas*, very pleasant *Granadillas*, and other Sorts of Fruit already mention'd. Among the *Quillacingas* there is much *Indian* Wheat, and they have the same Sorts of Fruit as the others; excepting only about the Lake where there are no Trees, nor any *Indian* Wheat, by Reason the Country is so cold as has been said. These *Quillacingas* are Robust, Warlike, and somewhat Turbulent. There are among them many Rivers of good Water, and yeilding much Gold. One of these runs between *Popayan* and *Pasto*, call'd *Rio Caliente*, or the hot River, which is very dangerous, and troublesome to cross in Winter, there being great Ropes, or Cables laid over to pass it. The Water of it is the best I ever met with in the *West-Indies*, or in *Spain*. Beyond this River, on the way to *Pasto*, is a Mountain, the Ascent whereof is three large Leagues.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Containing what more there is remarkable in this Country, as far as the Territory of the Town of Pasto reaches.

Angas-
mayo Ri-
ver.

Burning
Mountain.

Artris vale.

Pasto
Town.

IN this Region of the *Pastos* there is another pretty large River, call'd *Angasmayo*, which is the utmost Boundery of the Conquests made by King *Guaynacapa*, Son to the Great *Topa Inga Yupangue*, King of *Cuzco*. Beyond *Rio Caliente*, or the hot River, and the great Mountain above mention'd, the way is along Ridges and Sides of Hills, and a small Desert, where I endur'd much Cold, when I pass'd through it. Farther on is a high Mountain, on the Top whereof is a fiery Eruption, whence much Smoke rises at some Times, and formerly, the Natives say it broke out and vomited Abundance of Stones. It lies on the right Hand, as we go from *Popayan* towards *Pasto*; The Town is seated in a delightful Vale, through which runs a River of excellent Water, besides many other Brooks, and Springs that fall into it. The Vale is call'd of *Artris*, formerly very populous, but the Natives withdrew to the Mountains, which encompass it on both Sides, and are some of them wooded, and others bare. The *Spaniards* have their Settlements, and Farms all about this Valley, and all the Plains are sow'd with choice *European* and *Indian* Wheat and Barley, and there is a Mill to grind Corn, for having such Plenty of the *European*, they eat no *Indian* Wheat. Those low Grounds abound in Deer, Rabbits, Partridges, Pidgeons, Turtles, Pheasants and Pea-Hens, of all which the *Indians* kill great Numbers. This Country of the *Pastos* is excessive cold, and more in our Summer Season than in Winter; the same in the *Spanish* Town; so that a Man has no Occasion to be weary of his Wives Company, or to complain of many Cloaths. The Summer and Winter vary as in *Spain*. The delightful Town of *Pasto* was founded by Captain *Laurence de Aldana*, when the *Adelantado Don Francisco Pizarro*, was Governor, and Captain General of:

Of all these Provinces, and Kingdoms of *Peru*, in the Year 1539, the said *Laurence de Aldana* being his Lieutenant in *Quito*, *Paste*, *Popayan*, *Timana*, *Cali*, *Anzerma* and *Cartago*, where he took special Care that the Natives should be well us'd.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the remarkable Springs and Rivers there are in these Parts, and the notable Way of making excellent Salt.

BEfore I enter upon the Borders of *Peru*, or leave the Government of *Popayan*, I think it will be convenient to give an Account of the remarkable Springs there are in this Country, and of those Rivers, of whose Water they make Salt, to send to all those Nations, tho' they have no Salt Pits, as being remote from the Sea. When the Lieutenant *John de Vadillo* went from *Cartagena*, we that were with him cross'd the Mountains of *Abibe*, which are very craggy, and difficult to surmount, so that we endur'd great Fatigue in passing them, many of our Horses dy'd, and most of our Bagage was left behind. Being come into the Plain, we found great *Indian* Towns wood-ed with Fruit Trees, and considerable Rivers running by them. The Salt we brought from *Cartagena* being spent, and we feeding on Herbs, and Kidney Beans, because there was no Flesh, but that of our Horses and some Dogs we kill'd, we began to be much distress'd, and many for want of Salt lost their Colour, and grew pale, and lank; and then we fell in with some Dwellings of the *Indians*, and took what we found, being only black Salt, mixt with the *Axi* they eat, and so little that he was a happy Man who met with it. Want, which teaches Men many notable things, show'd us, on the Top of a Hill, a little Lake, the Water whereof was black, and brackish, a small Quantity of which we put into our Pots, and it gave the Meat some sort of Relish to make it eatable,

Want of Salt.

Way of
making it.

The Natives of all that Country us'd to take as much Water as they thought fit, out of this Spring, or Lake, and some others of the same Nature, which they boil'd in large Pots, till the greatest Part was consum'd, and the rest settled and consolidated into black Salt; of no very good Taste; yet such as it is, with it they dress their Meat, and supply the Want they must endure, had they not these Springs.

Salt
Springs.

There is a River, somewhat rapid, in a Village call'd *Cori*, which is in the Liberty of the Town of *Anzerma*. Near this River are some Springs of the Salt Water I have mention'd, which the Natives boil in great Pots, as has been said, till three Gallons, or more is reduc'd to a Pint, or somewhat better, which they know how to condense, and it turns into most excellent pure Salt, and as good as that they take out of the Salt Pits in *Spain*. There are Abundance of these Springs all about the City *Antiocha*, and they make so much Salt, that it is carry'd up the Inland, for which they bring home Gold, Cotton Cloth to wear, and other things they stand in need of.

Beyond *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, which runs near the City *Cali*, and near that of *Popayan*, below the Town of *Arma*, to the Northward, being with Captain *George Robledo*, we found a Town call'd *Mungia*, whence we proceeded to cross the Mountains *Andes*, and discover'd the Vale of *Aburra*, and its Plains. In this Township of *Mungia*, and in another call'd *Causara*, we found other Springs rising on Hills, near the Rivers, of the Water whereof they made so much Salt, that we saw Houses almost full of it, in Abundance of Moulds, like Sugar Loaves; which they carry'd through the Vale of *Aburra*, to the Eastward, and this Salt made those *Indians* very rich.

Spring in
a River.

In the Province of *Caramanta*, which is not far from *Anzerma*, a Spring gushes out, within a fresh River and the Water of it exhales a Steam, like Smoke, shewing in all likelihood it proceeds from some Metal there is in those Parts. Of this Water the *Indians* make good white Salt, and they say, there is a Lake, near a large Rock, at the Foot whereof there is some of the said Water, whereof they

they make Salt for the *Caciques*, and prime Men, and affirm it is whiter, and better than any other. In most of the Townships of the Province of *Anzerma* there are such Springs. In those of *Arma*, *Carrapa*, and *Picara* there is some Scarcity, because the People are numerous, and there are few Springs to make it, so that what is carry'd thither sells well. All the Inhabitants of the City *Cartago* have Necessaries for making of Salt, which they do a League off, at an *Indian* Town, call'd *Conjosa*, near which a small River runs, and by it is a little Hillock, from which gushes a Spring of very black and thick Water, some whereof they take from the Bottom, and when boil'd in Kettles, and the greatest Part consum'd, they harden it, and it is a white Corn Salt, as good as ours in *Spain*, and the Inhabitants of that City use no other.

Farther on is another Township, call'd *Coyaza*, through which some Rivers of excellent Water pass, where I observ'd one thing I much admir'd, and was, that within the said Rivers, and along the very Channel of them, there were Springs of this Salt Water, into which the *Indians* ingeniously thrust a Sort of large Canes there are in those Parts, made like Ship Pumps, and through them they drew what Water they had Occasion for, clear from that of the River, and of it made Salt. There are none of these Springs about the City *Cali*, and the *Indians* us'd to barter for Salt, in a Province call'd *los Timbas*, near the Sea. Those who had nothing to barter boil'd the fresh Water with certain Herbs, till it thickned, and became an ill tasted Salt. The *Spaniards* that live in this City, have no Want of Salt, because the Port of *Buenaventura* is near, and great Masses of it are brought thither from *Perna*.

Indian
Pumps..

At *Popayan* there are some Salt Springs, especially among the *Coconucos*, but not so much, nor so good as at *Cartago*, *Anzerma*, and the Places above mention'd. Most of the Salt they have at the Town of *Pasto*, comes by Way of Barter, and is better than that at *Popayan*. I have seen many more Springs than I here speak of, so much being enough to shew the Nature of them, and how the Salt is made of their Water, tho' the fresh runs

runs over it. I will now proceed to the Description of the mighty Kingdom of Peru.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Containing the general Description of the Kingdom of Peru, extending from the City of Quito, to the Town of la Plata, above 700 Leagues in Length.

HAVING run through what relates to the Government of Popayan, I think it is now Time to give an Account of the extraordinary things that are to be said of Peru, commencing at the City of Quito. But before I speak of that City, it will be convenient to lay down the Form of the Kingdom which is about 700 Leagues in Length, and 100 in Breadth, in some Places more, and in others less.

I do not here intend to treat of all that was subject to the Inca Kings, being above 1200 Leagues; but only of Peru properly so call'd, which reaches from Quito to the Town of la Plata, those being its Boundaries. For the better understanding hereof, it is to be observ'd, that this Country of Peru, consists of three desert Chains of Mountains, where no Man can possibly live. One of these is the Mountains call'd *Andes*, all thick Wooded and so unhealthy, that there neither are, nor ever were any People on it, but below on both Sides. The other is the bare Mountain, running along with that Ridge or Chain of the *Andes* which is excessive cold, and the Tops of it full of Hills of Snow, always falling; nor is it possible for Men to live there any more than on the other, by Reason of the Violent Cold, and vast Quantity of Snow, as also because the Land produces nothing, being render'd barren by the said Snow, and the continual Winds blowing. The other Chain consists of the Sands there are all the way from *Tumbez*, till beyond *Tarapaca*, where there is nothing to be seen but Hills of Sand, and the hot Sun shining on them without Water, Grass, Trees,

Andes.

Snowy Mountains

Sand Hills.

Trees, or any Creature, but only Birds, who by the Help of their Wings can cross it where they please. That Kingdom being of such a Length, there are vast Deserts in it for the Reasons aforesaid; and the inhabited Country lies thus. In many Places of the Mountains *Andes* there are Breaches, and Openings, which from deep Valleys, and considerable Plains. Tho' never so much Snow falls, it all remains on the high Parts, and never descends to the Vales, which being shelter'd are also free from Winds, and the Land so fruitful, that whatsoever is sow'd thrives, and there are Groves of Trees, and Abundance of Birds, and Beasts. The Soil being so good is all well inhabited by the Natives. They build their Towns regular, of Stone, and cover'd with Straw, and the People are very healthy and active. The *Andes*, and snowy Mountains forming such Breaks and Plains, there are very great Towns, which were, and continue populous; for from these Vales run Rivers of good Water, emptying themselves in the South Sea. These Rivers forcing their Way among the Sands before mention'd, spread themselves, and the Moisture produces great Woods, and makes delightful Vales, some of them two or three Leagues over, where there are Abundance of Carob Trees, which grow, tho' very remote from Water. As far as ever the Trees extend, the Soil is free from Sands, and very fertil. These Vales were formerly extraordinary populous, but the Natives are much diminish'd at present. In Regard that it never rain'd in these Plains and Sands of *Peru*, they did not cover their Houses, like the People among the Mountains, but made beautiful flat Roofs, or large Houses of Plaister with Ornaments of Marble, and over the Top they had Mats to defend them against the Sun. The same is us'd at this Time, and the *Spaniards* have no other covering, but only those Mats daub'd with Clay. They draw Trenches from the Rivers running through these Valleys, so artificially, that all the Land is water'd and sow'd without losing the least Spot; and being always moistned, the Sides of those Trenches are ever green, and delightful, and cover'd with *Indian* and *Spanish* Fruit Trees, and Abundance of *European*, and *Indian* Wheat, and whatever else they sow is continually growing there.

Vales.

Houses.

Thus

Length
& Breadth
of Peru.

Thus, tho' I have represented *Peru*, as consisting of three desert Ridges, or Chains of Hills, the Rivers and Plains I have spoken of proceed from them, without which it were impossible for Men to live, and this is the Reason why the Natives were so easily Conquer'd, and that they continue in Subjection, without rebelling, because should they offer so to do, they must all starve with Hunger, and Cold; for, as I have said, all except that Part they inhabit is desert, full of snowy Hills, and dreadful high Mountains. The Kingdom, as has been observ'd is 700 Leagues in Length, North and South; but if we reckon all that was subject to the *Inca* Kings, it will amount to 1200 Leagues, North and South upon a Meridian. The widest Part from East to West is about 100 Leagues, in some Places but 40, in others 60, and so more or less. This Length and Breadth is to be understood of the Mountains extending throughout all this Land of *Peru*, as has been said; and this mighty Chain of Mountains, in *Peru*, call'd *Andes*, in some Places is 40 Leagues from the South Sea, in others 60, in some more, and in others less; and being so very high, and the Top of it so near the South Sea, the Rivers are small, because their Run is short.

Climate.

The other Ridge running in the same manner, the Length of this Country terminates also in the Plains, and not far from the Sea, in some Parts at three Leagues Distance, in others 8, or 10, and so more, or less. The Climate in the Plains is rather hot than cold, and that at some Seasons more than others, being so low that it is almost upon a Level with the Sea; and the Hottest Time is when the Sun is gon beyond it, and is come to the Tropick of *Capricorn*, being on the 11th of *December*, when it returns to the Equinoctial. In the Mountain Part, notwithstanding there are some very temperate Provinces, the contrary may be said as of the Plains, for it is rather cold than hot. Thus much in general of these Provinces of which I shall hereafter give an Account in Particular.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Townships, and Provinces there are between the Town of *Pasto* and the City of *Quito*.

SINCE I have given an Account of the pleasant Town of *Pasto*, it will be convenient to return thither, and hold on that Road, informing the Reader of what is worth taking Notice of till we come to the City of *Quito*. I said the Town of *Pasto* was seated in the Vale of *Atiris*, in the Territory of the *Quillacingas*, a shameless People, and both they and the *Pastos* very filthy, and not look'd upon by their Neighbours. From the Town of *Pasto*, the Road runs to one of the same Nation call'd *Funes*, and 3 Leagues farther to another nam'd *Iles*. Three Leagues again beyond that is the Storehouse, and Apartments built by the *Ingas* and call'd *Gualmatan*, 3 Leagues still onward from which is the Indian Town of *Ipiales*. All these Townships produce little or no Indian Wheat, because the Country is very cold, and that Grain extraordinary tender, but there is Plenty of *Papas*, *Quinio*, and other Roots the Natives Plant. From *Ipiales*, the way goes on to the little Province of *Guaca*, and before we come to it, begins the Road made by the *Ingas*, as famous in these Parts, as that *Hannibal* cut through the *Alps*, when he enter'd *Italy*, and this is much more to be admir'd, both in regard of the great Store Houses, and Lodgings erected along it, and for its being carry'd with immense Labour over such uncooth craggy Mountains, that it is amazing to behold.

On the same Road is also a River, near which is to be seen the Spot where formerly the *Inga* Kings had a Fort, being their Place of Arms to make Excursions, and subdue the *Pastos*. Over the said River is a Bridge made by Nature, and looks as if it were the Work of Art, consisting of a solid, lofty, and very thick Rock, with an Arch, or Cavity in the middle for the Current of the Water, and over it Travellers pass

Towns on
the Road.

Natural
Bridge.

pafs in safety. This in the *Inga* Language is call'd *Lumi-chaca*, signifying, Stone Bridge. Near it is a Spring so hot, that there is no enduring a Hand in it for any Time, besides other Sources, but the Water of the River, and the Nature of the Country is so cold, that it is very uneasy to bear. Hard by this Bridge, the *Ingas* design'd to build another Fort, and had trusty Guards there, who took Care that their own Men should not slip back to *Cuzco*, or *Quiso*, because they look'd upon the Conquest of the *Pastos*, then in Hand, as fruitless.

Fruit
that makes
drunk.

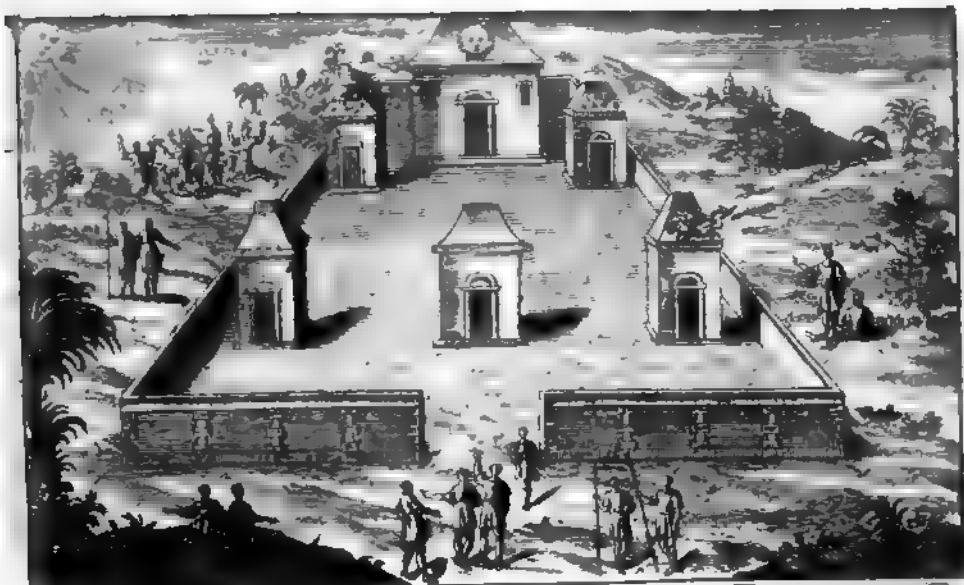
In most of the Townships above mention'd there grows a Sort of Fruit call'd *Mortunnos*, black and smaller than a Damfen, and among these another Sort of small Plums very like them, whereof whosoever eats any Quantity is perfectly drunk, troubled with Vomiting, and continues a whole Day in much Pain, and almost senseless. This I know, because when we March'd to Fight *Gonzalo Pizarro*, one *Roderick de las Pennas* my Friend, and one *Tarazona*, Ensign to Captain *Peter de Cabrera* and I, coming to this Town of *Guaca* with other Soldiers, the aforesaid *Roderick de las Pennas* hapned to eat some of those small Plums above mention'd, and was in such a Condition,

- Territory of *Guaca* the Road goes on to *Tuxa*, the last Township of the *Pastos*, on the Right Hand whereof are the Mountains that look over the Fresh Sea, and on the left the Hills towards the South Sea. Beyond that again is a small Hill, and on it a Fort, with a Ditch, formerly belonging to the *Ingas*, of considerable Strength among the *Indians*. From *Tuxa*, and this Fort the way proceeds to the River *Mira*, which is very hot, and along it, there is Abundance of Fruit, excellent Melons, good Rabbits, Turtle Doves, and Partridges, and the Soil produces plenty of Barley, and *Indian* and *European* Wheat. From this River *Mira* Travellers go down to the large and magnificent Palace of *Carangue*, short of which is the Lake they call *Yaguarcocha*, which signifies Sea of Blood. Here before the Coming of the *Spaniards*, King *Guaynacapa* being provok'd by the Natives of *Carangue*, and other Neighbouring Townships, caus'd 20000 Men to be slain, and cast into the Lake, as the *Indians* inform,

Mira hot
River.

Yaguarco-
cha Lake.

inform us, and the Number of the dead being so great
the whole Lake look'd as if it had been Blood, and
therefore they gave it the aforeſaid Name.



Beyond it is the Palace of *Carangue*, where some
would have it that *Atabalipa*, the Son of *Gumynacapa*
was born, because his Mother was of this Town; but
this is not true, for I enquir'd into it very diligently,
and it is certain that *Atabalipa* was born at *Cuzco*. This
House of *Carangue* stands on a small Plain, and within
it is a Pond, or large Baſon made of curious Stone, and
the Apartment for the *Ingas* is alſo built with beautiful
Stones, artificially laid, without any Mortar, which is
very well worth obſerving. There was formerly a Tem-
ple of the Sun, and above 200 beautiful Virgins confe-
crated to its Service, who were oblig'd to preſerve their
Chſtity, and if they fail'd, were ſeverely puniſh'd. The
Men that corrupted them, which they reckned a heinous
Sacrilege, being either hang'd, or bury'd alive. Theſe
Virgins were highly regarded, and there were Priests
with

Carangue
Temple of
the Sun.

with them, to offer Sacrifices in their Way. This Tem-
ple of the Sun was in great Veneration, under the *Ingas*
who kept it in curious Order full of Vessels of Gold
and Silver, and other Wealth not easy to be express'd,
for the very Walls, were cover'd with Plates of Gold
and Silver, and tho' all be much ruin'd, still there is
enough to show its former Magnificence. Here the *Ingas*
kept constant Garrisons both in Peace and War, to sup-
press any Rebellion. Since we have mention'd these
Ingas, something shall be said of them before we proceed
farther, for the better understanding what they were.

Note, That the whole Structure here represented was call'd
the Temple of the Sun, as being the Sovereign Deity, but of
the six several Piles appearing in the Cut, that at the upper
End was peculiarly Dedicated to him, the next on the right
of it to the Moon, that on the left to the Stars, the other
again on the right, to the Rainbow, and the other on the left,
to Thunder and Lightning. The great Hall in the Mid-
dle was for the Priests to meet in, the whole enclos'd as in
the Figure. The greatest of these Temples was at the City
Cuzco, as will be mention'd hereafter, and this Representation
of it may serve for both Places.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Giving an Account of the Inga Kings, and their Power in Peru.

HAVING-often Occasion to speak of the *Inga* Kings
and to mention their many Palaces, and other things
of Note, I have thought fit to give some Account of
them in this Place, that the Reader may be acquainted
with their Grandeur, and Worth. By the Information
we have receiv'd from the *Indians* of *Cuzco*, it appears,
that there was formerly much Confusion in all the Pro-
vinces of this Kingdom, we now call *Peru*, and that the
Natives were so very stupid, and irrational, as is scarce
credible.

which are like the *Abarcas* us'd by the Mountain People in some Parts of *Spain*, being raw Hides bound about the Feet, but many of these us'd by the *Indians* were either of Straw, or of the Rushes they call *Totora*. They took great Care to make known the Immortality of the Soul, and to discover the Secrets of Nature; believ'd there was a Sovereign Creator of all things, and look'd upon the Sun as the Chief God, erecting magnificent Temples to him, and being deluded by the Devil worshipp'd Stocks, and Stones, like the other Gentils. In their Prime Temples they kept great Numbers of beautiful Virgins, like the *Vestals* of *Rome*, who observ'd almost



Almost the same Rules as those did. Their Armies were commanded by brave faithful Officers. They us'd singular Art to make Friends of their Enemies, without subduing them by Force of Arms; and punish'd those who Rebell'd with the utmost severity, and no small Cruelty. Having writ a particular Book of these *Ingas*, thus much may here suffice to inform the Reader, what they were, and the mighty Power they had, and therefore I will return to my Travels.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the other Townships, and Structures there are between Carangue and the City of Quito; and how ingeniously the People of Otabalo robb'd those of Carangue.

FROM the Royal Place of Carangue, the famous Road made by the *Ingas* leads to that of Otabalo, which was and is still very considerable, and great, and on both Sides of it there are Abundance of Indian Dwellings. On the West of it are *Peritaco*, *Collaguazo*, *los Guancas*, and *Cayambes*; and near the great River of the *Amazons* are the *Quixos*, in scatter'd Villages, among great Mountains. This way *Gonzalo Pizarro* broke into the Province they call *Canela*, with a great Number of brave Spaniards, and Abundance of Provisions, and yet he endur'd much Fatigue and Hunger. To the Eastward are the Settlements, or till'd Lands of *Cotocoyambe*, the Mountains of *Tambo*, and many other Townships.

Otabalo Palace.

The Natives of Otabalo and Carangue are call'd the *Guamaracunas*, on Account of the Slaughter I said above. *Guaynacapa* made at the Lake, where, he kill'd most of the Men, and leaving none but Children in these Towns, said to them *Guamaracuna*, which signifies, Now you are all Boys. The Inhabitants of Carangue are great Enemies to these of Otabalo, the Occasion whereof they tell after this

Comical Robbery.

this Manner. The News of the Coming of the *Spaniard*, and their seizing of *Atabalipa* being spread abroad, throughout all the Country of *Quito*, in whose Liberties these *Indians* are, the People were much amaz'd, and astonish'd, looking upon what they heard of the Horses, and their Swiftneſs, as incredible, and believing that they and the Riders were but one Creature. Mighty Reports were ſpread abroad among theſe People, upon the coming in of the *Spaniards*, and they hourly expected them in their Country, believing that ſince they had been able to defeat the *Inga*, their Sovereign, they would alſo ſubdue them. At this Time, they ſay, the Steward, or Lord of *Carangue* had a great Treafure, belonging to himſelf, and to his Sovereign the *Inga*, in his Stores. *Otabalo*, who it is likely was a ſubtle Perſon, ingeniouſly conſidering, that in Times of Confuſion Treafures may be eaſily plunder'd, becauſe according to the Proverb, *It is beſt Fiſhing in troubled Waters*; he call'd together moſt of his *Indians*, and the Chiefs of them, among whom he pick'd out thoſe he thought the likeliſt, and moſt active, whom he order'd to put on their Jerkins, and long Mantles, or Blankets, and taking long ſlender Staves in their Hands to mount on their Country Sheep, and ſtand on the Hills, and Eminences, that they might be ſeen by the People of *Carangue*, whiſt he, with as many *Indian* Men, as he could and ſome Women, went to *Carangue*, pretending to be much frighted, and ſaying They fled from the Fury of the *Spaniards*, who had fallen into their Habitations, on their Horses, and they had abandon'd their Houſes, and Treafure, to avoid their Cruelty. This News ſtruck a mighty Terror into them, as not being at all queſtion'd, becauſe the *Indians* appear'd along the Hills mounted on their Sheep and being at ſuch a Diſtance, they believ'd, that what *Otabalo* told them was certainly true, ſo that they fled, without any farther Conſideration. *Otabalo* pretending to follow their Example, lagg'd behind with his People, and return'd to the Store-Houſes of theſe *Indians* at *Carangue*, where he plunder'd all the Treafure he found, which was very conſiderable, then returning to his own Town, the Fraud was in a few Days after publickly known. The People of *Carangue* being

being inform'd of the Robbery were highly concern'd, and there was much Debate between them, but Captain *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, coming into the Province of *Quito*, with his *Spaniards*, soon after this happen'd, they laid aside their private Animosities, to attend the common Defence of their Country. Thus *Otabalo* and his Men kept what they had stolen, as many *Indians* of those Parts inform us, and the Enmity has never been extinguish'd.

From the Palace of *Otabalo* the Road leads to that of *Cochesqui*, and there is a Pass on the Mountains cover'd with Snow to go through, and a League short of it, the Country is so cold; that it is uneasy living in it. From *Cochesqui* we go to *Guallabamba*, 4 Leagues from *Quito*, where the Country being low and almost under the Equinoctial, it is hot, yet not so much but that it is inhabited and produces all things necessary for the Support of Man. We that have travell'd these Parts, have found out what lies under the Equinoctial, notwithstanding that some ancient Authors reckoned it not habitable; for what is here sow'd grows plentifully, especially Wheat, and Barley. Along these Roads there are some Rivers, which have all Bridges over them, and run very swiftly, and there are great Structures, and other remarkable things, which I omit for Brevity Sake.

From *Guallabamba* to the City of *Quito* there are 4 Leagues, and by the Way several *Spanish* Settlements, or Farms for breeding of Cattle, as far as *Anaquito*. In the Year 1546, and the Month of *January*, the Viceroy *Blasco Nunez Vela* came to this Place with some Numbers of *Spaniards* that follow'd him, to oppose the Rebels then in Arms, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, who had under specious Pretences Usurp'd the Government of the Kingdom, and Title of Governour, setting out of *Quito*, with the Prime Men of *Pern*, fought the unfortunate Viceroy, who was there kill'd, with many other brave Men, that fell for their Loyalty to their King. Just beyond this Plain of *Anaquito* is the City of *Quito*, founded, and seated as follows.

C H A P. XL.

Of the Situation of the City of Quito, its first Foundation, and who was the Founder.

Quito
City,

THE City of *St. Francis del Quito*, is in the most Northerly Province of the Kingdom of *Pern*. The Territory of this Province reaches in Longitude, that is, from East to West, almost 70 Leagues, and in Latitude 25, or 30. It is seated in the same Place, where the *Ingas* had formerly, in the Time of their Authority, erected a Palace, and other Structures, which *Guaynacapa* enlarg'd, as did his Father, the Great *Topa Inga*. This Stately Structure the Natives call'd *Quito*, whence the City had its Name. The Situation is wholesome, rather cold than Hot. The City has little or no Prospect of Fields, because seated in a flat Hole, form'd by the Neighbouring high Mountains, lying North West from it. The plain Spot is so small, that it is thought they will find much Difficulty to build, if there should be Occasion hereafter to enlarge the City, which may be made very strong, if requisite. To the Westward of it are the Cities of *Puerto Viejo* and *Guayaquil*, at 60, or 80 Leagues Distance, and to the Southward are those of *Loxa* and *St. Michael*, the one 130, and the other 80 Leagues off. On the East Side are the Mountains, and the Source of the River, which at the Ocean is call'd *Mar Dulce*, that is the Sweet Sea, being the nearest to that of the *Amazons*. Towards the North is the Government of *Popayan* already mention'd, and the Town of *Passo*.

Fertility
&c. of
Quito.

The City of *Quito* is almost under the Equinoctial, which passes by, but 7 Leagues from it. All its Territory seems to be barren, and yet is very fruitful, for it breeds Abundance of Cattle, and Fowl, and produces Plenty of all Provisions, as Grain, and Fruit. The Land is very pleasant, and resembling *Spain* for Grass, and Sea-fons; the Summer begins about *March* and *April*, and lasts till *November*; and tho' Cold, it parches up exactly as in *Spain*. There are great Crops of Wheat and Barley,
in

in the Plains, and all sorts of Provisions, and most *Spanish* Fruit Trees thrive well. The Natives of this Territory, are generally more tractable, better inclin'd, and more free from Vice, than any of those we have pass'd, or the greatest Part of *Peru*. This is what I found, and could learn among them, others may differ in Opinion from me; but all, who have so nicely observ'd, and examin'd it as I have done, will agree with me. They are of a middle Stature, and extraordinary Husband Men, having liv'd according to the Laws of the *Incas*, tho' not so Politick as they, because conquer'd and instructed how to live by them; before which Time, they went like their Neighbours ill Clad, and understood nothing of building.

Here are many warm Vales, in which Abundance of Fruit Trees, and much Grain grows all the Year; and the Vines thrive well. The Orange, and sweet Lime Trees are very large, and most Sorts of *Spanish* Grain necessary for the Support of Man, proves extraordinary good. There is also a Sort of Spice, which we call *Camela*, that is, Cinnamon, brought from the Mountains to the Eastward. It is a Fruit, or Flower, growing on very large Trees, not resembling any thing we have in *Spain*, unless it be the Ornamental Part, or upper Shell there is on the Acorns; saving that it is of a Murrey Colour, inclining to black; being also large, and of a greater Cavity. It is as pleasant to the Taste as Cinnamon; but can only be eaten in Powder; for if it be us'd like Cinnamon in dressing of any thing, it looses all the Strength, and Flavor. Experience shows it is hot and cordial, for the Natives barter for, and use it in their Diseases, being particularly good for Pains in the Side, and Stomack, and griping of the Guts, for which Purposes they drink it in their Liquors.

Cinnamon.

They have great Store of Cotton, whereof they make Cloth for their own wearing, and to pay their Tribute. In the Territory of this City of *Quito* there were great Numbers of that Sort of Cattle, which we call Sheep, but are more like small Camels. I shall hereafter speak of these Creatures, and their Shape, and how many different Sorts there are of them. Here are also Numbers of

Dear, and Abundance of Rabbits, Partridges, Turtle Doves, Pidgeons, and other Game. Besides the *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat, there are other two Sorts of Food natural to the Country. The one they call *Papas*, which is like large Pig-nuts, and when boil'd are as tender as boil'd Chestnuts, and has neither Shell nor Core, and grows under Ground, like the Pignut aforesaid. This Root bears a Flower, exactly like the Poppy. Another Sort of very good Sustenance is call'd *Quinna*, having a Leaf in all Points resembling the *African* Blite, the Plant grows up almost as high as a Man, bearing a very small Seed, some of it White, and some Red, whereof they make Liquor, and eat it dress'd as we do Rice.

There are many more Kinds of Roots, and Grain, besides what we have mention'd; but the Natives of the Country of *Quiso* having learnt how much better Wheat and Barley are, sow, and eat both, and make Drink of the Latter. All these *Indians*, as I have observ'd before, are extraordinary Husband Men, tho' in some Provinces they differ from the rest, as I shall show, when I come to them; for the Women till the Land, and gather in the Harvest, whilst the Men spin and weave, and follow the Cloth Manufacture, with other Womanish Employments, which it is likely they were taught by the *Ingas*: I have taken Notice, in the Towns Neighbouring about *Cuzco*, of the Race of the *Ingas*, that whilst the Women were plowing, they were spinning, and dressing their Weapons, and Cloaths, doing many other things more proper for Women than Men. In the Days of the *Ingas* there was a Royal high Way, made by Hand, and the Labour of Men, which began at this City, and reach'd to that of *Cuzco*; whence another as great and Magnificent was carry'd on as far as the Province of *Chile*, which is above 1200 Leagues from the City of *Quiso*. On which Roads at every three or four Leagues there were stately Palaces of great Men, richly furnish'd. This Road may be compar'd to the Way made by the *Romans*, which in *Spain* we call, *Camino de la Plata*, or the Silver Road.

I have been more particular in what relates to the City of *Quiso*, than in any of the Cities before spoken of, in Regard, that, as I have before observ'd, it is the first Town
of

Men Spin
and Women
Plow.

Of Peru, on that Side, always in great Repute, and still one of the best in that Kingdom. To conclude with it, The Founder was Captain *Sebastian de Belalcázar*, afterwards *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant, and Governour of the Province of *Popayan*, in the Year 1534.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Townships there are from Quito to the Royal Palace of Thomebamba, and of some Customs of the Natives.

There are 53 Leagues from the City of *St. Francis del Quito* to the Palace of *Thomebamba*. The first Place coming out of that City is call'd *Panzaleo*, the Natives whereof differ a little from their Neighbours, and particularly in the Ligature about their Heads; for by that the Families of the *Indians* are known, and what Provinces they were born in. These and all others within the Kingdom, for above 1200 Leagues in Length, spoke the general Language of the *Incas*, which is that us'd at *Cusco*; and it was become universal by Order of the *Incas*, who caus'd such Parents to be punish'd, as did not teach it to their Children. Howsoever they all still retain'd their own peculiar Languages, that had been us'd by their Ancestors. So these of *Panzaleo* had a different Language from those of *Carangue* and *Otabalo*. As to Shape, and Body, they are like those mention'd in the last Chapter, and wear Jerkins without Sleeves, or Collers, open at the Sides to put out their Arms, and at the Top, for the Head, to go through; over which they have long Mantles, or Blankets some of Woollen, and others of Cotton. Instead of Shoes, they have *Oxotas*, made of a Root, or Plant call'd *Cabuya*, that shoots out large Stalks, and from them sprout white Fibers like Hemp, very strong and useful; whereof they make their *Oxotas*, which serve instead of Shoes, and about their Heads they bind Breads.

*Distin-
give Mark.*

Language.

Habit.

Some

Some of the Women are habited after the manner of *Cuzco*, very fine, with a long Garment reaching from the Neck to the Feet, with only the Arms out, and girt about them with a String they call *Chumbe*, like a curious gay Garter, but somewhat broader. Over this they throw a thin Mantle, call'd *Liquida*, hanging on their Shoulders, and covering their Feet. To fasten these Mantles they use large Gold, or Silver Pins, broad at the End, call'd *Topos*. About their Heads they bind a very gay Ribbon which they name *Vineha*, and wear *Oxotas* on their Feet. In short, the Dress of the Ladies at *Cuzco* was the finest, and richest of any that was ever seen in the West Indies. They are very nice, in Combing their Hair, and wear it very long. I shall speak more at large of this Habit of the *Pallas*, or Ladies of *Cuzco*, in another Place.

Between this Town of *Panzaleo*, and the City of *Quito*, there are several Habitations among the Mountains, on both Sides. To the Westward is the Vale of *Uchillo*, and *Liangazi*, where the Climate being temperate, most of the things spoken of in the Chapter of *Quito*, thrive well, and the Natives were their Friends, and Confederates. In these Parts they did not devour one another, nor were they so Wicked as some of the Natives of the Provinces already spoken of. They had formerly great Places of Worship Dedicated to several Gods, as they themselves give out. After they were subdu'd by the *Inca* Kings, they Offer'd Sacrifices to the Sun, and ador'd him as their God.

Yumba
Mountains

Hence a Road strikes off to the Mountains of *Yumba*, where there are some Dwellings, the Natives whereof are not so serviceable as those about *Quito*, nor so submissive; but rather vicious, and haughty; caus'd by their living in an uncouth Country, which being hot, and fruitful affords them all Sorts of Dainties. These also Worship'd the Sun, and were in other Respects like their Neighbours, having been, as well as they, subdu'd by the great *Topaynga Yupangue*, and his Son *Guaynacapa*. Another way to the Eastward leads to the Indians call'd *Quitos*, in all Respects like the last.

Mulaha-
lo Town.

Three Leagues beyond *Panzaleo*, is the Palace and Town of *Mulahalo*, which tho' small at present, because the Natives are consum'd, had formerly Lodgings for the *Incas*, or their Commanders,

Commanders, when they travell'd that way, and great Store Houses to furnish the Army. On the right Hand of this Town of *Mulabalo* is a burning Mountain, which the *Indians* say formerly cast out so many Stones, and such Abundance of Ashes, as destroy'd a considerable Part of the Habitations that Eruption reach'd to. Some will have it, that before it broke out, dreadful Noises were heard, and hellish Apparitions seen. What these *Indians* report of this burning Mountain seems to be true, for at the Time, when the *Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado*, Governour of the Province of *Guatemala*, came into *Peru* with his Fleet, and landed in this Country of *Quito*, the *Spaniards* who came with him affirm they thought it had rain'd Ashes for several Days; which 'tis likely was some such Eruption, whereof there are many about those Mountains, proceeding in all Probability from great Veins of Sulphur.

Fiery
Eruption.

A little beyond *Mulabalo* is the Town of *Tacunga*, with the great Palace, which was not inferior to that of *Quito*, and the Remains, tho' ruinous still testify its Grandeur; for it plainly appears on the Walls of some of the Rooms, where the Gold Sheep, and other costly Ornaments were fix'd on them. These rich Embellishments were chiefly in the Apartment appointed for the *Inga* Kings, and in the Temple of the Sun, where they offer'd Sacrifices, and perform'd their Superstitious Worship; to which also belong'd several Virgins, Dedicated to the Service of the Temple, whom, as has been said, they call'd *Mamaconas*. Tho' I have said there were Lodgings, and Store Houses in those Towns we are pass'd, yet in the Days of the *Incas* there was no Royal Palace in them, nor any Principal Temple, as there was in this Place we speak of, nor in the other Towns we shall mention'd farther on, till we come to *Tomehamba*, as will appear hereafter.

Tacunga
Town and
Palace.

In this Town the *Incas* had a high Steward, whose Business it was to gather in the Tribute of the Neighbouring Country, and lay it up, and here was a great Number of *Mitimaes*. The *Incas* considering that the City of *Cuzco* was the Metropolis of their Empire, where all Laws were Enacted, and whence the Commanders were sent to the Wars, and that the said City was above 600 Leagues from *Quito*, and farther still from *Chile*; and knowing that all this

Mitimaes
what they
were.

this vast Tract of Land was inhabited by barbarous Nations, some of them very Warlike; for the Peace and Tranquility of their Empire, they ever since the Days of the *Inga Tupangue*, Father to the great *Topaynga*, and Grandfather to *Guaynacapa* settled this Method; which was, that as soon as they had Conquer'd one of these great Provinces, they order'd 6, 10, or 12000 Families, or as many as they thought fit, to remove from thence into another Province like that they came from, in Climate and Nature; those of a cold Country into a Cold, and those of a Hot into the like, and these People were call'd *Mitimaes*, signifying *Indians* come from one Country to another. These had Lands assign'd them to till, and Places to build their Houses on; and they had Orders from the *Ingas* punctually to obey the Commands of their Governours, and Officers; so that if the Natives rebell'd, the *Mitimaes* standing by the Governours; the others were immediately punish'd, and brought under Subjection to the *Ingas*. So on the other Side, if the *Mitimaes* happen'd to mutiny, they were crush'd by the Natives; and thus those great Men were secur'd against Rebellions, and kept Store of Provisions in all Countries, most of the People being, as has been said, remov'd from one Place to another. They had another Politick Contrivance to gain the Affections of the Natives, which was that they never abrogated the Dominion of the *Caciques*, who had it by inheritance, and were Natives; but if any one of them committed a Crime, or was guilty of such Offence as deserv'd he should be depos'd, they bestow'd the *Cacique-ship* on his Son, or Brother, enjoyning all Persons to obey him.

Having given this Account of the *Mitimaes*, I must return to the main Subject, and observe, that at this great Palace of *Tacunga* there were many of them, whose Business it was to perform whatsoever was Enjoin'd them by the *Inga's* Steward. About this Palace on all Sides, are the Dwellings and Lands of the *Caciques* and Prime Men, well furnish'd with Provisions.

At the Time when the last Battel was fought in *Peru*, in the Vale of *Xaquixaguana*, where *Gonzalo Pizarro* was kill'd

kill'd, about 200 Spaniards of us set out from the Province of Popayan, with the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Sebastian de Belalcazar*, to join his Majesty's Forces against the Rebels, and some of us, for we did not all March together, coming to this Town, they furnish'd us with Provisions, and all other Necessaries, so orderly, and plentifully, that I know not where it could have been done better; for they had in one Place great Store of Rabbits, in another of Swine, in another of Poultry, and so of Sheep, Lambs, and other things, and thus they supply'd all that came that Way.

Orderly
Stores.

They are all Cloath'd in their Tunicks, and Mantles, some rich and gay, and others courser, according to their Ability. The Women are also clad as I describ'd those at *Mulabalo*, and their Language is almost the same. Their Houses are all of Stone, and cover'd with Straw; some large, and some small, according to the Owner, or his Substance. The Lords and Commanders had several Wives; but one of them was to be chief, and her Issue to Inherit. They ador'd the Sun, and when the great Men dy'd they dug them Graves on the Hills, or in Fields, where they laid their Bodies with their Treasure, Weapons, Garments, beautiful Wives alive, and a considerable Quantity of Provision. This Custom of burying the Dead was Practis'd in most of these Parts of the *West Indies*, by the Advice of the Devil, who perswaded them; they should go in that manner to the Kingdom he had provided for them. They made great Lamentation for their dead, and the Wives that were not bury'd with the Servants, cut off their Hair, and wept continually for a Year. They us'd drinking like those above mention'd, never fail'd to eat in the morning, and din'd on the Ground, without regarding Table Cloths, or Napkins. After eating their *Indian* Wheat, and Fish, or Flesh, they spent the whole Day in drinking *Chicha*, a Liquor, made of their Corn, being seldom without the Caps in their Hands. They were very punctual at their *Aceytos*, that is, their Dances, Men and Women holding orderly Hand in Hand, and moving round, to the Sound of a Drum, singing the Actions of their Ancestors, and drinking till they very drunk. When thus beside themselves,

Habits.

Dancing.

selves, some took the Women they lik'd, whom they carry'd into any House, and lay with them, not thinking it any Disgrace, as being void of Shame, regardless of Honour, and Despisers of the World; for they thought of nothing but devouring what they got by their Labour. As far as we could judge they believ'd the Immortality of the Soul, and knew there was a Creator of all things, by observing the Greatness of the Heavens, the motions of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and other wondrous Works of Nature; yet being deluded by the Devil, they thought he had Power over all things. However many of them being sensible of his wicked Practises, and that he never deals sincerely, hated, and rather obey'd him out of Fear, than for any Divinity they conceiv'd there was in him. They paid great Respect to the Sun, and Worshipp'd him as a God. The Priests were extraordinary sanctify'd, and much honour'd in all Places. I could say more of the Customs of these *Indians*, which being almost general to them all, I shall deliver in passing through other Provinces, and will conclude this Chapter, adding, that these People of *Tacunga* in Fight us'd, Pikes made of Palm-Tree Wood, Darts, and Slings. They are swarthy, as those above; the Women loving, and some of them Beautiful. There are still many of the *Mitimaes*, as when the *Incas* were Sovereigns.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the Country from Tacunga to Riobamba, and what happened there between the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado, and the Marshal Don Diego de Almagro.

Departing *Tacunga*, along the great Road that leads to the City of *Cuzco*, we come to the Store Houses of *Muliambato*; of which no more needs be said, but that the *Indians* inhabiting there are of the same Nation, and Behaviour, as those of *Tacunga*. Here were Apartments, and

Muliam-
bato apart-
ments.

and Store houses, as usual, of such things as the Officers of the *Ingas* directed, and they were subordinate to the High Steward residing at *Tacunga*, that being the Head; as *Quito*, *Tomebamba*, *Caxamalca*, *Xauxa*, *Bilcas*, *Paria*, and others were, being the Chief Seats of Kingdoms, or Dioceses, as every one will please to call them, where was the Residence of Commanders, and Governors; who had Power to administer Justice, and to raise Armies, if any War, or Rebellion broke out; tho' they did not do any thing of great Moment, without acquainting the *Ingas*. To this Purpose, matters were so well order'd, that any News was carry'd from *Quito* to *Cuzco* in 8 Days, by the Post; for there was a little House at every half League, in which two *Indians* always liv'd with their Wives. As soon as ever the News, that was to be carry'd on, came thither, one of the two ran that half League, without stopping, and before he came to the little House cry'd out, delivering his Message, which he who was in that House having heard he ran the other half League so swiftly, that the Country being uneven, and craggy, no Horses, or Mules could make so much Speed.

From *Muliambato* the Road goes on to the River *Ambato* *River*, where there are also Store houses, like the last. Three Leagues from thence are the sumptuous Apartments, and Store houses of *Mocha*, so great, that I was amaz'd to behold them, but since the *Ingas* lost their Dominion, all the Palaces, Store houses, and other mighty Works of theirs are gone to Ruin, so that scarce any thing remains but the Plans, and some Walls, which being of Stone, and curiously wrought, will last many Ages, without being quite consum'd. About *Mocha* there are some *Indian Towns*, in all Respects like the last spoken of.

To the Westward are the *Indians* call'd *Sichos*, and to the Eastward the *Pillaros*, all of them Abounding in Provisions; because the Soil is Fertile, and there are great Flocks of Deer, some of those we call Sheep of *Peru*, and Plenty of Rabbits, Partridges, Turtle Doves, and other Game. Besides the *Spaniards* in these Fields have Numerous Herds of Cows, which increase considerably, because there is excellent Pasture; Multitudes of Goats, the Land being proper for them, so that they want for nothing; and as

for Swine, there are more, and those better than in most Parts of the *West Indies*, whereof as good Hams, and Fitchies are made, as in any Part of *Spain*.

From *Mocha* the way goes on to the great Apartments of *Ricobamba*, which are nothing inferior to those of *Mocha*; and stand in the Province of the *Puruaes*, amidst pleasant, and delightful Plains, much resembling those of *Spain* in Temperature, Herbs, Flowers, and other Particulars; as is well known to such as have travell'd through them. At *Ricobamba* the City of *Quito* was settled for some Time, till remov'd thence, to the Place where it now stands; besides which there is another Reason, why these Apartments of *Ricobamba* are memorable. For the *Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado*, Governour of the Province of *Guatemala*, which borders on the mighty Kingdom of *New Spain*, sailing thence with a Fleet, in which were Abundance of Gentlemen of good Note, and Landing, with his *Spaniards*, on the then much talk'd of Coast of *Quito*, he struck into certain rough and craggy Mountains, where his Men endur'd Hunger, and other Hardships. I cannot proceed without saying something of the Toils and Difficulties these and other *Spaniards* went through, in the Discovery of the *West Indies*, for I am positively convinc'd, no Nation, or People in the World ever endur'd the like. It is very wonderful that so long a Voyage, and such an immense Tract of Land, fill'd with so many several Nations, should be discover'd in less than 60 Years, making Way through uncouth, and craggy Mountains, and Deserts, where there was not the least Track; and that all these should be conquer'd, and subdu'd, and above 200 Cities newly founded in them. No Doubt but those who have perform'd so much deserve greater Commendation, and Honour, than my Pen can express, or my Mind conceive. One thing I can deliver as a certainty, which is, that they suffer'd so much Hunger, and Fatigue, that many threw away Burdens of Gold, and precious Emeralds, for want of Strength to carry them. But to proceed, the coming of *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, being known at *Cuzco*, by the authentick Information of *Gabriel de Rojas*; the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro*, tho' then busy in settling Christian Inhabitants in that City, departed thence to take Possession of the South Sea Coast, and

CHAP. XLIII.

Containing what is worth observing among the other Indians, till we come to the Palace of Tomebamba.

Puruaes
Indians.

THESE Apartments of *Riobamba*, I said before were in the Lands of the *Puruaes*, being the best peopled Part of the Territory of *Quito*, the Inhabitants of a good Disposition, and all clad, both Men and Women, using the same Customs as their Neighbours, and a binding about their Heads, to be distinguish'd by; their Hair for the most part long, which some put into very small Breaths. They worshipp'd the Sun, and follow'd the other Superstitions introduced by the *Ingas*; burying their Dead as has been said of others with their Treasure, Weapons and Wives; which some *Indians* of credit have told me they did, because the Devil made them fancy they sometimes saw those who had been long dead, walking about the Fields, adorn'd with those things and attended by their Wives that had been bury'd alive, and therefore they thought the Souls had need of such Provision.

Tinguragua
Mountain.

To the Eastward of *Riobamba* there are many Villages on the Mountain next the Source of the River of the *Amazons*, and the Mountain call'd *Tinguragua*, on which there are also Abundance of Dwellings. The Inhabitants of which Places are like the rest before mention'd in all Respects, go cloath'd, have Houses of Stone, were subdu'd by the *Ingas*, speak the Language of *Cuzco*, and have others of their own. To the Westward is another snowy Mountain, call'd *Urcolazo*, thinly Inhabited. Near this Mountain is a Road that goes to the City of *Santiago* call'd *Guayaquil*.

Cayambi,
and Teocaxas.

From *Riobamba* we go to another *Inga* Structure call'd *Cayambi*, all the Country about being plain, and very cold. Next we come to the *Tambos*, or Apartments of *Teocaxas*, seated in a spacious plain, without any Inhabitants, and very cold, where the Battle call'd of *Teocaxas* was fought, between

between the Native *Indians*, and Captain *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, which lasted all Day, and was very Bloody, and yet neither Side came off Victorious.

Three Leagues from hence are the great Apartments of *Tiguizambi*, on the right Hand whereof is *Guayaquil*, and its Mountains, and on the left *Pomallata*, *Quizna*, *Mocas*, and others till we come to the Territories of *Rio Grande*. Beyond this Place, in the Bottom stands the Apartment of *Chanchan*, which the Natives call *Tungas*, signifying hot Country, because it is so, and here by Reason there is no Snow, or excessive cold; such Trees or other things grow as will not thrive in the other colder Parts, and therefore all those who live in hot, or temperate Vales, or Plains, are call'd *Tungas* to this Day, which Name it is likely they will always retain. The Distance from this Place to the Royal Palace of *Tomebamba* is almost 20 Leagues; all which Way there are such Store houses, and Lodgings of the *Ingas*, at every 2, 3, or 4 Leagues. Among them there are two of greatest Note, the one call'd of *Cannaribamba*, and the other of *Hazuncanari*, whence the Natives had their Name, and their Province that of *Cannares*, which it still holds. On both Sides of this great Road there are many Provinces and Districts, which I do not mention particularly, because being subdu'd by the *Ingas*, they were in all Respects like the rest of those People, and have been since converted to the Christian Faith. All along this Road there are several small Rivers, some greater, but few considerable, the Water of them all very good; and Bridges over them. Before the *Spaniards* conquer'd this Kingdom there were great Numbers of *Peru* Sheep, and those Creatures they call *Guamacos* and *Vicunnas*, on all the Mountains, and Plains; but so many have been destroy'd, that they are much thinner. No Wolves, or other noxious Beasts; or Animals are found in these Parts, except the *Tigres*, on the Mountains of *Buenaventura*, and some small Lions, and Bears. In the Braks, and woody Parts, there are also some Snakes, and every where Foxes, *Chuchas*, and other wild Creatures that Country affords, besides great Plenty of Partridges, Pidgeons, Turtle Doves, and Deer; in the Territory of *Quito* Abundance of Rabbits, and some *Damas* on the Mountains.

Yungas
Indians.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIV.

Of the sumptuous Palace at Tomebamba, in the Province of Cannares.

I Have already, in some Parts of this Book, given Hints of the mighty Power of the *Ingas*, of their great Valour, and how throughout their Dominions, extending above 1200 Leagues along the Coast, they had their Deputies, and Governours, and great Apartments, and Store houses furnish'd with all Necessaries for their Armies. In some of them they kept Spears, in several Darts, in others *Oxotas*, which as has been said were instead of Shoes, and other Sorts of Weapons us'd by them in others. So some contain'd costly Garments, others courser, and others Provisions of all Sorts. Thus when the Sovereign was in his Apartment, and the Men Quarter'd, there wanted nothing that was proper for them, from the poorest to the most Valuable thing. Being thus supply'd, if the Men happen'd to commit any Disorders, or Robberies in the Neighbouring Country, they were immediatly punish'd, with the utmost Severity; the *Ingas* being so rigorous in this particular, that they did not spare their own Sons. And notwithstanding there were such Numbers of those Store houses, that the Kingdom seem'd to be full of them, yet at every ten or twenty Leagues, sometimes more, and sometimes less, they had in most Provinces stately Palaces for the Kings, with a Temple of the Sun, serv'd by Priests, and the Virgin *Mamaconas* already mention'd, and greater Magazines than the Common Sort, where the *Inga's* Governour, and Commander in Chief resided, with the *Mitimaes*, and other Attendants. In Time of Peace, when the King did not travel that way, it was his Care to receive the Tribute, throughout his District, to furnish the Store houses, and attend other Matters of Moment. The Palaces were very great, for tho' a King dy'd, his Successor never destroy'd or suffer'd any of them to go to Ruin, but rather enlarg'd, and beautify'd them, each building a new one, and ordering his Predecessors to be richly adorn'd.

This

This famous Palace of *Tomebamba*, standing as has been said, in the Province of *Canares*, was one of the most sumptuous, and richest in *Peru*, and the most regular Structure; in so much that the very Ruins are an undeniable Testimony, that all the *Indians* say of it is true. West of it lies the Province of *Guancabillas*, being the Territory of the City *Guayaquil*, and *Puerto Viejo*; and to the Eastward is the great River of the *Amazons*, with its Mountains. The Palace is seated upon the Conflux of two small Rivers, in a Plain about 12 Leagues in Compass. The Country cold, and abounding in Deer, Rabbits, Partridges, Turtle Doves, and other Fowl. The Temple of the Sun was all of Stone curiously Wrought, some of a vast Bigness, some quite Black, and others like Jasper. Several *Indians* said that most of the Stones, whereof the Palace, and Temple consisted were brought from the City *Cuzco*, by Order of King *Guaynacapa*, and the great *Topaynga*, his Father, being drawn with great Ropes, which, if true, is very wonderful, considering the Number and Bulk of the Stones, and the Length of the Way. The Portals of several Apartments were curiously adorn'd, and painted, and some Emeralds, and other precious Stones set in them, and within the Walls of the Temple, and of the *Ingas* Palace, plated with pure Gold, with many Figures Carv'd in the same Metal. The Covering was of Straw, so artificially laid on, that unless consum'd by Fire, it will last many Ages. In the Rooms there were Bundles of Straw made of Gold, with many Sheep, Lambs, Fowl, and other things grav'd on the Walls. Besides all this, they tell us there was an immense Treasure in Pots, Pitchers, and other Vessels; and great Numbers of Cotton Cloaths set with Gold Plates, and *Chaquira*. In fine, all I can say will fall short of the vast Wealth the *Ingas* had in their Palaces, which were kept very orderly, and Abundance of Goldsmiths employ'd to Work such things as I have spoken of. The Woolen Cloth there was in the Stores, had it not been lavish'd would have been of mighty Value. The Virgins Dedicated to the Service of the Temple were above 200, very beautiful, of the Province of *Canares*, and the Territory subject to the *Ingas* Steward, residing there. They and the Priests were plentifully supplied

*Tome-
bamba Pa-
lace.*

ply'd by those, who had it in Charge to furnish the Temple; at whose Gates they had Porters, some of them reported to be Eunuchs, and entrusted to look to the *Mamaconas*, so they call'd those Virgins. Near the Temple, and the Apartment of the *Ingas*, were Abundance of Lodgings to Quarter the Soldiers, and greater Store-houses than the Ordinary, always well furnish'd, tho' never so much were us'd; the Controlers keeping exact Accounts, after their Manner, of all that was Receiv'd, and Deliver'd out, according to the Sovereigns Orders.

Cannares
their Habit

The Natives of this Province *de los Cannares* are well shap'd and countenanc'd. They wear their Hair very long, and wound once about their Heads, which with a wooden Crown they have, as thin as the Rim of a Sieve, shows them to be *Cannares*, this being their distinctive Mark. The Women do the same, and are by it as well known as their Husbands. The Men are clad in Woollen and Cotton, with *Oxotas*, above describ'd, on their Feet. Some of the Women are Beautiful, very Lustful, and fond of *Spaniards*; and at the same time laborious, for they dig, sow, and reap; whilst many of their Husbands are at home Spinning, Weaving, Dressing their Arms, or Cloaths, adorning their Faces, and attending other Womanish Employments. When any *Spanish* Forces us'd formerly to March through their Country, they being then oblig'd to furnish People to carry the Baggage, many of them sent their Wives and Daughters, and stay'd at home themselves. This I saw practic'd, when we march'd to join the Licenciate *Gasca*, his Majesty's President; at which time they gave us many Women to carry our Baggage.

Cruelty of
Atabalipa

Some *Indians* said they did so, because of the great Scarcity of Men, and vast Numbers there are of Women, occasion'd by the Cruelty *Atabalipa* exercis'd on the Natives, when he enter'd this Province after he had at *Ambato* overthrown, and kill'd *Atoco*, General to his Brother *Guaſcar Inga*. They affirm, that notwithstanding the Men, and Children went out with green Boughs, and and Palm-Tree Leaves, to sue for Mercy, he with a stern Countenance order'd his Soldiers to Butcher them all, and thus a

great

great Number of Men, and Boys was destroy'd. So that of those who surviv'd there were 15 Women to one Man, and therefore they did whatsoever was enjoin'd them by their Husbands, or Parents. Their Houses are small, built with Timber, and cover'd with Straw. The Soil is fruitful; and has Plenty of Provisions, and Game. Their Customs, and Worship were the same as mention'd of others and they are now all Christians.

Many Armies rendezvous'd under the *Ingas*, about this Palace of *Tambamba*. When an *Inga* dy'd his Successor, as soon as enthron'd, sent Governours to *Quiso* and this Place, ordering them to build noble Palaces, as his Predecessors had done. The *Orejones* of *Cuzco*, who are the most knowing Men in the Kingdom, inform us, that the *Inga Yupangue*, and his Son the Great *Topaynga*, who built the Temple, did both of them delight in residing here, more than in any other Part; and they add, that when *Guaynacapa* was there, he heard of the first coming of the Spaniards, at the Time when *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and his 13 Companions, who were the first Discoverers, appear'd upon his Coast, and that he said, a strange People, like those in the Ship should rule the Kingdom, after his Days. This stately Palace is now ruin'd, but still shows what it was.

This Province of *Cannarus* is very large, and full of Rivers, in which there is much Wealth. In the Year 1544. such Rich Mines were discover'd on them, that the Inhabitants of *Quito* took out above the Value of 800000 Pieces of Eight in Gold, and so prodigious was the Plenty of this Metal, that many drew out in their Vessels more Gold than Earth. This I affirm as certain Truth, and I spoke with one, who drew out above the Value of 700 Pieces of Eight at one Draught; besides that we know not what the *Indians* got. Wheat, Barley, Vines and all other Product of *Spain* thrives well in every Part of this Province, which yields also very pleasant Fruit of the Country. There are excellent Situations for building of Cities, and the Viceroy *Blasco Nunez Vela*, when he fled from *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and his Adherents, declar'd, if he were ever restor'd to the Government, he would build a City in those Plains, and divide the *Indians* among the

East Pl. my
of Gold.

Inhabitants, but as it happened he was kill'd. Yet *Gonzalo Pizarro* order'd Captain *Alonso de Mercadillo* to found a City there, which was not perform'd, because this was look'd upon as the Territory of *Quito*, and therefore he did it in the Province of *Choparra*, as I shall soon shew. The Distance from *St. Francisco de Quito* to this Palace is 55 Leagues. Here I will leave the High Way I am now upon, to give an Account of the Towns, and Provinces there are in the Liberties of the Cities of *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*, and having spoken of them. will return to the Road, where I left off.

C. H A P. XLV.

Of the Road from the Province of Quito, to the Coast of the South Sea, and Liberties of the City of Puerto Viejo.

BEing come to *Tomebamba*, I would willingly have pass'd by without speaking of *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*, because I was not much in those Parts, and besides the Natives are so ignorant that very little can be learnt of them, but the Desire of Satisfying the curious, oblig'd me to give the best Account I was able of what I found my self, and receiv'd by credible Information, which having done I will return to the great Road.

There is no direct way from *Tomebamba* to the Coast, except that which goes to the Territory of *St. Miguel*, or *St. Michael*, the first Town built by the Spaniards in *Peru*; but from *Quito* the Road turns off to *Quaque*, the first Indian Dwelling on that Side. Again not far from *Tomebamba*, and in the Territory of *Quito*, there is a Province call'd *Chumbo*, before we come to which there are several other Habitations of *Indians*, all of them clad, and the Women handsome, among whom there are also such Store houses and Apartments as we have already mention'd, and they were subject to the *Ingas*, for which

Chumbo,
Province.

which Reason they us'd the same Language, and had the same Worship, and Manners as those before spoken of, Being like them since converted to Christianity. At certain Times they have Meetings of the Prime Men, who there confer together about the publick good, and their own private Affairs. All the Natives of these and other Parts of *Peru* wear a certain Sign, by which they are known wheresoever they go. When I was at *Cuzco* People resorted thither from several Parts, and by those Signs we knew they were some of them *Chanches*, others *Cannas*, others *Collas*, others *Guanacas*, others *Cannares*, others *Chachapoyas*, and so of the rest, which was an ingenious Invention to know one another in Peace, and prevent Mistakes in Time of War, when they were assembled by their Sovereign from several Nations, tho' they were all beardless, countenanc'd alike, spoke the same Language, and differ'd not in Habit. There are now Christian Churches every where, and great Care is taken in instructing the People.

*Distin-
give
Marks.*

From this Province of *Chumbo*, the Way for 14 Leagues is all rugged, and in some Places very Troublesome, till we come to a River, on which there are always Natives with Floats, to carry Passengers along it to the Pass they call of *Guanacapa*, said to be 12 Leagues from the Island of *Puna*, on the one Side, and on the other there were Native *Indians*, not so well civiliz'd as those we have pass'd because they had not been entirely subdu'd by the *Incas*.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of some Particulars relating to the Province of Puerto Viejo and the Equinoctial.

THE first Sea-Port in the Kingdom of *Peru* is that of *Passao*, at which, and the River of *Santiago* the Government of *Don Francisco Pizarro* commenc'd; for all beyond it Northward, belongs to the Province of *Rio de San*.

*Passao
Port the
first in
Peru.*

San Juan, or *St. John's River*; so that *Passao* may be said to lye within the District of the City of *Santiago de Puerto Viejo*, which Country being so close to the Equinoctial, the Natives are not look'd upon as very healthy,

Ancient Cosmographers were much mistaken, when they affirm'd, that the Lands under the Equinoctial were not habitable, by Reason of the excessive Heat. This Equinoctial is well known to be an imaginary Line running round the Globe, from East to West, at equal Distance from both the Poles, and is so call'd, because, when the Sun comes one it, twice a Year, the Days and Nights are of an equal Length. *Virgil*, *Ovid*, and other great Men concluded that the Sun's Rays darted down under it so directly that no Man could possibly live there. Others thought some Part of it might be inhabited, following the Opinion of *Psolmay*, who says, *We are not to believe that the Torrid Zone is altogether inhabitable*. Others again maintain'd it was not only free from excessive Heat, but extraordinary Temperate. This *St. Isidorus* asserts, in the first Book of his *Etymologies*, where he says, the Terrestrial Paradise lies to the Eastward, under the Equinoctial, being a most temperate, and delightful Place. Experience has now taught us, that not only the Part under the Equinoctial, but the whole Torrid-Zone, extending from the Northern to the Southern Tropick is habitable, wealthy and fruitful; because the Days, and Nights are all the Year about of an Equal Length; so that the Coolness of the Night, moderates the Heat of the Day, and the Land is thus continually in a Temper to produce its Fruits. This is what naturally belongs to it, tho' in some Places it differs accidentally. The Tropick of *Cancer*, is 470 Leagues, allowing 20 to a Degree, from the Line, in 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ of North Latitude, whither the Sun comes on the 11th of *June*, and never passes it; but returns thence towards the Equinoctial, on which it is, on the 13th of *September*, proceeding thence to the Tropick of *Capricorn* 470 Leagues to the Southward, that is to 23 Degrees and half; so that the two Tropicks are 940 Leagues distance from one another, and this Space is what the Ancients call'd the Torrid Zone, that is, a Country scorch'd, and

Torrid
Zone Tem-
perate.

and burning; because the Sun moves over it all the Year.

To return to the Province of *Puerto Viejo*, the *Natives* of it are not long liv'd; but whether the *Spaniards* will be so, or no, I know not, by Reason that in my Time the Wars consum'd more than Diseases. The People are of a middle Stature: and their Land extraordinary fruitful, as yielding Abundance of *Indian* Wheat, *Tuca*, *Agi*, Patatoes, and many other Roots of good Sustainance. Besides there is Plenty of Excellent *Guayavas*; of two, or three several Sorts, *Guavas*, *Aguacates*, two Kinds of *Tunas*, the one white, and of a delicious Taste; *Caymitos*, another Fruit they call *Cerezillas*, or little Cherries, *Spanish* and *Indian* Melons; Beans, and Grain; as also Orange, and Lime Trees, Plantans, and in some Parts curious Pine-Apples. The Country swarms with those Swine I said at *Uraba* had their Navels on their Backs, which is only an Excrefcency; but no Navel appearing underneath, the *Spaniards* said it was above, and their Flesh is very delicious. Nor is there any want of *Spanish* Swine; the best relish'd Venison in *Peru*; great Covies of Partridges, and Flights of Pidgeons, Turtle Doves, Pea-Hens, Pheasants, and many other Birds. Among them is one they call *Xuta*, as big as a large Goose, which the *Indians* breed in their Houses, and they are Tame, and good Meat. Another call'd *Maca*, something smaller than a Cock, of most delicate Colours, the Beak thicker than a Man's Finger, equally divided into two sprightly Colours, Red and Yellow. On the Mountains there are some Foxes, Bears, little Lions, Tigers, and Snakes; but they all rather shun Man, than assault him. There are also other Birds of Night, and Prey, both on the Coast, and Inland, and some *Condors*, and those they call *Gallinazas*, and by another Name *Auras*, being stinking Birds. On the Mountains, and in the Brakes there are large Woods, and Groves, of several Sorts of Trees, fit for building, and other Uses. In the Hollow of some of them the Bees breed, and make Excellent Honey. These *Indians* have several Fisheries, where they take much Fish, and among the rest, a Sort call'd *Bonitos*, which are not good, for they occasion Fevers, and other Distempers. The

Puerto Viejo.

Product and Animals.

Men.

Men along the greatest Part of this Coast are subject to great red Carbuncles, as big as Walnuts, which break out on their Forheads, Noses, and other Parts, and besides the Uneasiness they cause, are a great Deformity, thought to proceed from eating some Sort of Fish. Whatsoever is the Occasion, they belong to that Coast, and some *Spaniards* have had them, as well as the Natives.

Natives.

There are two Sorts of People along this Coast, and on the Lands belonging to the Cities of *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*; for from Cape *Passaos*, and the River of *Santiago*, as far as the Town of *Zalango*, the Men's Faces are wrought, from the Top of the Ear down to the Chin, as broad as every one pleases, some more, and others less, like the *Moors*. The Women have the same Sort of Work on their Faces, and both they and their Husbands wear Jerkins, and Mantles, or Blankets of Cotton, and some of Wollen. They use some Ornaments of Gold, and Strings of very small red Beads, call'd *Chaquira*, which was once an excellent Commodity to barter; for I have seen a considerable Quantity of Gold given for it. In the Province of *Quimbaya*, where the City *Cartago* stands, certain *Caciques*, or great Men gave the Marshal *Robledo*, above the Value of 1500 Pieces of Eight, for less than a Pound of it; but at that Time they would give the Value of 2, or 300 Pieces of Eight for 3, or 4 Bits of Glass made in Imitation of Diamonds. We shall never have Cause to complain of our Bargains with the *Indians*; and I have my self sold an *Indian* a little Axe made of Copper, for its Weight in pure Gold, and the Scales were not very exact. But the Case is alter'd, and they know how to sell what they have, and to buy what they want. The Principal Dwellings of those who carv'd their Faces in this Province are *Passaos*, *Xaramixo*, *Pimpanguace*, *Peclanfemeque*, the Vale of *Xauxa*, *Pechonse*, *Monte Christo*, *Apechigue*, *Silos*, *Canilloha*, *Manta*, *Zapil*, *Manavi*, *Xaraguaza*, &c. Their Houses are of Timber, cover'd with Straw; some small, and others bigger, according to the Owners Ability.

lov'd, that they call'd him Father, and other honourable Titles, for his Goodness, which gain'd him perpetual Reputation; he set out upon affairs of the Government, without being able to visit the Provinces of these *Indians* where he left Governours, and some Natives of *Cuzco*, to instruct them how they were to live, for the better civilizing of them, and to other good Purposes. They were so far from imbracing the good Will of those left among them by *Topaynga*, to put them into a Politer Way of living, than they were acquainted with, and shew them how to till their Lands; that tho' those Persons did not oppress, or offer them any Wrong whatsoever, they murder'd them all, without sparing any one throughout all the Province. They tell us that *Topaynga* was inform'd of this Cruel Act, but having his Hands full of greater Matters at that Time, was fain to connive, not being then able to chastise those, who had so basely murder'd his Commanders, and other Subjects.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Of the Manners of these Indians, and other things relating to them.

SOME time after, the great *Guaynacapa* reigning at *Cuzco*, came down in Person to visit the Provinces of *Quito*, when he fully conquer'd all these People; tho' it is reported, they first slew more of his Men, and Commanders, than they had done of his Father's, and that more deceitfully, as I shall shew in the next Chapter: It is to be observ'd, that all I write, concerning these former Actions of the *Indians*, before the coming of the *Spaniards*, I receiv'd from themselves; who having no use of Letters, found out another ingenious Invention to preserve the Memory of their Actions, which I shall speak of in my second Part. Tho' these Provinces made *Guaynacapa* Presents of rich Emeralds, Gold, and such other things as they valu'd most, yet there were no Store houses, or Lodgings

gings built in them, as in others; the Reason whereof was, because the Country was unhealthy, and its Towns small, and therefore the *Orejones* would not reside there, as making small Account of it, since they had Room enough to spread in that they already possess'd. No People in *Peru* were so Superstitious, or offer'd so many Sacrifices as these. Their Priests had Charge of the Temples, and the Service of their Idols, representing their false Gods, before whom at set Hours they sung Hymns, and perform'd such Ceremonies as they had learnt of their Ancestors. The Devil appear'd in dreadful Shapes, to such as were appointed for that Function, whom all the *Indians* highly respected. One of these return'd Answers to their Questions, and frequently to save his Reputation made many extravagant Motions, to persuade the People that the Devil told him strange things, and what was to happen afterwards, which seldom prov'd true, tho' the Devil himself spoke. Yet there has been no Battle, or other Action of Note, among us *Spaniards* in all our distracted Wars, but what the *Indians* every where foretold; yet could never particularize how, or where the thing would fall out; for it is certain that the Devil only guesses at Futurity, and therefore always gives ambiguous Answers, to impose upon the ignorant. They offer'd Gifts, and kill'd Beasts by Way of Sacrifices, in their *Guacas*, which were their Temples, or Places of Worship; and some affirm, they shed the Blood of many *Indians*, as a more acceptable Sacrifice. When they took any of their Neighbours in War, being all assembled together, and made drunk with their Liquor, their Chief Priest kill'd them, with a Knife made of Flint, or Copper, and cutting off their Heads, offer'd them up with the Bodies to the Devil. When any of them were sick, they bath'd often, and offer'd Sacrifices to beg Health. In their Funerals they observ'd the same as has been said of burying living Women, and had such Opinions concerning the Immortality of the Soul, as have been mention'd before.

Superstitious.

CHAP. XLIX.

How little these Indians regarded Virginity in the Women they were to Marry, and of their being addicted to Sodomy.

*Barbarous
Practices.*

ALL the Provinces subject to the *Ingas* worshipping the Sun, it is needless to repeat it in speaking of them particularly, no more than that they own'd a sovereign Creator of all things. The three upper and three lower Teeth we hinted at before to be drawn by them, was done by the Parents, when their Children were very young, and this they were so far from believing to be a Crime, that they rather look'd upon it as a Meritorious Act, and pleasing to their Gods. They contracted Matrimony like their Neighbours, and I have heard it affirm'd, that for the most Part they deflower'd the Maid that was to be Marry'd beforehand, making use of her in common. To this Purpose I remember, that in some Part of the Province of *Cartagena*, when they Marry'd off their Daughters, and were to deliver them to the Bridegrooms, the Mothers would in the Presence of some of their Kindred deprive them of their Maidenheads, with their Fingers. Thus we see it was reputed more honourable to deliver them to their Husbands even thus corrupted, than with their Virginity. I know not whether Custom is the better, they are both so shameful, but in some Parts the Friends, and Relations us'd to take the Pains of easing the Bride of her Virginity and so deliver'd her to the Husband. The Sons of *Caciques* inherit their Command, and for want of them the next Brothers, who also failing the Succession devolves to the Nephews by Sisters. Some of the Women here are handsome. These *Indians* I speak of make the best Bread of *Maiz*, or *Indian Wheat*, that is to be found in the greatest Part of the *West Indies*; so very well wrought, and relish'd, that it exceeds some of *European Wheat*, which is look'd upon as good. In some of these *Indian Towns* they kept Abundance of Men's
Skins

Skins stuff'd with Ashes, as hideous to behold, as those above spoken of at *Cali*.

These People being Vicious, and of perverse Inclinations, tho' they had Plenty of Women, and some of them Beautiful, yet I have been very well assur'd, that they practis'd the horrid Sin of Sodomy publickly without any Shame, and even to glory in, and boast of it. Some Years before this, Captain *Pacheco* and Captain *Olmos*, who is now in *Spain*, after informing them how odious, and wicked an Action that was, inflicted severe Punishments on those that were found guilty of it. [They have been all since converted, so that at this Time, that Race being worn out, they know nothing of their former ill Customs, or Superstitions]

Sodomy.

CHAP. L.

How the Indians of Manta formerly Worshipp'd an Emeraud as their God, and other things relating to them.

I Have often read that some Nations ador'd the likeness of a Bull, others that of a Cock, others a Lion, and so several Creatures, which were it not known to be undoubtedly true, would rather seem ridiculous than credible. The *Greeks* were for some Ages the most renowned People in the World, and Learning Flourish'd among them to a great Degree, and yet they were guilty of this Folly; the *Egyptians*, *Bastrians*, and *Babylonians* were no less famous, or more free from the same Delusion; the *Romans* excell'd them all, and even they had shameful and preposterous Deities. Now since these so polite, and civiliz'd Nations could Err so grossly; what Wonder that these *Indians* we speak of, tho' they ador'd the Sun and Moon, should also worship Trees, the Sea, the Earth, and whatsoever else they took a Fancy to. It is true I have been certainly inform'd, that in all these Parts they convers'd with the Devil, who deluded them, appearing visibly

Preposterous
Worships.

visibly to their Priests. In the great Temple of *Pachacama* they worshipp'd a Fox, and other things in other Places, as I shall have occasion to relate. In this Country the Lord of *Manta* had a very large, and rich Emerald, left him by his Ancestors as a thing deserving much Honour, and Esteem, and this they some Days expos'd to publick View, where it was worshipp'd, and ador'd, as if it had contain'd some Deity. When any of the *Indians* were sick, after offering their Sacrifices, they went to pray to the Stone; to which they presented other Stones, the Priest, who convers'd with the Devil, perswading them, that they should recover their Health, by means of those offerings, which afterwards the *Cacique*, and that Impostor apply'd to their own Use, very many resorting to *Manta*, from all the Country about, to offer Sacrifices, and Gifts of Value. Some of the first *Spanish* Discoverers of this Kingdom assur'd me, that much Treasure had been found in this Town of *Manta*, and that it still yielded more Profit to the Proprietors, than any other Place about it. They add, that the Natives would never declare where that large, and precious Stone was hid, tho' they had often threatned the Prime Men upon that Account, so great was the Veneration they had for it.

Manta.

Manta is upon the Coast, as are the other Towns I have spoken of. The Inland up higher is more Populous, and there are greater Towns; the Natives have a different Language from that on the Coast; but their Provisions, and Fruits are the same; their Houses of Timber, small, and cover'd with Straw, or Palm-Tree Leaves; both they and their Wives were clad. They had some of those we call *Pern* Sheep; but not so numerous as at *Quito*, and about *Cuzco*; nor were they so Superstitious as those on the Coast, or so guilty of Sodomy. There has been great Expectation of finding Gold Mines on these Mountains, and no Question is made, that there is a very rich one of Emeralds, which our Commanders could never prevail with the Natives to discover. It is true, some will have it, that Captain *Olmos* had Information of this Mine, which if he had, I believe he would have reveal'd it to his Brothers, or some other Persons. A very great Number of Emeralds has been found in the Territory of

of *Puerto Viejo*, and they are the finest in the *West Indies*; for tho' there be more in the New Kingdom of *Granada*, yet the best of them are inferior to the ordinary ones of this Country.

The *Caraques*, and their Neighbours are another Race Caraques. of People, did not cut Works on their Faces, and were more Ignorant than the others, as being free. They made War among themselves, for very trivial Occasions. As soon as an Infant was born, they moulded its Head, and then bound it up between two Boards, so that at 4, or 5 Years of Age, it was broad, or long and had no Pole. This was practis'd by many, who not satisfy'd with the Natural Shape, form'd the Heads to their own Humour; which they said they did to render them more healthy, and fit for Labour. Some of them, particularly those that are below the Town of *Colima*, to the Northward, went naked, and traded with the *Indians* on the Coast that runs towards *St. John's River*. They tell us, that *Guaynacapa*, after his Commanders had been kill'd, as was said above, came as far as *Colima*, where he order'd a Fort to be built, and seeing the *Indians* go naked went no farther; but turn'd back Commanding some of his Generals to subdue as far as they could, and they then proceeded to the River of *Santiago*. Several *Spaniards* who are still living, of those that came in with the *Adelantado*, or Lord Licutenant *Don Pedro de Alvarado*, report, and I heard it particularly from the Marshal *Alonso de Alvarado*, the Captains *Garcilasso de la Vega*, and *John de Saavedra*, and another Gentleman, whose Name is *Suer de Cangas*, that when the *Adelantado Don Pedro* landed on the Coast, and came to this Town, they found much Gold, and Silver made up into Vessels, and other things of Value, and so great a Quantity of Emeralds, as would have yielded a vast Sum of Money, had they known and kept them; but most Men affirming they were Glasse, tho' some believ'd them to be Stones, they carry'd them to try, to an Anvil, where they broke them in Pieces with a Hammer; alledging, that, if they were Glasse they would soon break, and if Stone recover a greater Luster. Thus for want of Skill, they destroy'd many Emeralds; nor did they make any Advantage of the Gold and Silver; for
being

being much distress'd with Hunger, and Cold, they left Burdens of it about the Mountains.

CHAP. II.

Concluding the Account of the Indians about Puerto Viejo, and the Foundation of that City.

AS soon as the *Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado*, and the Marshal *Don Diego de Almagro* had agreed, in the Plains of *Riobamba*, *Alvarado* repairing to receive the 100000 Pieces of Eight he was to have for his Fleet, *Almagro* gave Orders to Captain *Sebastian de Belalcazar*, for settling the Affairs of *Quito*, and apply'd himself to regulate the maritime Towns along the Coast, which he did at *Sr. Miguel*, and *Chimo*, and then look'd out a convenient Place for founding of the City *Truxillo*, which was afterwards perform'd by the Marques *Don Francisco Pizarro*. During this Expedition *Don Diego de Almagro* behav'd himself like a Discreet Commander, and being inform'd at the City of *St. Michael*, that the Spanish Ships coming from *Tierra Firme*, *Nicaragua*, and *Guatemala* for the Coast of *Peru*, landed Men, who did much Harm to the Indians of *Manta*, and others along the Coast of *Puerto Viejo*, he resolv'd to send an Officer to build a City, in a Proper Place, to prevent these Ravages, and protect the Natives, knowing they were numerous. Accordingly he dispatch'd Captain *Francis Pacheco*, with a necessary Number of Men. He, pursuant to his Orders embark'd at a Place call'd *Piquaza*, and where he thought most convenient founded the City of *Puerto Viejo*, then call'd a Town, on the 12th of *March*, 1535. Whilst he was busy about his Building and Conquest, *Peter de Puellas* came with some Spaniards, from *Quito*, where Captain *Belalcazar* was Lieutenant General under *Pizarro*, to people, and inhabit that same Coast of the South Sea; and there was some bickering between them, till the News being carry'd to *Pizarro*, he sent such Orders as he

he thought most proper for his Majesty's Service, and the Preservation, and good Government of the *Indians*. Thus Captain *Pacheco* having spent almost two Years in subduing, and traversing those Provinces, when Captain *Peter de Puellas* was return'd to *Quito* founded his City, call'd *Puerto Viejo*, and seated in the most convenient Part of all that Distinct, not far from the South Sea.

In most Parts of this Territory of *Puerto Viejo*, when they were to bury their dead, they dug very deep Pits, more like Wells than Graves, which being cleans'd from the Earth, when they were to inter the Corps, Abundance of People met, who all Danc'd, Sung, and Wept, at the same time, not forgetting to drink, beating their Drums, and playing upon other Sorts of Musick, that were rather dreadful than pleasant; all which Ceremonies, and others they learnt of their Fore-Fathers, being perform'd, they laid the Body into those deep Graves, and with it, if he was a *Cacique*, or prime Man, two or three of his best belov'd Wives, his Treasure, Meat, and Liquor, as has been said of others. This done they plac'd one of those large Canes I have mention'd there are in those Parts, over his Grave, which being hollow, they took care from Time to Time, to pour into it some of their Liquor they call *Azua*, made of *Indian* Wheat, or other Roots; the Devil having perswaded them, that the Dead Persons drank the Liquor they thus put into the Cane. The Custom of burying Arms, Treasure, and Provisions with the Dead, as has been spoken of, was us'd throughout most of these Parts that have been discover'd; and many Provinces added Women, and Boys alive.

Graves.

Azua
Liquor.

C H A P. LII.

Of the Wells there are at the Cape of Santa Elena; what those People tell us of the coming thither of the Giants, and of the Source of Natural Bitumen there.

Giants.

HAVING spoken of all the Ports from *Panama*, to the most Southern Part of *Chile*, at the Beginning of this Work; it will be needless to repeat them in this Place. I have also mention'd the Principal Towns in this Province, and will therefore now give the best Account I could get of the Giants much spoken of in *Peru*, and said to have landed at Cape *Santa Elena*, in the Territory of *Puerto Viejo*. The Natives inform us, they receiv'd a Tradition from their Parents, which had been of very ancient standing, that there came thither by Sea, on Floats made of Rushes, like great Boats, a Parcel of such Monstrous great Men, that one of a good common Stature did not reach above their Knees. That all their Limbs being proportionable to the Bulk of their Bodies, it was amazing to see what vast Heads they had, with their Hair hanging down on their Backs. Their Eyes they compare to Saucers, and say they had no Beards, but were some of them cloath'd in Skins of Beasts, others in such Garments as Nature provided them, and that they brought no Women. These Men having settled on this Point of Land, building a sort of Town, whereof there are still some Remains to be seen, and finding no Water, to supply this Want, dug Wells of a prodigious Depth, in the solid Rock, till they came to the Water, and afterwards from it upwards lin'd them with Stone, so that they will last many Ages. The Water in them is very good and well tasted, and so cool that it is a Pleasure to drink it. When they had thus settled their Habitations, and dug their Wells, they devour'd, and destroy'd all the Provisions they could find in the Country round about; for they say, that one of them would eat more than

than was requisite to maintain 50 of the Natives; and what they found ashore not sufficing them, they caught Abundance of Fish in the Sea. They liv'd much hated by the Natives; because they kill'd their Women endeavouring to make Use of them, and the Men for other Reasons. The *Indians* were not able to destroy those New Intruders, who had possess'd themselves of their Lands; tho' they had several Meetings to that Effect, yet never durst attempt it. Some Years after, these Giants still continuing there, and wanting Women, because the Natives were not fit for them, by Reason of their vast Bulk, or because they were naturally addicted to it, they gave themselves over to the abominable Sin of Sodomy, and all the *Indians* affirm, they receiv'd a Punishment suitable to their Crime, a dreadful Fire falling from Heaven, whilst they were committing the Sin, with a hideous Noise; out of the midst whereof came a bright Angel, with a Sharp, and glittering Sword, wherewith, at one Stroke, he slew them all, and they were consum'd by the Fire; so that nothing of them remain'd but some Bones; and the Skulls, which escap'd the Conflagration, as a Memorial of the Judgment.

This is the Account they give of the Giants, which we are apt to believe, because there have been mighty Bones found in the Place they speak of. I have heard *Spaniards* declare, they have seen a Piece of a Tooth, which if whole would have weigh'd a Pound; and that they had seen a Piece of a Shin Bone of an incredible Magnitude. This is some Proof of what they tell us, besides the Remains of their Habitations, and the Wells they dug. I cannot pretend to give any Account, whence these Monsters should come. Being this very Year 1550 in the City of *Lima*, I was told, that when *Don Antonio de Mendoza* was Viceroy of *New Spain*, some Men's Bones were there found, as big, if not larger than those of the Giants I speak of. Besides I have heard that the Bones of Giants had been found before in a very ancient Tomb, in the City of *Mexico*, or some other Part of that Kingdom; which having been seen by so many, we may reasonably believe, that there were such Giants, and perhaps the same might be in both Places.

*Monstrous
Bones.*

Natural
Bitumen.

At this same Point of *Santa Elena* is to be seen another very remarkable thing, being certain Springs of Natural Liquid Bitumen, so good that they might use it about Ships instead of Tar, and it runs out hot, which I have not seen in any other Part of the *West Indies* I have travell'd through; but I believe *Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo*, in the first Part of his Natural and General History of the *West Indies*, gives an Account of this and other such Sources.

C H A P. LIII.

Of the Founding of the City Guayaquil, and how the Natives slew some of Guaynacapa's Commanders.

Guanca-
viltas.

FARTHER on to the Eastward stands the City of *Guayaquil*, and within its Territory the Indians are *Guancavilcas*, such as I said before draw six of their Teeth, either to comply with some ancient Custom, or in Honour of their false Gods; and having already mention'd their Habit, and Customs it would be superfluous to repeat them. I have before declar'd how the Commanders sent by *Topaynga Yupangue* to reduce the Coast by fair Means, were all treacherously slain by those People. No Care was taken at that Time to revenge that unjust Slaughter; because the *Inga* himself was at *Cuzco*, and his Governors had enough to do to secure the Borders of their Provinces. Afterwards *Guaynacapa* succeeding in the Throne, and proving as brave a Commander as his Father had been, and even more discreet, and ambitious of Rule; he set out with great Speed from *Cuzco*, attended by the Prime *Orejanes*, of the two most celebrated Families in that City, who were call'd *Hananocuzcos*, and *Orencuzcos*. After visiting the famous Temple of *Pachacama*, and the Garrisons residing by his Order in the Province of *Xauxa*, and that of *Caxamalca*, and other Places, both on the Mountains, and fruitful Plains, he turn'd away to the Coast, where

where a Fort had been built by his Order at *Tumbez*, tho' some *Indians* say, that was an ancients Structure. The Inhabitants of the Island *Puna* being at Variance with the People of *Tumbez*, the *Inga's* Commanders found no Difficulty in building of the Fort, which might perhaps have prov'd a troublesome Task, had it not been for those little Wars and Divisions. The Fort being almost finish'd, *Guaynacapa* came, and order'd the Temple of the Sun to be built close by it, and above 200 Virgins to be plac'd in it, being the Beautifullest Daughters of the Prime Men in the Country about. In this Fort, which before it fell to Ruin, is said to have been very Magnificent, *Guaynacapa* left his Governour, with a Number of *Mitimaes*, and great Stores of valuable Goods, besides Abundance of Provisions, for the Subsistence of those who resided in it, and the Troops that should happen to march that Way. They add, that they brought him a Lion, and a very fierce Tiger, which he order'd to be kept, and perhaps were the same that Captain *Peter de Candia* was expos'd to, when *Don Francisco Pizarro*, with his 13 Companions, that discover'd *Peru*, came first into this Country. In this same Fort of *Tumbez*, there was a good Number of Gold Smiths, who made Vessels of Gold, and Silver, and other Jewels; both for the Service of the Temple, which they look'd upon as sacred, and for the *Inga*, as also to beat out Plates of the same Metal, to cover the Walls of Temples and Palaces. The Women dedicated to the Service of the Temple, had nothing to do, but to Spin and Weave fine woollen Cloth, which they did to a great Perfection.

As soon as *Guaynacapa* had taken Possession of the Province of the *Guancavilcas*, that of *Tumbez*, and all about it, he sent Orders to *Tumbala*, the *Cacique*, or Lord of the Island of *Puna*, to come over, and do him Homage, and then to pay him Tribute in such things as his Island afforded. The Lord of *Puna* was much troubled at this Message of the *Inga's*; because he being a Sovereign by Descent, look'd upon it as an insupportable Burden, to part with his Liberty, a thing so highly valu'd by all Nations, and to admit of a Stranger to be supreme Lord of his Island, knowing they were not only to serve him

Puna
Island sub-
mits to the
Ingas.

with

with their Persons, but to suffer strong Holds to be built, and to maintain them at their own Cost; besides giving him the most beautiful of his Women, which he resented above all the Rest. Having consulted the Matter, and considering how unable they were to withstand the Power of the *Inga*; they concluded, that the best Advice was to embrace his Friendship, tho' it were but counterfeit. Hereupon *Tumbala* sent Messengers of his own to *Guaynacapa*, with Presents, and extraordinary Offers, inviting him to come over to his Island, to divert himself for some Days. This being pass'd, and *Guaynacapa* satisfy'd with their submissive Offers, *Tumbala*, and his Prime Men offer'd Sacrifices to their Gods, asking their Southsayers, what they should do to avoid being subject to him that aspir'd to Universal Monarchy. It is also generally reported, that they sent Messengers to several Parts of the adjacent Continent, to sound the Disposition of the Natives; endeavouring to incense them against *Guaynacapa*, that they might rise up in Arms, and shake off his Yoke. This was carry'd on with such Secrecy, and Dissimulation, that few, except those concern'd knew any thing of it. In the mean while *Guaynacapa* came into the Island of *Puna*, where he was honourably receiv'd, and lodg'd in the Royal Apartment provided for him, in a short Time, where the *Orejones* met with the Natives, all of them expressing a plain, and unfeigned Friendship. Many of the People of the Contient being desirous to live as their Forefathers had done, and a Foreign Yoke being always thought heavy, they were easily induc'd to conspire with the Islanders of *Puna*, for cutting off all those who came into their Country with the *Inga*.

They tell us, that at this Time *Guaynacapa*, order'd some of his Commanders, with a Number of Men to go visit several Towns on the Continent, and dispose Affairs for his Service. The Islanders were commanded to carry them over in Floats, and up a River, to land in a Convenient Place. *Guaynacapa* having given these Orders, return'd to *Tumbez*, or to some other Part near it. When he was gone, the *Orejones*, Noble Youths of *Cuzco*, went into the great Floats provided for them, with their Officers, and when they least thought of it, the Islanders treacherously

Natives
of is mur-
der the
Orejones
of Peru.

treacherously let slip the Ropes, that bound together the Timbers the Floats were made up of, so that the poor *Orejones* dropt into the Water, where they cruelly kill'd them, with the Weapons they carry'd conceal'd for that Purpose. Thus all the *Orejones* were either knock'd on the Head, or drowned, nothing but some of their Mantles, and other Ornaments remaining on the Floats. The Islanders rejoic'd much at this Exploit, haling one another from their Floats, and concluding they had now absolutely ruin'd the *Inga*; but found themselves much deceiv'd, as they themselves inform us. The *Orejones* that went aboard the Floats being thus destroy'd, the Slayers made hast back to take in more of them, who knowing nothing of what had happen'd, imbarc'd in greater Numbers, with their Baggage, Arms, and Ornaments, and were all of them slaughter'd as the others had been, so that not one escap'd; for if any of them could swim, or dive, the others, who were more Skilful at both soon overtook, and dash'd out their Brains. The *Orejones* being all kill'd, the Islanders, with their Accomplices return'd to their Island. This News being brought to *Guaynacapa*, he was much concern'd, and offended, considering, that so many of his best Men should be unbury'd; for in most Parts of the *West Indies* they take more Care to adorn the Grave they are to be laid in, then the House they live in. He immediately gather'd the Remainder of his Forces, and was so intent upon punishing those Barbarians, that tho' they endeavour'd to oppose him, they could do nothing, nor so much as hope for Pardon; because the Offence was so heinous, that it admitted of no Mercy. Thus many thousands of *Indians* were put to several Sorts of Deaths, and some of the Heads, that had been advising were impal'd, and drowned. Having perform'd this Bloody Execution, *Guaynacapa* order'd that the wicked Action committed there should be always remember'd in their Dismal, and Melancholy Songs; which they do in their Language after the Manner of Dirges. Then he contriv'd to make a Causeway over the River of *Guayaquil*, which is very wide, and the Work, by some Remains of it appears to have been Magnificent, but was never brought to Perfection, however.

*Punishment
of them.*

however it is call'd *Guaynacapa's* Way. When all things were again settled to his Mind, and the People commanded to obey the Governour in the Fort of *Tumbex*, the *Inga* departed that Country. There are other Towns and Liberties within the Territory of the City of *Guayaquil*, whereof nothing needs be said, but that their Soil, Customs, and Habits is the same as the others.

CHAP. LIV.

Of the Island of Puna, and of that of la Plata ; and of the wonderful Root call'd Zarzaparilla, of extraordinary use in Physick.

Puna I-
sland de-
scrib'd.

THE Island *Puna* lying near the Port of *Tumbex*, is about 10 Leagues in Compass, formerly very famous, on Account that the Natives of it were great Traders, their rich Island affording all things necessary for the Support of Man ; besides that among their Neighbours they had the Reputation of being brave, having maintain'd bloody Wars with the People of *Tumbex*, and other adjacent Nations, killing, and robbing one another upon very trivial Occasions, The Great *Topaynga* sent to desire their Friendship, and Alliance, but they rejected him, and were never subdu'd till *Guaynacapa*, as was said above ; tho' others affirm they had been before conquer'd by the *Inga Tupangue*, and rebell'd. The Natives are of a middle Stature, swarthy, Men and Women went clad, wore great Strings of *Chaquira*, or small Beads, and several Ornaments of Gold.

Product
and Cu-
stoms.

The Island has many Woods, and Groves, and abounds in Fruit, *Maiz*, *Tuca*, and other pleasant Roots, as also several Sorts of Birds, as Parots, *Gnacamayaz*, &c. and Beasts, as curious colour'd Apes, Monkeys, Foxes, Lions, Snakes, and other Creatures. The *Caciques* that dye are much Lamented, and bury'd as has been said of others, the Women that are not put into the Grave with them cutting

In another small adjacent Island, now call'd *de la Plata*, *La Plata* or of Plate, they had formerly a *Guaca*, or Temple dedicated to their Gods, and about it much Gold, Silver, Woollen Cloth, and other things of Value, which had been presented at several Times. Some of these People are also said to have been guilty of Sodomy, but are now converted.

Here and in the Territory of the City *Guayaquil* is Abundance of the Plant call'd *Sarzaparilla*, because it grows like a Brier, call'd in *Spanish Zarza*, and shoots out small Leaves at the Buds, and other Parts of the Branches. The Roots of it are good against several Distempers, and particularly for the Pox, and the Pains caus'd by it. They put the Patient into a close warm Room, that the Air, or Cold may not hurt him, where he is only purg'd, dieted, and confin'd to drink of the Water this Root is boild in, which Water is clear, not ill tasted, and has no Scent, and thus without any further Trouble all the Infection is Expell'd, so that the sick Person becomes sounder than he was before, and without any of those uneasy Remains commonly left by other Medicines. Thus extraordinary Cures have been several Times perform'd in this Town of *Guayaquil*, and many who had their very Bowels tainted, and their Bodies corrupted have been restor'd to perfect Health, and a fresher Collour than they had before, by only drinking the Water of these Roots, as were others quite over-run with the Pox, so that their very Breaths stunk. The same Effect it has wrought on some that were swollen, and others that had Sores. I am of Opinion it is one of the most valuable Plants, or Roots in the World, as frequent Experience has shewn. This *Sarzaparilla* grows in several Parts of the *West Indies*, but there is none so good as that of the Island *Puna*, and the Territory of *Guayaquil*.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHANGCHUN

CHAP. LV.

Of the founding of the City Santiago de Guayaquil, of the Indians Subject to it, and other Particulars within its Liberties.

Slaunder
of Spani-
ards.

Captain Sebastian de Belalcázar being fully impower'd by Don Francisco Pizarro, and understanding that the Provinces of Guayaquil were well peopled, resolv'd to build a City in that Territory, and accordingly set out from the City of St. Miguel, where he was then raising Men to return to the Conquest of Quito. As soon as he enter'd the Province, he endeavour'd to perswade the Natives to live peaceably with the Spaniards, and submit to the King; and the Indians knowing that the Spaniards had already settled at St. Miguel, Puerto Viejo and Quito, many of them came out in friendly Manner, and seem'd to rejoice at their coming; whereupon Captain Belalcázar founded the City, where he thought convenient; and continu'd there some few Days, being oblig'd to return to Quito, and leaving one James Daza Governour in the Place. He had not been long gone, before the Indians, growing weary of the Importunity of the Spaniards, who were continually craving of Gold, and Silver, and handsome Women, and divided among themselves, conspir'd together to cut them all off; which they accordingly put in Execution, falling upon them, when they least suspected any such Design, and killing all but 5, or 6 that made their Escape, with their Commander James Daza. They with much Difficulty, and Danger made their Way to the City Quito; whence Captain Belalcázar was then gone to discover the Country to the Northward, leaving one John Diaz Hidalgo, to Command in his Stead. This Account being brought to Quito, some Spaniards return'd with James Daza, and Captain Tapia, who thought fit to be assisting in that Enterprize. At their Return, they had some Encounters with the Indians; who had encouraged one another, protesting they would dye, in Defence of

and beg Health of them, killing Men, as I have been inform'd. For this Purpose they had Drums, and little Bells, and Idols, some of them in the Shape of Lions, and others of Tigers. Their Burials were the same as in other Parts; the Weapons they us'd long Staves, and Clubs, which we call *Mazanas*. Most of these People are confum'd, the rest become Christians, and having said enough of *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*; I will now return to the Place where I left off, on the great Road made by the *Ingas*.

C H A P. LVI.

Of the Indians between Tomebamba, and the City of Loxa, and of the founding of that City.

Paltas
Province.

PROceeding from *Tomebamba* on the great Road towards the City of *Cuzco*, the way is across all the Province of *los Camarés*, as far as *Canaribamba*, and another Store house beyond it. On both Sides there are Towns belonging to this same Province, and a Mountain to the Eastward, the Descent whereof is inhabited, and runs towards the River of the *Amazons*. When out of this Province of the *Canares*, we come to that of the *Paltas*, where there are Store houses, at this Time call'd *de las Piedras*, or of the Stones; because many very curious ones were found there, sent by the *Ingas*, during their Government, to their Stewards, or Commanders, thinking this Province of the *Paltas* of great Consequence, and therefore they erected these *Tambos*, so they call these Apartments, and Store houses, which were large and beautiful, and built very Masterly, being all of Masonry, and seated near the Rise of the River of *Tumbez*, and near them several common Store houses, where they laid up the Tribute the Natives were oblig'd to pay.

To the Westward of these Apartments lies the City of *Puerto Viejo*, and to the Eastward is the Province of the *Bracamoros*, which extends far, and has many Rivers, some of

Bracamoros
Province

of them very large, as also several Mountains, some of them very dreadful. The *Indians* there went Naked, were never subdu'd by the *Ingas*, and therefore more Savage, and Brutal than all those of *Peru*; being very like those of *Popayan*, and warlike; for the very *Orejones* of *Cuzco* confess that *Guaynacapa* fled from their Fury. Being but little acquainted with that Province, I will not pretend to give an Account of it.

From the Province of the *Cannares* to the City of *Loxa*, otherwise call'd *la Zarza*, they reckon 17 Leagues, the Way all Craggy, and in some Places deep, The Territory of the *Paltas* lying between them, as has been said. At a small Distance from the *Tambo*, or Apartments of *las Piedras*, begins a Mountain, not very large, but extraordinary cold, which holds somewhat above ten Leagues, and at the End of it is another of these Structures, call'd *Tambo blanco*, that is the White *Tambo*, or Apartment. Thence the Road runs to the River *Catamayo*, near to which, on the right hand stands the City *Loxa*, founded by Captain *Alonso de Mercadillo*, in the Year 1546. On both Sides of it there are Numerous Habitations of *Indians*, in all Respects like those already describ'd, wearing their *Llantos*, or Ligatures about their Heads to be distinguish'd by. Most of the Natives subject to this City of *Loxa* were formerly subdu'd by the *Ingas*. The Climate here is good, and wholesome, more temperate in the Vales, and along the Banks of Rivers, than on the Mountains; yet what is Inhabited there, is good Land, rather cold than hot; but the Deserts, and snowy Tops are so in excess. There are Abundance of *Guanacos*, and *Vicumnas*, like their Sheep, as also of Partridges, some less than Hens, and others bigger than Turtle Doves. In the Vales, and Plains along the Rivers there are several Groves, and Woods of the Country Fruit-Trees; besides which the *Spaniards* have planted Vines, Fig, Orange, and other *Spanish* Trees. About the City of *Loxa* there are great Herds of *Spanish* Swine, and Flocks of Goats, and other Cattle; because there is good Pasture, and Plenty of Water of several Rivers falling from the Mountains, which is very thin. Gold and Silver Mines have been discover'd in this Territory, and the *Indians* being

being now secur'd in their Property, breed Abundance of *Spanish* Hens, Capons,, Pidgeons, and whatsoever comes in their Way. All Grain thrives well about the City. The Natives are some of a Middle Size, and others bigger, all Cloath'd in Jerkins, and Mantles, both Men, and Women. The Situation of the City is the most convenient for the Province, the *Indians* of it at first belong'd to the Cities of *Quito*, and *St. Miguel*, but this was founded in regard that the *Spaniards* travelling along the great Road to *Quito* and other Parts, went in Danger of the *Indians* of *Carrochamba*.

CHAP. LVII.

Of the Provinces between Tamboblanco, and the City of St. Michael, and of the Natives.

BEfore I come down to the Plain, I must observe, that this same Mountain Way we are on leads to the Provinces of *Calva*, and *Ayavaca*, to the Eastward whereof is the Country of the *Bracamoros*, and the Mountains *Andes*, and to the Westward the City of *St. Michael*, which I am to speak of next. In the Province of *Caxas* there were great Store houses and Apartments, built by the *Ingas*, with a Governour, and Number of *Mitimaes*, to gather in the Tribute. From *Caxas* they go to *Guanacabamba*, where there were greater Structures than at *Calva*; for there the *Ingas* had a stately Fort, which I saw, but is now gone to Ruin, as well as the rest. Here was also a Temple of the Sun, with Virgins appointed for its Service, who were much respected, as well as the Priests, and to it all the Country about repair'd to worship and offer Gifts. The Neighbouring *Caciques* brought in their Tribute hither, and went to *Cuzco*, when they were commanded. Beyond *Guanacabamba* there are other Apartments, and *Indian* Dwellings, some of them subject to the City of *Loxa*, and the rest to that of *St. Michael*. These *Indians* inform us, they had formerly Wars among themselves, and went naked, till conquer'd, and

Guanacabamba
Indians.

and civiliz'd by the *Incas*, to a greater Degree than some of our People pretend; and accordingly they built their Towns regularly, after another manner than they us'd before. They since wore Woollen Cloth, which is fine, and good, and did not eat Man's Flesh; but rather look'd upon it as a Crime, and hated such as did. Neither were they guilty of Sodomy, tho' so near to *Puerto Viejo*, and *Guayaquil*; for they told me, they despis'd any Man that did it, if any such happened to be found. They affirm, that before the *Inga Tupangue*, and his Son *Topaynga*, the Father of *Guaynacapa*, and Grandfather to *Atabalipa* could subdue them, they made such a resolute Defence that many thousands of them, and no small Number of the *Orejones* were kill'd; however they were so much streightned at last, that some of their Commanders did Homage to those Monarchs, in the Name of all the Nation. The Men are well countenanc'd, and swarthy, both they and their Wives clad as they were commanded by the *Incas* their Ancient Sovereigns. In some Parts they wear their Hair extraordinary long, in others short, and in some breaded very small. If any Beard happens to grow out, they pull it up by the Roots, and I never saw an *Indian* that had any. They all speak the Language of *Cuzco*, besides their own, as I have said of others. Here were formerly great Flocks of the *Peru* Sheep, which have been much lessen'd by the *Spaniards*. They make Cloth of their Wool, and of that of the *Vicunna*, which is better, and finer, as also of the *Guanacos*, that live on the desert Tops of the Mountains. Such as cannot reach to this Wool wear Cotton. There are several Rivers, small Brooks, and Springs in the Vales, and inhabited Plains, the Water whereof is good, and well tasted; as also great Breeds of Cattel, and such Roots, and other Provisions as have been already mention'd. All the ancient *Guacas*, or Temples have been thrown down, and Priests appointed every where to instruct the Natives.

Their Habits.

C H A P. LVIII.

The Continuation of the same Subject.

Vale of
Tumbez.

THE City of *St. Michael* was the first founded in this Kingdom, by the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and where the first Christian Church was erected. To describe the Plains, beginning at the Vale of *Tumbez*, it is to be observ'd that a River runs across it, whose Source, as was said, is in the Province of the *Paltas*, and runs down to the South Sea. All this Country about the Vale of *Tumbez* is very dry, and barren, tho' it sometimes rains there, which reaches almost as far as the City of *St. Michael*, all along in the Parts next the Mountains, for near the Sea it never rains. Formerly this Vale of *Tumbez* was very populous, and well cultivated, full of pleasant refreshing Trenches, drawn from the River, wherewith they Water'd as far as they thought fit, and brought up much *Indian* Wheat, excellent Fruit, and other things necessary for the Support of human Life. The Ancient *Caciques* before they had been subdu'd by the *Ingas* were much more honour'd by their Subjects, than any of those we have hitherto spoken of, and much Ceremony was us'd in serving them. They wore Mantles, and Jerkins, and Ornaments on their Heads, being like a Coronet made of Wool, and sometimes of Gold, or Silver, or of those small Beads they call *Chaquira*. They were very superstitious and addicted to sacrificing; and are more dainty, and vicious than those that live on the Mountains; yet laborious in Husbandry and will carry heavy Burdens. They till their Grounds very curiously, and in good Order, and are very regular in watering them; so that they produce Variety of Fruit, and pleasant Roots, and *Indian* Wheat twice a Year; whereof and of Kidney Beans, they have a mighty Increase, when they sow; and they gather Cotton enough about the Vale, to make Cloth of. Besides these People have considerable Fisheries, which turn to great Account

Account; for these and their Trade on the Mountains has always Enrich'd them.

From this Vale of *Tumbez* there are two Days Journey to that of *Solana*, formerly very populous, and had *Tambos*, or Apartments, and Store houses. The great Road, made by the *Ingas* passes through these Vales, amidst Rows of Trees, and other pleasing Refreshments. From *Solana* the way goes on to *Pocheos*, which is on the River of the same Name, tho' some call it *Mayavilca*, from a Lord, or *Cacique* of that Name at the End of the Vale. This Place was formerly extraordinary populous, as appears by the many, and large Structures, which tho' decay'd, still testify what they were, and how much Account the *Ingas* made of the Country, where they had Royal Palaces, and Magazines; yet all so entirely ruin'd, that nothing now remains but the mighty Graves of the Dead, who whilst living cultivated all those Fields. Two Days Journey, from *Pocheos* is the spacious, and large Vale of *Piura*, where two, or three Rivers meeting are the Occasion of its great Breadth, and in it stands the City of *St. Michael*; which tho' little regarded at Present, because the Proprietors have but inconsiderable Lands assign'd them, deserves to be honour'd, and exempted, for its being the first Settlement the *Spaniards* made, before they took the mighty *Inga Atabalipa*. It was first founded in the Place they call *Tangaraca*, whence it was remov'd on Account of its being unhealthy, and the *Spaniards* sickning. It is now seated between two pleasant and well Wooded Vales, nearer one Vale than the other, on a craggy, and dry Ground; whither they cannot carry the Water in Trenches, as they do to all other Places in the Plains, tho' they have attempted it. Those who have liv'd there say, it is somewhat unhealthy, and particularly bad for the Eyes, which I believe is occasion'd by the Winds, and much Dust in Summer, and the extraordinary Damps in the Winter. They positively affirm it never rain'd formerly in this Territory, but only some Dews fell, and yet of late Years there are very heavy Showers of Rain. The Vale is like that of *Tumbez*, having many Vines, Fig, and other *Spanish* Trees. This City of *St. Michael* was founded

Solana Vale.

St. Michael City.

by Don Francisco Pizarro, Governour of Peru, then call'd New Castile, in the Year 1541.

CHAP. LIX.

Of the Difference of the Seasons in Peru, and that it never rains throughout all the Plains along the South Sea.

THE Summer commences on the Mountains about April, and lasts all May, June, July, August and September, and about October begins the Winter, which holds November, December, January, February, and March, so that it differs little, or nothing as to the Seasons from Spain, the Fields being all parch'd up at the proper Time. The Days, and Nights are much of a Length; but about November they grow longer, for what little Difference there is. Now on the Plains next the South Sea it is just contrary, for when it is Summer on the Mountains, it is Winter below, the Summer coming on in October, which lasts till April, and then Winter succeeds. This extraordinary Difference is very well worth Observation, as being very strange within the same Region, and Kingdom. And it is yet more remarkable, that they may in some Places set out in the Morning from the rainy Country, and be in another before Night, where it was never known to rain. For in the Plains nothing falls but only such a small Dew, that in many Places it scarce lays the Dust, for which Reason the Natives Water all their Land, tilling no more than they can bring the Water to, all the rest being so barren, that no Grass will grow on it, for it wholly consists of Sand, and dry Stones, producing nothing but Trees, that bear few Leaves, and no Fruit. There are also Abundance of Thistles, and Brambles, and in some Parts not that neither, but only Sand.

*Difference
of Weather
in a small
Distance.*

That

That they call the Winter in the Plains, has the Name *Winter in the Plains.* Only from very thick Fogs, which look all as if they would immediately turn to Rain, and yet scarce leave Moisture enough behind them to lay the Dust, as has been said. It is very strange, that tho' the Sky is so thick clouded during those six Months, there should no more Wet fall, but those Dews, and yet for several Days the Sun shall not appear through those Clouds. The Mountain being so very high, and the Plains, and Coast so low, that seems to attract all the Clouds from the inferior Grounds; so that naturally it rains very much on the Hills, and at the same Time the Heat is great in the Plains, without any Wet. So on the Contrary the Dews, I have spoken of, fall when the Mountain is clear, and free from Rain.

Another remarkable thing is, that one Wind, which is the South reigns continually along this Coast; which, *South wind prevails.* tho' in other Parts it be damp, and cause Rain, does not so here, but runs along the Coast incessantly as far as *Tumbes*, unless it meets with another to oppose it. From that Place onward, there being other Winds, and a New Face of the Heavens, the Gusts drive and let fall heavy Showers. No natural Reason can be assign'd for this, but we see that from four Degrees of South Latitude, till beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn* this Country is barren of it self.

Here is still one thing more worth taking Notice of, viz. that under the Line here, some Parts are hot, and moist, and others cold and moist, but this we speak of is hot and dry, and as soon as out of it any way, we meet with Rain. This is what I have observ'd, and found by Experience; those who can discover any natural Reasons are left to declare them, it being sufficient for me to deliver the Matter of Fact, as I have seen, and known it.

C H A P. LX.

Of the Road the Ingas caus'd to be made along these Plains, on which there were Lodgings, and Magazines, as well as on that along the Mountains, and why these Indians are call'd Yungas.

A Noble Road.

BEfore I return to the Mountain Way, I must give an Account of that the *Ingas* made along the Plain, which tho' now broken, and ruin'd in several Places, still shows what it once was, and testifies the Power of those who caus'd it to be made. *Guaynacapa*, and his Father *Topaynga Tupangue* were the first, as the *Indians* inform us, that took a Progress all along the Coast, visiting the Vales, and Provinces of the *Tungas*; tho' others tell us, that the *Inga Tupangue*, Father to *Topaynga*, and Grandfather to *Guaynacapa*, had done it before. Along this Coast, and Vales, the *Caciques* and prime Men, by his Order made a Road 15 Foot wide, with strong Walls on both Sides above the Height of a Man. All the way was very clean, and shaded with Trees, whose Boughs in many Places hung over heavy with Fruit, and Abundance of Parrots, and other Birds were every where among the Woods. In each of these Vales the *Ingas* had stately Apartments, for themselves, and mighty Magazines for their Soldiers, being so much fear'd, that none durst omit to provide for them. If any thing was wanting whosoever was to blame did not fail to be severely punish'd; and on the other Hand, if any one of those that attended him durst presume to go into the *Indians* Corn Fields, or their Houses, he certainly dy'd, tho' the Harm done were never so inconsiderable. The Walls were carry'd along on both Sides of the Road, till the Depth of the Sand would not admit of any Foundation; from whence forward, that Travellers might not mistake, and to show the Grandeur of the Prince, whose Work that was, there were great Trees, or Timbers stuck in the Ground

Ground at small Distances; and as there was special Care along the Vales to repair the Walls, if they went to decay, and to cleanse the Way, so was there no less Vigilancy and Industry if any of those Poles or Timbers happened to be blown down, to set it up again.

There were some Forts, and Temples of the Sun in these Vales, which I shall mention in their Places, and being to Name *Ingas*, and *Tungas* in several Parts of this Work, I will inform the Reader what the *Tungas* signify, as I did before touching the *Ingas*. Remembring therefore that the several Provinces of *Peru*, are seated as has been said before, many of them lying in the Brakes form'd by the *Andes*, and Snowy Mountains, it is to be observ'd that all the Inhabitants of the higher Grounds are call'd *Serranos*, that is, Mountain People, and those of the Plains *Tungas*. But there being several Parts among the Mountains, through which the Rivers run, shelter'd by the higher Ridges and Clifts, they are thereby render'd hotter than the Plains, and therefore the Inhabitants of them are also call'd *Tungas*; so that when they speak of any warm Territory throughout *Peru*, they give it, and the Natives this Name in general, tho' they may have others more peculiar to distinguish them by.

The *Caciques*, or Native Lords of these *Tungas* were formerly very much honour'd and respected by their Subjects, and serv'd in great State, after their Manner, having continually Buffoons, and Dancers about them, for their Diversion, and others that sung, and play'd on Musick. Besides they had many Wives, and those the Beautifullest that could be found, and every one in his Vale had a stately Palace, with many large Columns made of compound Matter, on which were Terrases, and spacious Portals cover'd with Mats. About this House was a large open Place, where the *Indians* made their *Areytos*, that is, danc'd. Whilst the Lord was eating, Abundance of People met and drank their Liquor, made of *Indian* Wheat, or Roots. There were Porters to these Apartments, who took Notice of all that went in or out.

All

All the Men wore Cotton Jerkins, and long Mantles, or Cloaks, as did the Women, with this Difference, that the Women's Garment was large and full, like a long Mourning Cloak, open on both Sides, to put the Arms through. Some of them us'd to be at War with one another, and there were of them, that could never learn the Language of *Cuzco*. Tho' there were three or four several Races of these *Tungas*, yet they all follow'd the same Customs, and Manners. They spent Days and Nights in feasting, and drinking, and it is wonderful to see what a Quantity of their *Chicha*, or Liquor they would swallow, being seldom without the Cup in their Hands. Formerly they us'd to entertain the *Spaniards* that travell'd by their Houses with great Kindness, but are much alter'd, because as soon as the *Spaniards* fell to War among themselves, they began to abuse the *Indians*, who therefore took an Aversion to them; besides that some Governours have shew'd themselves so mean spirited, that they have no Value for them; but on the contrary are very proud of having some of those for their Servants who pretended to lord it over them. This has been occasion'd by the ill Management of some Persons in Power, who could not brook the Orders sent from *Spain* for maintaining of the Natives in their full Liberty, and endeavouring to civilize them thoroughly; tho' to say the Truth few Governments in the World were preferable to that of the *Incas*. I cannot but lament the Extortions, and Violent Practices of the *Spaniards* against the *Indians*, which have almost depopulated these Vales formerly so full of Inhabitants, as is well known to many.

the Heads of these People they laid them
out in a long Row that way, and take them
to find out how many of their Wives, the more to
show them, hang themselves in their own Hair before
the Graves were made. The Truth hereof is sufficiently
manifested by those Graves we have found, and it was
proven after the coming of the Spaniards among them,
in their Conteron. I remember, that being in the
Government of *Comogema* about 12, or 13 Years since,
when the Licenciado *Don de Vadillo* was Governour, a Boy
came running to the Place where *Vadillo* was, from an
Indian Town call'd *Friza*, because they would have bury'd
him alive, with the Lord of that Place, who was then
nearly dead.

There is no Question to be made of their seeing the
Devil in those Shapes I have spoken of, and throughout
all *Pera*, they call him *Sepay*; and I have been told it my
self by those who have seen him. Besides they affirm,
that he often enter'd into those Skins of Men stuff'd with
Afes, mention'd in the Vale of *Lila*, and spoke to them.
Fuente *Francisco*, a Person very curious in enquiring into
these Affairs inform'd me, that an Acquaintance of his
told him, he had been sent for by *Don Paul*, Son to the
Inga *Garcemasa*, who declar'd to him, that a Servant of
his said, he had heard loud Cries, near the Fort of *Chusco*,
which express'd these Words. *Inga*, why do you not observe
these things you are oblig'd to? Eat, Drink, and be Merry,
for you will live cease to Eat, and Drink, and make Merry.
He who told it *Don Paul* heard these Cries 5, or 6 se-
veral Nights; and soon after *Don Paul* dy'd, as did he
who heard the Words.

All the Lords, and *Indians* of these Vales, wear their
distinctive Marks on their Heads, to be known by from
others: but I do not find that either those in the Plains,
or the Mountain People were guilty of Sodomy, as has
been said of the Natives of the Island *Puna*, and *Puerto*
that no question there might be some wicked one among
them; but it was discover'd, they sham'd, and call'd
him Woman, bidding him, not wear Men's Cloaths.

C H A P.

CHAP. LXII.

Of the Ceremonies us'd at Funerals, and of several Sorts of Graves.

HAVING in the last Chapter spoken of the Opinion of the *Indians*, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, it will be proper in this to show how they made their Graves, and laid the dead in them; wherein they differ'd very much, some making them deep, others high, others plain, every Nation using a several Way. In the Province of *Collao* they rais'd them in the Fields, orderly, as high as Towers, some more, and some less; and some of them of fine Stones curiously wrought. The Entrance to them was to the Eastward, where they offer'd their Sacrifices, burnt some things, and sprinkl'd those Places with the Blood of Lambs, or other Creatures.

Different Graves.

In the Territory of *Cuzco* they bury'd their dead sitting on lofty Seats, which they call *Dubos*, clad, and adorn'd with the best they had. In the Province of *Xauxa*, being a considerable Part of this Kingdom of *Peru*, they sew'd them up in a New Sheep's Skins, forming a Face, Nose, and Mouth without, and thus kept them in their Houses. The great Men us'd to be carry'd abroad by their Children, through their Lands, and Farms on Biers, in great State, and then they sacrific'd to them Sheep, and Lambs, and sometimes Children, and Women. This being made known to *Don Jeremy de Loaysa*, the Arch-Bishop, he commanded the Natives of those Vales, under severe Penalties, and the Clergy that instructed them, to bury all those Bodies.

In several other Parts of the Provinces already mention'd, they bury in deep Graves, which are hollow within, and in some Places, as the Territory of *Antiocha*, they throw so much Earth upon them, that they look like small Hills; and there is a Door left to carry in their other Dead, the living Women, &c. At *Cenna* some of them were plain, with large Rooms in them, and others rais'd

like Hillocks. In the Province of *Chinchan*, which is in the Plains, they bury'd them lying on *Barbacoes*, that is, Couches or Beds made of Cane.

In another of these Vales call'd *Lunaguana* they bury'd them sitting. In several Parts of these Vales they built great Walls, and Apartments among the Desert Rocks, or Sands, where every Race had its particular Place of Burial, to which Purpose they made great Cavities, shut up with Doors, as artificially as they were able, and it is wonderful to behold what vast Numbers of Dead there are along those Sands, and barren Rocks, and at Distances great Quantities of Skulls, and of Garments, rotted, and almost consum'd with lying there. These Places, which they look'd upon as Sacred, they call'd *Guacra*, being a dismal Name, and much Treasure has been taken out of them. Formerly they us'd to open these Tombs, or Graves, and put in fresh Garments, and Provisions at certain Times. When the *Caciques* dy'd, the prime Men of the Valley met to mourn, and lament, many of the Women us'd to cut off all the Hair they had, and then they walk'd about those Places, where their Lord us'd most frequently to divert himself, making a dismal Noise with Drums, and Pipes, and singing dolefully, to move such as heard them to weep. After weeping they had other Ceremonies, and offer'd Sacrifices, conversing with the Devil, and then having kill'd some Women, lay'd them in their Graves with their Treasure, and Provisions, as above, certainly believing they were gone to the Place the Devil told them of. They always lamented 4, 5, 6, or 10 Days before the Interment, according to the Quality of the Person deceas'd; for the greater he had been, the more Honour they did him, in Mourning, and Musick, and repeating all his Actions whilst living.

CHAP. LXIII.

Of Sodomy us'd in the Temples, the giving of Names to Children; and the Superstitions of the Indians.

Notwithstanding what has been said, that the Sin of Sodomy was not us'd among the *Peruvians*, that is to be understood, in common; for it is certain there were some Particular Places, where they kept Boys in Temples for that Purpose, and look'd upon that Abomination as a Piece of Religion, only to be practis'd upon solemn Occasions by the Priests, and *Caciques*. For a Testimony hereof I will give the Relation I receiv'd at *Lima* from *Father Dominick of St. Thomas* and is as follows.

Sodomy
Religiously
us'd.

It is true the Devil has introduc'd this Vice by Way of Sanctity among the Mountain People and *Yungas*; for every Temple, or Place of Worship of *Nota* keeps one two or more Men, who are clad like Women from their Infancy, imitating them in their Tone, and all other Particulars. With these on great Festivals, the prime Men us'd to have their Beastly Copulation. This I know, because I have punish'd two of them; the one, of the Mountain Indians, who was kept to this End in a Temple, they call *Gnaca*, of the Province of the *Conchucos*, in the Territory of the City *Guanuco*; the other was of the Province of *Chincha*, where the Indians belong to the King. When I talk'd to them, representing the Heinousness of the Sin, they answer'd, They were not to be blam'd; as having been plac'd there from their Infancy, by their *Caciques*, that they might make use of them in that shameful way, and for them to be Priests and look to the Temples. Thus the Devil made them believe there was a Sort of Sanctity, in committing that unnatural Crime. This *Father Dominick* gave me under his own Hand, and he is well known to be a Person of Truth, and Integrity. Besides I remember, that *James de Galvez*, who is now one of the King's Secretaries in the Court of Spain,

Instance
of it.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF PERU.

Another. told me, that as he and *Peter Alonso Carrasco*, an ancient Conquerer, and Inhabitant of the City of *Cuzco*, were coming from the Province of *Collao*, they saw one, or two of these *Indians*, who were kept in the Temples, as *Father Dominick* says.

Names how given. Whilst I was in *Peru* I observ'd, that in most of the Provinces they us'd to give Names to their Children, at 15, or 20 Days old, which they retain'd till the Age of 10, or 12 Years; about which Time they took New Names, most of the Father's Kindred, and Friends, meeting to that End upon a certain Day appointed. Then they danc'd, after their manner, and drank, which was their chiefest Delight; and that being over, the ancientest, and most honourable Person in the Company shew the Lad, or Maid, that was to be Nain'd, and par'd his, or her Nails, which with the Hair they kept very chearily. The Names they us'd were of Towns, Birds, Beasts, or Fishes; which I know to be true, because I have had an *Indian*, who was call'd *Urco*, signifying, a Sheep, and another *Llama*, being a Yew, and have known others call'd *Piscor*, being the Name of Birds; but many are very precise in taking the Names of their Fathers, or Grandfathers. The Lords, and prime Men seek Names to please their Fancy, and those the greatest they can think of, yet *Atabalipa*, the *Inga* the *Spaniards* took at *Caxamalca*, signifies a Hen; and his Father was call'd *Guaymacapa*, that is, rich Youth.

Superstitions These *Indians* look'd upon it as an ill Sign for a Woman to be deliver'd of two at a Birth, or for a Child to come into the World with any Defect; so that when this happened the Husband, and Wife were very Melancholy, and fasted, Eating no *Agi*, and drinking no *Chicha*, which is their Liquor; besides other Superstitions they learnt from their Forefathers. They were also much addicted to observing of other Signs, and Tokens. When a Star happened to shoot, they rais'd mighty Cries; were great observers of the Moon, and Planets, and generally infected with Superstition. There are *Spaniards* still living, who were with *Pizarro*, when he took *Atabalipa*, in the Province of *Caxamalca*, and saw after Midnight something green in the Sky, as thick as a Man's Arm, and as long
as

as a Horse Man's Spear. The Spaniards galing, and Atabalipa being told of it, he desir'd they would let him go out to see it, and having so done, became very Melancholy, and so continu'd the next Day. Pizarro asking him the Reason of it, he answer'd, I have seen the Appearance in the Sky, and assure you that such another was seen before my Father Guaynacapa dy'd. Accordingly 15 Days after Atabalipa departed this Life.

CHAP. LXIV.

Of the Fertility of the Plains, of the several Sorts of Fruit, and Roots they produce, and the Method of Watering the Fields.

ALL the Soil of the Vales, where the Sand does not reach, and as far as the Woods extend, is as fertile, and plentiful as any in the World, and the properest to sow any thing whatsoever, being till'd, and manur'd with little Labour. I have already said it never rains there, and all the Watering it has is from the Rivers that come down from the Mountains, and run to the South Sea. In these Vales the Indians sow their Mayz, or Wheat, which yields two Crops in a Year, and comes up very plentifully. In some Places they Plant the Roots call'd *Tuca*, good to make Bread, and Drink, for want of *Mayz*, and there grows plenty of Patatoes, so sweet, that they are like Chest nuts; besides there are *Papas*, Kidney Beans, and several Sorts of pleasant Roots. Throughout all these Vales, there is a Sort of the most delicious Fruit I ever tasted, by the Spaniards call'd *Pepinos*, that is, Cucumbers, of an excellent Taste, and some of them very sweet scented. There are besides great Numbers of *Guayava*, *Guava*, *Palta*, a Fruit like Pears, *Guauvana*, *Caymito*, Pine Apple, and other Trees.

In the Indian Houses there are many Dogs, quite different from ours in Spain, by them call'd *Chunos*. They have great Breeds of Geese; and in the Thickets of the Vales.

Plentiful
Produce.

Dogs,
Geese, and
Fruit.

Vales there are long, and narrow *Carobs*, not so thick as Bean Cods, whereof in some Places they make Bread, and reckon it good. They very much use drying of such Fruit and Roots, as are proper for it, as we do Figs, Raisins, and other Sorts. At present there are great Vineyards in many Parts of these Vales, yielding Abundance of Grapes; and Groves of Fig, Pomgranate, and Quince Trees; which it is needless to particularize, since all the Sorts of Fruit *Spain* affords thrive perfectly well.

Grain *European* Wheat is well known to answer to satisfaction, and it is a delightful Sight to behold the Fields all over fresh and green as Grass, without one Drop of Rain. Barley comes up as well as Wheat, and there is Store of Lemmon, sweet Lime, Orange, Citron, and Sweet Lemmon Trees; besides many other Sorts of Fruit, I think too tedious to mention, having spoken of the chiefest. The Rivers coming down from the Mountains through these Plains, and some of them being broad, and slow'd all over, or at least us'd to be so, when more populous, they drew Trenches, through such Places, as is very strange to mention; for they carry'd them through high and low Grounds, along the Sides of Hills, and Mountains, and many of them across, some one way, and some another, which renders it extraordinary pleasant travelling over those Vales, because they all look like delightful Gardens, and Groves. The *Indians* were, and still continue very industrious in conveying the Water along these Trenches, and I have my self sometimes halted by a Trench, which has been dry before my Tent was set up, and fill'd again another way; for the Rivers never failing, these *Indians* can carry the Water where they please. These Trenches are always very green, and along them there is Plenty of Grass for Horses.

*watering
by Trenches.*

Birds. In the Woods, and Groves there is singular Variety of Birds, and particularly great Numbers of Turtle Doves, Pea Hens, Pheasants, some Partridges, and Multitudes of Deer; but no noxious Creatures, as Serpents, Snakes, or Wolves. The worst Animals are the Foxes, so mischievous, that tho' things be lay'd up never so carefully; they will come where the *Spaniards*, or *Indians* lye, and if they find

Foxes.

find nothing else, steal the Horses Girts, or the Reins of the Bridles. In several Parts of the Vales there are large Fields of Sugar Canes, whereof Sugar is made in several Towns, and Preserves. All these *Tunga Indians* are very laborious, and when they carry Burdens on their Backs, strip themselves stark Naked, without leaving any thing on them but a small Clout, about a Span long, and not so broad, to cover their Privities and girding their Mantles and Cloaks to their Bodies, they run with their Loads. Nor are they less regular, and industrious in sowing their Grounds, than has been said they are in Watering.

Sugar.

C H A P. LXV.

Of the way from the City of St. Michael to Truxillo, and of the Vales there are in it.

HAVING already mention'd the founding of the City of *St. Michael*, the first Christian Town in *Peru*, I will proceed to shew what lyes between it, and *Truxillo*, the Distance between them being about 60. Leagues. From *St. Michael's* to the Vale of *Morupe* is 22 Leagues, all on the Sands, a very bad Way, especially that now us'd. There are some little Vales in this Length of 22 Leagues, and tho' there be Rivers that come down from the Mountains, they do not run through them, but are swallow'd up, and lost in the Sands, so that they are of no Advantage. Those who are to travel these 22 Leagues, must set out in the Evening, that going on all the Night, they may come in good Time to the *Xagueyes*, where Travellers drink, and go thence without feeling much Heat. Such as can, carry Calabashes full of Water, and Leather Bottles of Wine, to serve them the rest of the Journey. As soon as they come to the Vale of *Morupe* they see the royal Road made by the *Ingas*, as describ'd in the foregoing Chapters.

*Rivers
swallow'd
in Sand.*

This

*Motupe
Vale.*

This Vale is broad, and very fruitful, and tho' a River comes down to it from the Mountain, it sinks, and is lost before it can reach the Sea. The *Carob*, and other Trees extend far, by Reason of the Moisture they meet with under their Roots. In the Bottom of the Vale there are *Indian* Towns, the Inhabitants whereof use the Water of deep Wells they dig; all of them bartering Commodities, for it never appear'd that they had any Sort of Coin. They tell us there were great Palaces for the *Ingas*, in this Vale and many Magazines, and on the Highest and Stony Hills, they had their *Guacas*, or Temples, and Places of Burial. The Wars very much lessen'd the Number of People, and those great Structures, are all ruin'd, the *Indians* living in little Houses describ'd before. At certain Seasons they trade with those on the Mountains, having here great Fields of Cotton, whereof they make their Cloth.

*Xayanca
Vale.*

Four Leagues from *Motupe* is the delightful Vale of *Xayanca*, almost four Leagues over. Through it runs a curious River, from which they draw Trenches enough to water all the *Indians* will sow. This Vale was formerly very populous as well as the rest, and in it stately Apartments and Store houses, where the *Ingas* Stewards resided, as has been observ'd. The Native Lords of these Vales were formerly very much respected and honour'd by their Subjects, and such of them as remain are so still, being very well attended by Men and Women Servants, and have their Porters, and their Guards.

*Tucume
Vale, and
that of
Cinto.*

From this Vale the Road goes to that of *Tucume*, which is also large, and pleasant, full of Woods, and Groves, and the Ruins, still shew what great Structures there were in it. A small Days Journey from it is another fine Vale call'd *Cinto*. The Reader is to observe, that all between these several Vales, and the rest we shall write of is Sands and barren Rocks, where no living Creature is to be seen, nor any Tree, or Grass, unless some Birds that fly over. The way being so sandy, the Vale appearing, tho' at a great Distance is a mighty Comfort, especially if Men travel a foot, the Sun shines hot, and they are thirsty. Those who are Strangers in the Coun-

try

try ought not to travel over these Plains, without good Guides to conduct them across the Sands.

From this Vale we proceed to that of *Collique*, through which runs a River of the same Name, so large that it cannot be forded, unless when it is Summer on the Mountain, and Winter in the Plain; and yet the Natives draw so many Trenches from it, that they almost drain it at some Times, even in Winter. This Vale is also wide, and full of Trees, as well as the others, and most of the Natives are consum'd, with the Calamities of the Wars there were between the *Spaniards*.

Collique Vale.

From the Vale of *Collique* we go on to that of *Zana*, like the others, and thence to that of *Pacasmayo*, the most fertile, and best peopled of any yet spoken of, the Natives whereof, before the *Incas* subdu'd them, were powerful, and respected by their Neighbours, and had stately Temples, where they sacrific'd to their Gods; all of them now thrown down. Among the Rocks, and stony Grounds there are very many *Guacas*, being the Burial Places of these *Indians*. Through this Vale runs a curious River, whence many Trenches are drawn, and the Product is as in the others, and so other things. In this Vale Abundance of Cotton grows, and there are good Breeds of Cows, and better of Swine, and Goats, as there is of other Cattle, and the Climate is very good. I travell'd through it in September 1547, to join the rest of the Kings Forces that came from *Popayan*, to punish the Rebels, and was extremely pleas'd with this Vale, admiring its Woods, and Groves full of infinite Variety of Birds.

Zana and Pacasmayo Vales

The next Vale is that of *Chacama*, nothing inferior to that of *Pacasmayo* in all Respects, and producing much Sugar. Four Leagues farther is that of *Chimo*, in which the City *Truxillo* stands. The *Indians* report, that formerly, before the *Incas* had any Dominions, there was here a powerful *Cacique* call'd *Chimo*, as the Vale is now. This Man they say gain'd many Victories, and rais'd some Structures, which tho' so ancient plainly testify they were very great. When the *Incas* had subdu'd the Plains, they highly valu'd this Vale of *Chimo*, where they built stately Palaces and Pleasure Houses. The royal Road runs

Chacama Vale, and Chimo.

Y

through

through it, wall'd on both Sides. were always respected, and counted rich, which appear'd to be true, much Gold and Silver having been found in the Graves of their Ancestors. The Natives are now grown thinner, the *Caciques* less regarded, and most of the Vale is divided among the *Spanish* Inhabitants of the City of *Truxillo*. The Sea Port call'd the *Arrecife* of *Truxillo*, is not far from the Vale, and much Fish is kill'd all along the Coast, to supply the City, and the *Indians*.

C H A P. LXVI.

Of the City of Truxillo, and the Country between it and the City of Lima.

IN this Vale of *Chimo* stands the City of *Truxillo*, near a pretty large and fine River, whence they draw Trenches to water the Gardens, and Orchards of the *Spaniards*, which are always green, and flourishing, and the Water runs by all the Houses. This City is seated in a Place reckn'd very wholesome, every way surrounded with Farms, where the Inhabitants have their Corn Fields and Cattle; and being all water'd every Spot is full of Corn, Vineyards, all Sorts of *Spanish* Fruits, and Multitudes of Orange Trees, which yield infinite Quantities of Orange Flowers, not to repeat the several Names of other *Spanish* and *Indian* Trees. Besides they breed vast Numbers of Fowl, so that the *Spanish* Inhabitants are plentifully supply'd with all things, and particularly with Fish; the Sea being but half a League from them. The Spot the City stands on is a Plain form'd in the midst of the Groves, and other Delights of the Vale, near a Parcel of Rocky barren Hills, being well contriv'd, the Building good, the Streets wide, and the Market Place Spacious. The Mountain *Indians* come down to attend the *Spaniards* that are Proprietors, and furnish the City with such things as their Lands afford. Ships go hence laden with Cotton Cloth, made by the *Indians*, to sell in

Truxillo
City.

in other Parts. This City of *Truxillo* was built by the Governour of *Peru*, *Don Francisco Pizarro*, in the Year 1530.

From it to that of *Lima*, otherwise call'd *de los Reyes*, or of the Kings is 80 Leagues, all the way Sands, and Vales. Seven Leagues from *Truxillo* is the Vale of *Guanape*, formerly as famous among the Natives, for their Liqueur Guanape Vale. call'd *Chicha* made there, as *Madrigal*, or *St. Martin* are in *Castile* for their excellent Wine. It was then very populous, and its *Caciques*, or Lords were of great Note, and much honour'd by the *Ingas*, after their Conquest. The *Indians* that are left follow Husbandry, like the rest, watering their Lands with Trenches, and it appears that the *Ingas* had their Store houses, and Apartments here. There is one Sea Port belonging to the Vale, which is advantageous, because many of the Ships trading along the South Sea, between *Panama* and *Peru* take in Provisions at it.

Hence we proceed to the Vale of *Santa*, and short of it Santa Vale is another small Vale, without any River in it, but only a Source of good Water, which the *Indians*, and such as travel that way drink of, and perhaps proceeds from some River that runs under Ground. The Vale of *Santa*, was formerly very populous, and had brave Commanders, and potent *Caciques*, who at first durst stand in Competition with the *Ingas*, who are said to have brought them under rather by Kindness and Art, than by Force of Arms, and afterwards held them in great Esteem, building stately Palaces, and Magazines there, in regard that this Vale is one of the largest of any we have yet pass'd. A rapid and mighty River runs through it, which swells when it is Winter on the Mountains, and some *Spaniards* have been drown'd in passing it. The *Indians* at present pass it in Floats, being in my Time reduc'd to about 400, tho' there were formerly many thousands of them. What I most admir'd in travelling through this Vale, was the vast Number of Places wall'd in, as has been mention'd above, for Buryal of their Dead, which are all cover'd with Men's Bones; the Graves of the deceas'd, and the Fields they till'd whilst living, being the most remarkable things. They us'd, as in other Places, to water all Parts with Trenches drawn

from the River, but the *Indians* being so much decreas'd, most of the Land lyes waste, overgrown with Trees, and Brambles, so thick that they are often impassable. Both Men and Women here wear Jerkins, and Mantles, or Cloaks, and have their Distinctive Ligatures about their Heads. The Sorts of Fruit already mention'd, and *Spanish* Grain grows in this Vale, and the Natives take much Fish. The Ships trading along the Coast always water at this River, and take in other Necessaries. The Woods being so great, and the People so few, infinite Multitudes of Goats breed here, and are very troublesome to Passengers.

Guambacho Vale

Guarmey, and Parmonga,

The Vale of *Guambacho* is two Days Journey from the last, of which I can add nothing, being in all Respects like the others. I went in a Day, and a half from it to that of *Guarmey*, formerly very populous, and now breeding great Numbers of Swine, Cows, and Horses. The next is that of *Parmonga*, no less delightful than the Rest, but I believe there are no *Indians* left in it, but what live in the upper Parts toward the Hills, for there is nothing now but desert Woods, and Groves. Only one thing remarkable remains, and is a handsome and well contriv'd Fort, after their Manner, where the Trenches carry'd to water the upper Parts are very curious, and well worth observing. The Apartments were extraordinary fine, much Variety of Birds, and wild Beasts being painted about it, and the whole enclos'd with strong Walls, of good Workmanship. It is now quite ruin'd, and undermin'd in several Places, to look for Gold and Silver in Graves, so that it only serves as a Memorial of what it was. Two Leagues from this Vale is the River of *Guaman*, signifying, The Faulcons River; but is commonly call'd *la Barranca*. This Vale is like the rest, and when it rains on the Mountains the River swells much, and is dangerous to pass, so that some have been drown'd in it. A Days Journey farther is the Vale of *Gaura*, whence we will proceed to that of *Lima*.

Barranca River and Vale.

CHAR

CHAP. LXVII.

Of the City of Lima.

THE Vale of *Lima* is the largest of all that are between *Tumbez*, and it, and was no less populous, Lima Vale. now there are few Natives, because the City being *tho'* built there, and their Lands taken by the New Commers, they all went away to other Vales. When the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Don Pedro de Alvarado* enter'd this Kingdom, the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro* who was then at *Cuzco*, resolv'd to build a City in this Plain, for Fear left the said *Alvarado* should design to possess himself of some Part of that Coast; for then neither *Truxillo*, nor *Arequipa*, nor *Guamanga* were founded. *Pizarro* having view'd *Sangalla*, and other Places along the Coast, came at last with some Spaniards to the Spot where the City now stands, which they all approv'd of, and accordingly it was immediately founded in an open plain Field, two small Leagues from the Sea. A River rises above it to the Eastward, carrying little Water when it is Summer on the Hills, but grows more considerable in Winter, and joyns the Sea to the Westward. The great Market Place is within a Stones throw of the River, nor can the City be enlarg'd on that Side to enclose it. This is the chiefest, and largest Town in *Peru* next to *Cuzco*, being Lima City. very well built, some of the Houses adorn'd with Towers, and Terrasses on them, the Market Place spacious and the Streets wide. There are Trenches of Water running by most of the Houses, very useful, and pleasant, for they supply the Houses, and serve to water their Gardens, and Orchards, which are many, and delightful. It is now the Residence of the Viceroy, and the Courts of Justice are kept in it, and all the Trade of the Kingdom concentring in it, there is always a great Multitude of People, and Abundance of Shops richly furnish'd. That Year when I departed the Kingdom, there were many Inhabitants that had Lands, and *Indians* under them, some of

of them worth 150000 Ducates, others 80000, others 60000, some more and some less. In short I left them all very wealthy, and Ships often sail from the Port of this City, each of them carrying 800000, or a Million of Pieces of Eight.

Above the City, to the Eastward, is a great and high Hill, on which a Cross is set up, and every way about there are Abundance of Plantations, and Farms, where the *Spaniards* breed Cattle, have Dove Cotes, Vineyards, and curious Orchards full of the Native Fruit, Fig, Pomegranate Trees, &c. Sugar Canes, Melons, Roots, and Herbs, brought out of *Spain*, all thriving to Perfection. This now the Troubles and Rebellions are over is certainly one of the best Countries in the World to live in; for we see it is never subject to Famine, or Plague, nor does it ever rain, or is there any Thunder, or Lightning; but on the contrary the Sky is always serene, and pleasant. Much more might be said in behalf of it, but that I must conclude, only adding that the City was built in the Year 1531.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Of the Vale of Pachacama, and the ancient Temple there was in it.

Pachacama Vale.

FOUR Leagues beyond the City of *Lima*, still along the Coast, is the Vale of *Pachacama*, very famous among the *Indians*, pleasant and fruitful, and in it stood one of the most Majestick Temples of all these Parts. They report of it, that tho' the *Incas* built many Temples besides that of *Cuzco*, which they beautify'd and adorn'd with mighty Expence, yet none was to compare to this of *Pachacama*. It was built on a small Hill made by Hand, of Earth, and other Materials, the Structure standing on the Top, and partly reaching down to the Bottom, having many Gates, all painted with Figures of fierce Creatures, as were the Walls. Within the Temple, where

where the Idol stood, were the Priests, who pretended to much Sanctity, and when they offer'd Sacrifices, kept their Faces towards the Gates, and their Backs to the Idol, looking down, and quaking, in so much Disorder, as some of the *Indians* have told me, that they might be compar'd to the Priests of *Apollo* we read of, when they were to deliver their vain Oracles. They also inform'd me, that they us'd to Sacrifice Abundance of Beasts, and even some Human Creatures before this Devil, who spoke, and gave them answers, upon their greatest Festivals, which being heard by all, they gave entire Credit to them.

The Priests were highly honour'd, and even the Lords, and *Caciques* oblig'd them in many Particulars. About the Temple, they say, there were many, and stately Apartments, for such as came on Pilgrimage, and none thought worthy to be bury'd near the Place, but only the Lords, Priests, and Pilgrims, who brought Offerings to the Temple. On the great Festivals of the Year, Abundance of People assembled together and had Sports, and Musick, after their Manner. When the *Incas* conquer'd the Kingdom, and came to this Vale of *Pachacama*, it being their Custom to erect Temples to the Sun, and finding this which was so great, so ancient, and so much honour'd by all the People round about, they concluded it would be a very difficult Matter to put it down, and therefore agreed with the *Caciques*, and Priests, that this Temple of *Pachacama* should remain as it was, provided that another stately one should be built, and that of the Sun have the Preference; which was accordingly done, and several Virgins appointed to serve it, at which they say the *Pachacama* Devil was highly pleas'd. The *Indians* at first said this *Pachacama* us'd to appear to some of their Elders, and perswade them that the God of the Christians, and he were the same, that so they might neglect to embrace Christianity, and adhere to his Worship; however they have been all long since Baptiz'd, and these Temples are quite gone to Ruin. The Name of this Devil signify'd, maker of the World, for *Camac* is maker, and *Pacha*, the World.

When

When the Governor Don Francisco Pizarro took the Possession of the Province of *Caxamalca*, being informed of the abundant Treasures there was in this Temple, he sent his Brother Captain *Ferdinand Pizarro*, with a Number of Men, to search all the Gold he should find there, and bring it away to *Caxamalca*; but before he could get thither, the *Indians* affirm, the Priests, and others that are Masters of many 400 Loads of Gold, which were never so found off, and yet *Ferdinand Pizarro* found some Gold and Silver there. Afterwards Captain *Francis de Godoy*, with others, drew that Gold and Silver out of the Graves; and it is reported there is still much more, which cannot be found. From the Time that *Ferdinand Pizarro* came to this Temple it declin'd, the Idols being destroyed by the rage of the Sea. Few of the *Indians* are now left, but the Vale is as exuberant and full of Trees as the rest, and has good breeds of Cows, Horses, and other Cattle.

CHAP. LXIX.

Of the Valley between *Pachacama*, and the Fortrefs of *Guarco*.

Casca
Vale.

FROM the Vale of *Pachacama* the way runs on to that of *Casca*, remarkable for a very strange thing, which is, that tho' it receives no Rain from Heaven, nor any River, or Brooks runs through it, yet the greatest Part is full of *Indian* Corn Fields, of sundry Roots, and Fruit Trees. The manner of tilling here is well worth observing; for the *Indians* dig large, and deep Pits, in which they sow what they have Occasion for, and the Moisture gathering there it grows up; but the *Maiz*, or *Indian* Wheat would never shoot out at all, were it not that they put one, or two Heads of the Pilchards they take in the Sea into the Hole with every Grain, and by that Means it thrives plentifully. It is

is very wonderful than Men should live so well where there is no Rain, or any other Moisture, but only a small Dew. The Water they drink is drawn out of great, and deep Wells; and in the Sea they take such Abundance of Pilchards as serve to maintain the *Indians*, and to improve their Land; and here were Apartments, and Magazines belonging to the *Ingas*.

Three Leagues from *Chilca* is the Vale of *Mala*, where the War began, and broke out between *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and *Don Diego de Almagro*, the Controversy being about which of their Governments the City of *Cuzco* fell in, which they at first refer'd to Father Francis de *Bobadilla*, of the Order of the *Mercenarians*; and tho' the two Competitors met, and the Father pronounc'd Judgment, they did not stand to it, but decided the Matter by the Sword, which cost *Almagro* his Life. A good River runs through this Vale, all shaded with Woods, and Groves.

Somewhat above 5 Leagues beyond this Vale of *Mala* is that of *Guarco*, large, and spacious, full of Fruit Trees, and particularly famous in this Kingdom. It abounds in very pleasant tasted, and scented *Guayavas*, and *Guavas*; Wheat, and *Maiz* thrive well, and all other things of the Growth of *Spain*, or those Parts. The Woods, and Groves afford a delightful Shade, with Trenches running through them, and great Numbers of Turtle Doves, Pigeons, and other Birds. The Natives say there were great Multitudes of People formerly, who stood at Defiance with those on the Mountains, and others in the Plains; and that the *Ingas* coming to subdue all the Country about them, they disdaining to yield, and forfeit that Liberty they were left in by their Forefathers, behav'd themselves so gallantly, that they maintain'd War above four Years, during which Time many brave Actions were perform'd, as we are told both by them, and the *Orejones* of *Cuzco*. The War being thus protracted, the *Inga* in the Summer went back to *Cuzco* because of the Heats, and left his Forces to carry on the Conquest; which being desirous to bring to a Conclusion, he return'd with all the Nobility of his Capital, and built a City, to which he also gave the Name of *Cuzco*, and

*Stately
Fort.*

so to all the Eminences, and Quarters of it as in his own Metropolis. At length, when the People of *Guarc*^o had done their utmost, they were brought into Servitude by the Tyrant, who return'd with his Army to *Cuzco*, and the New Town he had built lost its Name. However as a Trophy of his Victory, on a high Hill, he erected the Noblest Fortrefs there was in the whole Kingdom of *Peru*, founded upon large square Stones, the Fronts of the Gates curiously adorn'd, and the Courts and Portals very spacious. From this Royal Fabrick there are stone Stairs down into the very Sea, which beats against them with such Force, that it is amazing to think how they could be built so curious and strong. Formerly this Fort was very well adorn'd with Painting, and in it much Treasure belonging to the *Incas*. As large as this Structure is, and as big as the Stones, there is no Sign of any Cement, or other thing to hold them together, and they are so nicely wrought that there is scarce any discovering where they join. They tell us, that when this Fabrick was to be rais'd they dug down into the very Rock, on which they lay'd a Foundation of Massive great Stones, which render'd the Superstructure permanent. This Work considering it was perform'd by those *Indians* is very wonderful; and the Ruins of it still testify what it was.

CHAP. LXX.

Of the great Province of Chincha:

*Lunaguana-River,
and Chincha Vale.*

Little above two Leagues beyond the Fortrefs of *Guarco*, is a pretty large River, call'd *Lunaguana*, the Vale through which it passes like the others. Six Leagues from that River is the pleasant, and spacious Vale of *Chincha*, no less renown'd in *Peru*, than formerly dreaded by its Neighbours. That this is true appears in that, when *Pizarro* with his 13. Companions was discovering

covering the Coast, they every where bid him go to *Chincha*, which was the largest, and best Country, and therefore tho' a Stranger to it at that Time, when he articulated with the King of *Spain*, he desir'd that his Government might extend from *Tempulla*, or the River of *Santiago*, to this Vale of *Chincha*. As to the Original of these *Indians* of *Chincha*, they tell us, that a Number of Men came formerly under the Command of a Captain of their own, who was very Religious, from other Parts into this Vale, where they found Abundance of People so small, that the tallest was not above two Cubits high, from whom by their Valour they took the Country. They add, that all those small Natives consum'd by Degrees, and that the Great Grandfathers of those who were living in my Time, saw some of their Graves, and their Bones were as small as has been said. These *Indians* being Masters of the Vale, and finding it pleasant, and fruitful, they built handsome Towns; and report, they receiv'd an Oracle through a Rock, which they afterwards look'd upon as sacred, calling it *Chincha*, and *Camay*; and there they offer'd Sacrifices, and the Devil spoke to the Elders of them.

In Process of Time these *Indians* increas'd, and grew so powerful, that most of the Neighbouring Vales endeavour'd to be in Amity and Alliance with them, to their great Honour and Benefit. Being grown so potent, at the Time that the first *Ingas* were busy about building the City of *Cuzco*, they March'd out to plunder the Mountain Countries, did much Harm among the *Soras* and *Lucanes*, and went as far as the great Province of *Collao*, whence after many Victories obtain'd, they return'd home laden with Booty. There they and their Progeny continu'd, giving themselves up to Pleasure and Diversions, with Abundance of Women, and using the same Customs as the others already spoken of. Several *Spaniards* affirm, that when they conquer'd this Vale under *Pizarro*, there were above 25000 Men in it, and at present I believe they scarce amount to 5000. They always continu'd prosperous and absolute, till the Brave *Inga Tupangue*, having subdu'd the greatest Part of the Kingdom, sent a General of his own Family, call'd *Capaynga Tupangue*, who enter'd

ter'd *Chincha* with a mighty Army of *Orejones*, and others where he had several Encounters with the Natives, and not being able entirely to subdue them, pass'd on farther. At length, they say, they were finally conquer'd by *Topaynga Tupangue*, Father to *Guaynacapa*, from which Time forwards they were subject to the Laws of the *Ingas*, and great Palaces and Store houses were built, and tho' the *Ingas* did not take the Power of Government from the Native *Caciquer*, yet they kept their Deputy in the Vale, and order'd they should Worship the Sun, who was their God. Accordingly a Temple was here built in Honour of him, with the same Number of Virgins, as in other Places, and Priests to offer Sacrifices. Notwithstanding the erecting of this Temple of the Sun, the Natives did not leave off the Worship of their ancient God *Chinchaycama*. The *Ingas* had their *Mitimaes* in this Vale, as well as in the others, and order'd that the Lords, or *Caciques* should reside some Months in the Year at his Court in *Cuzco*. The Lord of *Chincha*, who was still living in my Time, and for an *Indian* excellently qualify'd, was in most of the Wars under *Guaynacapa*.

This is one of the largest Vales in all *Peru*, very delightful for its many Groves, and Trenches of Water, and abounding in Fruit, particularly that delicious Sort, the *Spaniards* call *Pepinos*, that is, Cowcumbers, not of the Nature of ours in *Spain*, tho' something like them in Shape; yellow when par'd, and so pleasant to the Taste and Scent, that a Man must eat many of them before he can be satisfy'd. The Birds are the same already mention'd; but there are very few of the Country Sheep, which were most destroy'd, during the Wars among the *Spaniards*. Corn, Vines, and all other things brought from *Spain* thrive. There were Abundance of Graves in the upper barren Parts, whence the *Spaniards* drew much Gold. These *Indians* were great Dancers, and their Lords kept much State, being highly respected by their Subjects. When subdu'd by the *Ingas* they took to their Customs, like the others. The long Wars in this Kingdom of *Peru*, and the frequent taking out of the *Indians* to carry Burdens, were the Occasions that their Numbers are so much decreas'd.

CHAP. LXXI.

Of the other Vales, as far as the Province of Tarapaca,
and of the City of Arequipa.

Proceeding on from *Chincha*, along the Plains, and Sands we come to the pleasant Vale of *Yca*, as large, and *Yca Vale*. formerly no less populous than the rest; with a River running through it, which when it is Summer on the Mountains has so little Water, that the Inhabitants find a want. Before the *Spaniards* came thither, besides the common Trenches, the *Indians* had drawn a very large one from the Top of the Mountain, which supply'd the Defect of the River. At present the great Trench being spoild, when the River is very low they dig great Pits in it at small Distances, which hold Water for them to Drink, and to make small Draughts to Water their Grounds. Here were formerly powerful Lords, much respected, and honour'd, and all other things were as in the rest of the Vales.

Hence the Road runs to the lovely Vales and Rivers of *Nasca*, where most of the *Indians* as I was inform'd by *Spaniards* of Credit were consum'd by the Wars between *Pizarro* and *Almagro*. In the chieftest of these Vales, by a particular Name call'd *Caxamalca*, there were great Apartments, and Magazines of the *Ingas*; and there is much Sugar made in them all, which supplies several Parts of the Kingdom. The next Vale is that of *Hacari*, and then those of *Oconna*, *Camanna*, and *Quileca*, with great Rivers in them. Again beyond *Quilca*, which is the Sea Port to the City of *Arequipa*, are the Vales of *Chuli*, *Tambopalla*, *Ylo*, and the wealthy one of *Tarapaca*. *Nasca Vale, &c.*

Near the Vales there are some Islands in the Sea, full of Sea Wolves, whither the Natives go in Floats, and bring thence from off the higher Grounds Abundance of the Dung of Birds to Manure their Lands, which they find a great Improvement of barren Land, where little of their Wheat would grow without it, so that they would scarce be able to subsist but for those Birds, and therefore they trade

trade with this Dung as a thing of Value. It is needless to say any more of these Vales as far as *Tarapaca*, for it would be a Repetition of the same thing. The Tribute paid to the *Ingas* some carry'd to *Cuzco*, others to *Hatuncolha*, others to *Bilcas*, and some to *Caxamalca*; because the Principal Seats of those Princes were in the Mountain Country. There are very rich Mines of pure Silver in the Vales of *Tarapaca*. Beyond them, those who have travell'd along the Coast say there are Deserts, as far as the Borders of *Chilo*. Much Fish is taken all along this Coast, some of it very good; and the *Indians* make Floats for fishing, of great Trusses of Oaten Straw, or of the Skins of Sea Wolves, which are so numerous in some Parts, that they make a hideous Noise, when they come together.

Arequipa
City.

From the City of *Lima* to that of *Arequipa* is 120 Leagues. This City stands in the Vale of *Quilca*, 14 Leagues from the Sea, on the most pleasant, and advantageous Situation that could be found thereabouts, being reckon'd the healthiest, and most delightful in all *Peru*. Very good Wheat grows about it, whereof they make excellent Bread. Its Territory reaches from the Vale of *Hacari*, till beyond *Tarapaca*, and some Towns in the Province of *Condesuyo* are subject to it, where several of the Inhabitants have Lands. The *Hubinas*, *Chiquiquanita*, *Quimistaca*, and the *Collaguas* are also subordinate to it, formerly populous, and full of that Country Sheep, but much consum'd by the Wars. The Sea being so near, *Arequipa* is plentifully supply'd with all it wants, and *Spanish* Commodities, and most of the Treasure of the Province of *los Charcas* is brought to it, to be shipp'd off at *Quilca* for the City of *Lima*. Near the City is a burning Mountain, which some fear may break out, and do harm; and sometimes it is subject to great Earthquakes.

CHAP. LXXII.

Of the Province of Caxamalca, and others,

I Am the shorter in speaking of some of these Provinces because the Natures of most of them resembled one another to such a Degree, that they seem'd to be the same, and therefore having describ'd some, the less needs be said of the others. Having now run through the Plains, I will return to the Mountains, where I left off, at the City *Loxa*, and Province of *Guancabamba*, to turn off to the City of *St. Michael*, and the rest, that has follow'd after it. To begin, there again I take the Distance from *Guancabamba* to be about 50 Leagues, little more, or less, and that is the Liberty of the City of *Truxillo*. This Province was remarkable for the taking of the *Inga Arabalipa*, and renowned throughout the Kingdom for its Wealth and Extent. The Natives tell us, they were much respected by their Neighbours, before the *Inga* subdu'd them, and that they had Temples, and Places of Worship, on the High Cliffs; but that, tho' they were clad, it was not so decently as since. Some of them say they were conquer'd by the *Inga Tupangue*; yet others affirm it was by his Son *Topaynga Tupangue*. Whichsoever of them it was, they all agree, that they slew great Numbers of his Men, before they were reduc'd, and that at last they were rather brought under Subjection by Art and fair Means, than by Force.

Truxillo
Liberty.

Their Lords were highly respected, had many Wives, the Son of the chief whereof was Heir, and they were bury'd as has been said of others. They paid great Honour to their Temples, where they sacrific'd Sheep, and Lambs, and the Priests are said to have convers'd with the Devil. On their Festivals, great Numbers of them met in Places swept very clean, where they danc'd, and drank much of their Liquor made of *Mayx*, and Roots. They were all Clad in curious Tunicks and Mantles, and

as a distinctive Mark on their Heads wore a Ligature, some wider, and others narrower.

The *Incas* set a great Value on this Province, when they had conquer'd it, and built in it a Palace, Magazines, and a Temple of the Sun, where the Virgins dedicated to its Service spun and wove the finest Cloth imaginable; for which Purpose they were furnish'd with the most curious Colours in the World. This was the Head of all the Provinces about it, which sent thither to give their Accounts, and many came to sacrifice in this Temple. There were several things very remarkable in the Palace of the *Incas*, particularly very stately Baths, us'd by the great Men, when they lodg'd there.

The Province has declin'd very much, the Reason whereof is, because the *Inga Guaynacapa* dying, the same Year that *Pizarro* discover'd this Kingdom, his eldest Son and Heir *Guascar*, born of the principal Queen, whom they call the *Coya* took upon him the Diadem, or Crown at *Cuzco*, and sent Messengers into all Parts of the Kingdom to proclaim him King. But the great General *Chaliouchima*, with *Quizquiz*, *Tuclagualpac*, *Orumixavi*, and other famous Commanders, who had been with *Guaynacapa*, at the Conquest of *Quito*, had concerted to build another City of *Cuzco* in the Northern Provinces, to make a separate Kingdom of them, and bestow it on *Atabalipa*, a brave, and discreet Youth, well belov'd by the Soldiers, and old Officers, as having come from *Cuzco* with his Father, very Young, and been very long in the Army. Nay many *Indians* affirm; that *Guaynacapa* himself, before his Death, considering that the Kingdom he was to leave extended above a thousand Leagues along the Coast, and that there was much more Land still to conquer, towards *Quillacinga*, and *Popayan*, had resolv'd to leave *Quito* and those Conquests to the said *Atabalipa*. However that was, *Atabalipa*, and his Party understanding, that *Guascar* had enter'd upon the Government, they had Recourse to Arms; tho' they say *Atabalipa*, was first taken by the Contrivance of the Commander *Alonso*, in the Province of *Tomebamba*. They add, that he made his Escape by the Help of a Woman, and coming

**Caxamal-
ca.**

Aa them

them clad like the *Pallas* of *Cuzco*. Here are rich Mines and the People are all converted.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Of the Cities of Frontera, and Leon de Guanuco.

Chachapoyas Province.

SHORT of the Province of *Caxamalca* last describ'd, another Road made by the *Ingas* strikes off to the Province of the *Chachapoyas*, who defended themselves so bravely against the said *Ingas*, that they oblig'd them to fly, in shameful manner, but being overpower'd were at last oblig'd to submit to those Monarchs. Many of them were then carry'd to *Cuzco*, where they had Lands assign'd them to till and build Houses on near a Hill, adjoining to the City, call'd *Carmenga*. The Mountain Provinces about the *Chachapoyas* being still apt to revolt, the *Ingas* order'd these People, with some of the *Orejones* to keep Garrisons on the Frontiers, to curb those *Indians*, and therefore they had great Stores of all those Weapons they use.

These *Chachapoya Indians* are the fairest and most agreeable of all I have seen in those Parts; and their Women so beautiful, that many of them were prefer'd to be Wives to the *Ingas*, and others plac'd in the Temples of the Sun, and to this Day as many of them as remain are most lovely Creatures, extraordinary fair and well shap'd. Both they, and their Husbands wear woollen Garments; and *Llantos* about their Heads, which are the Ligatures by which they are distinguish'd from other Nations. When subdu'd by the *Ingas* they submitted to their Customs, Habit, Religion, &c.

Frontera City.

Captain *Alonso de Alvarado* enter'd this Province, by Order of *Don Francisco Pizarro*, and when he had subdu'd it, founded the City *Frontera*, in the Year 1536, on a Spot of Ground call'd *Leuanto*, strong by Nature, which was levell'd by Hand to build the Town; whence it was soon after remov'd to another Province, call'd
las

los Guancas, look'd upon as a healthy Place. The *Chachapoya*, and *Guanca Indians* serve the Inhabitants of this City that are Proprietors, as do those of the Province of *Cascayunga*, and others. There were great Apartments and Magazines of the *Ingas* in these Parts, their Towns are very healthy, and some of them have rich Gold Mines. Men and Women are all clad, had Temples formerly dedicated to their Gods, and Abundance of Sheep, and made curious Cloth for the *Ingas*, as they do still, and delicate Tapistry of great Value. Their Customs, and the Product of the Country differ'd little or nothing from what has been already describ'd. About the City the *Spaniards* have their Farms, which yield them much Wheat, and other things of *Spanish* Growth. To the Eastward of it runs the Ridge of the Mountains *Andes*, beyond which is *Moyabamba*, and other great Rivers, and some Nations of a less civiliz'd People than these I speak of.

It is generally believ'd that the Progeny of a famous Commander among them call'd *Ancoallo* settled this way up the Inland, for they tell us, that he seeing the Cruelty of the *Inga* Generals, abandon'd his Native Country, and went away with such of the *Chancas* as would follow him, and there is a mighty talk of the Lake where they are reported to have built their Towns. In the Year 1550, above 200 *Indians* came to the City *Frontera*, *Gomez de Alvarado* being then Governour, who said, that a very great Number of them departing their Country some Years before, had travell'd through many Provinces where they met with so much Opposition, that only those here mention'd had surviv'd. They declar'd, that to the Eastward, there are large and populous Provinces, some of them abounding in Gold and Silver.

The City of *Leon de Guanuco* was first founded in the Year 1539, by *Gomez de Alvarado*, under the Direction of the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro*. This Province of *Guanuco* was first subject to the City of *Lima*, whose Inhabitants having more Lands than they were able to make good, and one *Illatopa*, an *Indian*, being in Arms ravag'd all the Country about. This oblig'd *Pizarro*, tho' oppos'd by the Council of *Lima* to order the building of the New City of *Leon*, to curb the revolting *Indians*, and

Leon de
Guanuca
City.

distribute Lands to such *Spaniards* as still wanted. Some Years after the first building, it was again abandon'd, on Account of the General Insurrection of the *Indians*, throughout the Kingdom. Some Time after it was rebuilt by *Peter Barroso*, and lastly quite settled and establish'd by *Peter de Puellas*, after the Rebel *Tllatopa* was taken.

The Situation is healthy and the Mornings and Evenings extraordinary pleasant. All Sorts of Grain and Fruit, both *European* and *Indian* thrive well; there is Plenty of Cattle and Fowl, and some Lions, and large Bears on the Mountains. There was a Noble *Inga* Palace in this Province, and a Temple of the Sun so much honour'd, that 30000 *Indians* are said to have been deputed to its Service. To say any more of it, would be only repeating what has been mention'd in speaking of other Provinces, and therefore we shall pass it by.

C H A P. LXXIV.

Of the Country from Caxamalca to Xauxa.

Guama-
chuco Pro-
vince.

FROM *Caxamalca* to the charming Vale of *Xauxa* is about 80 Leagues. Eleven from *Caxamalca* is another large Province, formerly very populous, call'd *Guamacucho*, and the mid way a very pleasant and delightful Vale, which being shelter'd by the Mountains, is hot, and a fine River runs through it, along whose Banks, Corn, Vines, and all *Spanish* Fruit grows in Perfection. This Province of *Guamacucho* was like that of *Caxamalca* in all Respects. In the best Part of it is a large Plain, on which the *Tambos*, or Royal Palaces were built, two of which are 22 Yards Broad and about 200 in. length, all of Stone, cover'd with mighty Beams, and curiously thatch'd over with Straw after their Manner. The Wars have consum'd many of the Natives; the Climate is good, rather cold than hot, abounding in all things for the Support of Man, and particularly great Numbers of Sheep, and of *Guanacos*, and *Kichnnas*, which are wild, on the Mountains.

I was inform'd, the *Ingas* had a Royal Forest in this Province, into which no Native was to enter, upon Pain of Death, to kill any of the wild Cattle, which was there very Numerous, besides some Lions, Bears, Foxes and Deer. When the *Inga* would make a royal Hunting, he order'd 5, 10, or 20000 *Indians* to come together who beset a great Part of the Forest, closing up by Degrees in good Order, till they came to joyn Hands, with all the Game in the Midst of them. It was then pleasant to see how the *Guanacos* would skip, and the Foxes run about to make their Escape. Another Parcel of *Indians* went into the Ring, who with Staves, or Darts kill'd or took as many as the Prince pleas'd, and they seldom destroy'd less than 10, or 15000, so great was the Plenty of them. Of the Wool of these *Vicumnas* they made the finest Cloth for the Service of their Temples, and for the *Ingas* themselves, their Wives and Children. These *Indians* are very tractable, and have always been in strict Friendship with the *Spaniards*. Formerly they were superstitious and ador'd some Stones as big as Eggs, and others larger, of several Colours, which they plac'd in their *Guacas*, or Temples, standing on the high snowy Mountains. In their Sacrifices they us'd to shed the Blood of Sheep and Lambs, fleaving them alive, before they were kill'd, and then took out their Hearts and Plucks very hastily, to observe their Signs and Tokens in them; for I was inform'd that some of them were addicted to Southsaying, and took much Notice of the Motion of Comets. The *Ingas* brought them to Worship the Sun, and the *Spaniards* have made them Christians. From this Province of *Guamacucho* a Royal Road made by the *Ingas* runs to the *Conchucos*, and falls into another, nothing inferior to it at *Sombon*. The one they say was made by *Topaynga Tupangue*, and the other by his Son *Guaynacapa*.

Two small Days Journey from *Guamacucho* was the Province of the *Conchucos*, and in the Mid-way Apartments and Store houses to entertain the *Ingas* when they travell'd; for they did it with great State, and not above four Leagues a Day, unless upon extraordinary Occasions, and therefore at every four Leagues had those Magazines and Lodgings, plentifully stor'd with all the Country

Conchucos Province.

try could afford, tho' it were in Deserts; all which their Stewards look'd to, and that none might be wrong'd kept their Accounts exactly on Knots made in Clusters of Strings of several Colours, very ingenious, tho' we cannot understand them, and these they call *Quipos*. The Road was always kept very clean, and where the Hills were craggy, they carry'd them along the Sides, making spacious resting Places, and stone Stairs, so very firm and solid, that they will last many Ages.

The common Particulars of these *Indians* are like the rest; they are of a middle Stature, very Warlike, and gave the *Ingas* much Trouble before they were subdu'd. They slew some *Spaniards* at several Times, insomuch that the Governour *Pizarro* sent Captain *Francis de Chaves* against them, who made War in a dreadful Manner, burning and impaling a great Number of them. Much about that Time, or very little before happened the general Insurrection of most of the Provinces, when the *Indians* between *Cuzco* and *Quito* slew above 700 *Spaniards*, putting such as they could take alive to cruel Deaths. Their Fury is much to be dreaded when they prevail, and they alledg'd they fought for their Liberty, and to be deliver'd from the Hardships they lay under, as the *Spaniards* did for the Sovereignty over them and their Lands.

Pisco-
bamba, &
Guaraz
Province.

There are rich Gold and Silver Mines in this Province of the *Copchucos*. Sixteen Leagues beyond it is that of *Piscobamba*; and 8 Leagues from the last that of *Guaraz*, among craggy Mountains, and it is very remarkable to see how curiously the great Road is carry'd along them, being broad, and smooth, along the the Sides, the solid Rock being cut away in many Places to make Levels, and Stairs. These *Indians* are also of a middle Stature, very laborious, inclin'd to dig Silver, whereof they us'd to pay Tribute to the *Ingas*. Among the other ancient Structures there is a large Fort, being a Sort of Square, 140 Paces in Length, and something more in Breadth, with Bodies and Faces of Men carv'd in several Parts, all exquisitely well done. Some of the *Indians* say, the *Ingas* caus'd it to be built in Memory of a Victory obtain'd, and for a Fortress to support their Allies. Others positively deny it, and tell us, that long before the *Ingas* reign'd

reign'd, there was a gigantick Race of Men in that Country, as big as those Figures represent, who were all destroy'd by the Wars and Length of Time, so that no Memory of them remain'd but these Stones.

Beyond this Province is that of *Pincos*, near a River, on which there are Peers to lay over the Bridge they make to pass it. The Natives here are of a good Size, and genteel Men to look to, for *Indians*. Farther on is the great and stately Palace of *Guanuco*, the chiefest of all the Structures from thence to *Caxamalca*, and of many more.

Pincos
Province.

Next is the Province of *Bombon*, strong by Nature and the Natives so Warlike, that they say the *Incas* could never subdue them by Force; but they were brought to submit by fair Means. Here is a Lake about 10 Leagues in Compass, in a plain and cold Country, at some Distance from the Mountain, and round it were the *Indian* Towns, with large Trenches and other Fortifications about them. There are some Islands, and Rocks in it, where the Natives, in Time of War, secure themselves from their Enemies. Some believe the Water that runs from this Lake is the Original of the famous River of Plate, because it is grown to a mighty Stream in the Vale of *Xauxa*, and afterwards join'd by the Rivers *Parcos*, *Bilcas*, *Abancay*, *Apurima*, *Yucay*, and others, to the Eastward, unknown to us. The Natives here formerly had much Cattle, which tho' decreas'd by the Wars, yet there are great Flocks of the wild Sort on the Hills, and Deserts, little *Indian* Wheat grows, because the Country is too cold, as has been said.

Bombon
Province.

Ten Leagues farther is the Province of *Tarama*, no less Warlike than the other, and a much better Climate, which is the Reason it produces Plenty of *Indian* and *European* Wheat, and all Sorts of the Country Fruit. To pass by other things wherein they resemble their Neighbours, when any Couple is to be Marry'd, all the Neighbours meet, and fall a drinking of their Liquor, then the Bride and Bridegroom come together, and after kissing one another on the Cheeks, and some other Ceremonies, the Wedding is concluded. When the great Men dy'd, they were bury'd as has been said of others, and their Wives

Tarama
Province.

Wives that remain'd alive, were shorn, put on black Hoods, and daub'd their Faces with a black Composition they made; in which Widow Habit they were to continue a Year, at the End whereof they might Marry again, but not sooner. They had solemn Festivals in the Year, and were very strict in observing their Fasts, without eating Flesh, or Salt, or lying with their Wives. They desir'd the most religious among them all to fast a whole Year for the Health and Prosperity of them all, which being perform'd, they met about Harvest Time, and spent some Days and Nights in eating and drinking. Sodomy was hateful among them, tho' perhaps formerly us'd by the People of *Guaylas*, because the others to this Day use an Expression, or Proverb by way of Contempt, or to affront any body, saying in their Language, *As far as Guaylas*; signifying with us, *May you be pursu'd by the People of Guaylas*; that is, may you fall into the Hands of *Sodomites*.

CHAP. LXXV.

Of the Vale of Xauxa.

Xauxa
Vale.

THIS Vale is about 14 Leagues in Length, and four or five in Breadth, in some Places more, in others less, the River mention'd in the last Chapter running through it and was formerly so Populous, that the *Spaniards* reckon it contain'd 30000 *Indians*, when they came into it, I question whether there be 10000 at present. They were divided into three Parties, yet all of them call'd *Guancas*. They say they were so order'd in the Days of *Guaynacapa*, or his Father, who divided their Lands, so one Part is call'd *Xauxa*, the second *Maricabilca*, and the third *Laxapalanga*. There were Houses of the *Ingas* in each of them, but the chiefest is the Fort call'd *Xauxa*, being very strong and curious, within an Inclosure, where there was also a House of *Mamaconas*, and a Temple of the Sun, and Abundance of Workmen, who made Vessels of Gold, and Silver for the Temple, and the *Inga*, in whose Service

vice above 8000 Men were there employ'd. All the Buildings were of Stone cover'd with mighty Beams, and long Straw over them.

These *Indians* tell a comical Story concerning their Original, which is, That they are descended from a Man, whose Name I have forgot, and a Woman call'd *Urochoinbe*, who both of them came out of a Spring, call'd *Guaribilca*. These two bred so fast, that all the *Guancas* came of them. In Memory whereof they say, their Ancestors built a great high Wall, and near it a Temple, where they came to pay their Worship. They own'd an universal Creator of all things, whom they call *Ticebiracocha*, and believ'd the Immortality of the Soul. Their Towns were divided into Quarters, built with Stone, like the Forts, and resembling small Towers, wide at the Bottom, and narrow at the Top. Formerly they were all free Districts, and made War one upon another; but when subdu'd by the *Incas*, apply'd themselves to Husbandry, and bred much Cattle, wearing longer Garments than they had done before. About their Heads they have woollen Ferrets, four Fingers broad, for their distinctive Mark; fought formerly with Slings, Darts and Spears, and had built a Temple call'd *Guaribilca*, near the Spring above mention'd. I saw it, and by it were three or four Trees, call'd *Molles*, like large Walnut Trees, which they reckoned sacred, and by them a Seat for the great Men, who came to offer Sacrifice, whence they descended on broad Stones, to an Enclosure, in which the Temple stood. There were Porters at the Gate to guard it, and Stairs went down to the aforesaid Spring, where stands a great ancient Triangular Wall, within it was a Plain, where they say, the Devil they ador'd resided, and us'd to speak to some of them.

These *Indians* add, they were told by their Forefathers, that a great Multitude of Devils once appear'd in that Place, who did much Harm among the Natives, frightening them with hideous Figures; but that 5 Suns were seen in the Sky, the Sight and Brightness whereof so daunted those Devils that they vanish'd; howling and shrieking; and the Demon *Guaribilca*, who resided in that Place was never seen again, all that Mansion of his being burnt. However, tho'

Bb

the

Ridiculous
Indian
Story

the *Incas* built a Temple of the Sun, they did not give over sacrificing to *Guaribilca*; but now both Places are ruin'd, and overgrown with Briers. For when the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro* came into this Vale, the *Indians*, say, the Bishop *Father Vincent de Valverde* broke down all the Idols; since which Time they never heard more of the Devil. I went to see this Temple, with *Don Christopher*, Son to Master *Alaya*, who shew'd me this Piece of Antiquity, and now the *Indians* are all Christians. This Vale of *Xauxa* is enclos'd with snowy Mountains, among which there are many Vales, where the *Guanacas* sow their Grain. The City of *Lima* was founded in this Place, before they remov'd it to that where it now stands; and much Gold, and Silver has been found here.

CHAP. LXXVI.

Of the Country between Xauxa and Guamanga.

Acos Territory.

FROM this Vale of *Xauxa* to the City of *Victoria de Guamanga* I reckon 30 Leagues. Travelling along the great Road, we pass by some Eminences hanging over the Vale, on which there are very ancient Structures all gone to Ruin. Thence we proceed to the Territory of *Acos*, near a Bog full of Bulhes. The Natives live clear from the Road, among craggy Mountains lying to the Eastward, of whom there is nothing to be said particular, being like the others spoken of.

Pico Apartments.

From *Acos* the Road leads to the *Inga* Apartments of *Pico*, along a Ridge, till it goes down the Sides of the Hills, and tho' the Cragginess of them makes it appear difficult, it is so broad, and well level'd that a Man would almost think he is travelling on a Plain. Thus it goes down to the River that runs through *Xauxa*, over which there is a Bridge, and the Pass is call'd *Angoyaco*. Near the Bridge there are white Craggs, whence gushes a Spring of Brackish Water. At this Pass of *Angoyaco* there were Buildings of the *Incas*, and an Enclosure of Stone, in which

which there was a Bath of the Water flowing there naturally hot, and fit for that use, to which the *Ingas* were much addicted, and all the *Indians* of those Parts, both Men and Women wash'd themselves every Day. Next the River this Place is in the Nature of a small Vale, full of the Trees they call *Molles*, and several other Sorts.

Farther on is the Town of *Picoy*, after passing another River, which has also a Bridge because it is very rapid in Winter. From *Picoy*, we go to the Apartments of *Parcos*, built on the Top of a Mountain. The *Indians* live on high craggy Mountains on both Sides of it, among whom the *Spaniards* travelling to and fro are entertain'd. Short of *Parcos*, in a little Desert is a Place they call *Pucara*, signifying, a Strong thing, where there was a Palace, and Temple of the Sun, and several Provinces resorted thither with their Tribute. Here is such a Multitude of Stones, so dispos'd by Nature, that at a Distance they look like a City, or Castles with many Towers; for which Reason the *Indians* seem to have given it a proper Name. Among these Rocks and Crags, there is one near a small River, very wonderful to behold, considering its Bulk and Grandeur. I saw, and lay on it one Night, and do take it to be 200 Cubits high, and above 200 about, at the very Top. Did it stand in a convenient Place, an impregnable Fort might be easily made of it. Another thing remarkable in this Vast Rock is, that there are so many Cavities about it as will contain above 100 Men, and some Horses. All these ways are full of Caves, where Men and Beasts may shelter themselves against Rain and Snow. The Natives of this Country we are pass'd, have their Habitations among great Mountains, most of the Tops whereof are generally cover'd with Snow, and they sow their Corn in close warm Spots, like Vales, that are shelter'd by the Hills, on many of which there are great Veins of Silver.

Picoy Town.

Parcos Apartments.

From *Parcos* the Road goes down a Hill, to a River, bearing the same Name as the Apartments, over which there is a Bridge built upon great Stone Piles. On this Mountain of *Parcos* the Battle was fought between the *Indians* and Captain *Margovejo de Quinones*; and here *Gonzalo Pizarro* put to Death Captain *Gaspar Rodriguez de Campo Redondo*. Beyond this River of *Parcos* is the Apartment

partment of *Affangaro*, whence the Road leads to the City of *St. Juan de la Victoria de Guamanaga*.

CHAP. LXXVII.

Of the City of Guamanaga.

Wars with
Mango
Inga.

AFTER the bloody War there was at *Cuzco* between the Indians, and the Spaniards, King *Mango Inga Tupaque*, finding himself quite broken and that there was no Possibility of recovering the City of *Cuzco*, resolv'd to retire to the Provinces of *Viticos* lying farther up the Country, beyond the Ridge of the great Mountains *Andes*. Captain *Roderick Orgonez* had first given him a Defeat, and rescu'd Captain *Ruy Diaz*, whom the *Inga* had kept Prisoner for some Time. *Mango Inga* being thus resolv'd, many of the *Orejonos* of *Cuzco*, who were the Nobility of that City, thought fit to follow him. Being come to *Viticos*, with a mighty Treasure he had gather'd from several Parts, and his Wives and Retinue, he settled in the strongest Place, whence his Men made frequent Excursions into the peaceable Parts, doing all the Harm they could to the Spaniards, whom they look'd upon as their Mortal Enemies, as having oblig'd them to quit their Dominion and Native Country. These things *Mango Inga* and his Followers gave out in all Parts, where they went to plunder: Now there being no Spanish City built in these Parts, but all the Natives divided among the Inhabitants of *Cuzco* and *Lima*, *Mango Inga's* Indians had the Opportunity of doing much Mischief, killing and robbing many Spaniards, and Indians their Confederates. This mov'd *Don Francisco Pizarro* to send out Forces against him. The Factor *Tillan Suarez de Carvajal* Marching from *Cuzco* by his Orders, sent Captain *Villadiego*, with a Party to scout the Country, hearing that *Mango Inga* was not far from them. These Men, tho' they had no Horse, which are the main Strength against the Indians, relying on their own Courage, and egg'd on by Covetousness, hoping to take the

Inga.

Inga, and with him Part of his Treasure, ventur'd to climb a high Mountain, and got to the Top of it so tir'd, and spent, that *Mango Inga*, having Intelligence of them, fell on with little above 80 *Indians*, the *Spaniards* being 28, or 30, and kill'd Captain *Villadiego*, and all the rest, except 2, or 3, who with the Assistance of some *Indians* that were their Friends return'd to the Factor.

This News being brought to *Pizarro*, he march'd out of *Cuzco* very speedily, sending Parties after *Mango Inga*; but to no Effect, for he retir'd, with the Heads of the Christians to his Station at *Viricos*, till afterwards Captain *Gonzalo Pizarro* gave him several defeats overthrew many of his Works, and gain'd some Bridges. The Harm done by the revolted *Indians* being very great, *Pizarro* with the Advice of grave Men, and the Kings Officers, resolv'd to build a City in the mid way between *Cuzco* and *Lima*, for the Security of Travellers, and it was first call'd *Sr. Juan de la Frontera*, till afterwards the Viceroy *Vaca de Castro* having gain'd a Victory over the People of *Chile*, chang'd the Name to *la Victoria*. All the Provinces from the *Andes* to the South Sea, were before subject to the Cities of *Cuzco* and *Lima*, and the *Indians* divided among the Inhabitants of them. The Governour *Pizarro* having now resolv'd to found this City, he requir'd the Inhabitants of both to come, and settle in this New One, or else they should lose the Title they had to the *Indians* in those Parts, so that the Limits of *Lima* should only extend to the Province of *Xauxa*, and those of *Cuzco* to *Andaguaylas*.

Guaman-
ga City.

Don Francisco Pizarro first founded this City, in the Year 1539 at an *Indian* Town call'd *Guamanga*, from which it had the Name, and lay near the Mountains *Andes*; but it was afterwards remov'd to the Place where it now stands, being a Plain, by a little Ridge of Hills, to the Southward. There was another Plain half a League off, which might have been more convenient for the Inhabitants, but that it wanted Water, and by the City, where it now stands, runs a small Brook, which affords it very good to drink. The Houses are the best
and.

Ruins of
-mighty
Structures.

and largeſt of any in *Pernu*, all of Stone and Brick, Til'd, with Towers. The Market Place is plain and ſpacious, the Situation extraordinary wholeſome, being neither hot nor cold, but very temperate, and neither the Sun, Air, nor Dews hurtful. The *Spaniards* have their Farms, where they keep Cattle in the Vales, and on the Rivers about the City. The greateſt River is call'd *Vinnague*, where are the Ruins of very ancient ſtately Structures, which ſeem to be of a very long ſtanding. The Neighbouring *Indians* being ask'd, who built thoſe old Piles, answer it was done by other white Bearded People like us, who they ſay, came thither long before the *Incas* reign'd, and ſettled their Habitations. I am of Opinion that this, and ſome others Structures in this Kingdom, are not of that Sort the *Incas* erected; for this was Square, and theirs long and narrow. It is alſo reported, that an Inſcription was found upon one of the Stones of this building, which I do not affirm, tho' I do not queſtion but that ſome People capable of doing ſuch things might formerly come thither.

About the River *Vinnague*, and in other Places about the City there grows Abundance of Corn, whereof they make as good Bread as any in *Spain*; Vines and all other things brought from *Spain* thrive, there is Plenty of all *Indian* Fruits, and more Pigeons than ever I ſaw in any other Part of the *Indies*. In Summer there is ſome want of Graſs for Horſes, which the *Indians* ſupply, yet no Cattle here ever eats Straw. There are very good outlets about the City, tho' the Briars and Brambles are ſo thick in ſome Places, that Travellers either a foot, or a horſeback muſt mind how they go.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Of the Indians about Guamanga, and of the Province of Bilcas.

THE *Indians* in this Part are still very Numerous, tho' decreas'd by the Wars, and were most of them *Mitimaes*, that is transplanted by the *Ingas* from other Parts, some of them *Orejones*, but not of the Noblest of *Cuzco*. To the Eastward of the City are the Mountains *Andes*, and the South Sea to the Westward. I have already mention'd, what *Indians* lye along the great Road, the rest have a fruitful Soil, are clad, and like the others, keeping their Places of Worship very private, where they sacrific'd and perform'd other Superstitions. They were so resolute and warlike, that the *Ingas* found much Difficulty in subduing them, for they tell us, that in the reign of *Inga Tupangue*, after the *Soras* and *Eucanes* sturdy People in the Territory of this same City were defeated, a great Number of *Indians* fortify'd themselves on a Strong Rock, where they did Wonders in Defence of their Liberty, in suffering Hunger, and other Hardships. On the other Hand, the *Inga Tupangue*, being ambitious of Sovereignty, and fearing to lose Reputation, kept them block'd up, and in great Streights above two Years; at the End whereof, after the utmost Efforts, they submitted to him. When *Gonzalo Pizarro* rebell'd the principal Inhabitants of this City of *Guamanga*, having taken up Arms for the King, went to secure themselves upon this Rock, where they say they saw some Memorials of what the *Indians* report.

Resolute-
Indians.

From the City of *Guamanga* to that of *Cuzco* is about 60 Leagues. In the way are the Hills and Plain of *Chupas*, where the bloody Battle was fought, between the Governour *Vaca de Castro*, and *Don Diego de Almagro* the Younger. Farther on along the great Road, is the Structure of *Bilcas*, 11 Leagues from *Guamanga*, which the Natives say was the Center of the Dominion of the *Ingas*;

Chupas-
Hills and
Plain.

Bilcas
Structure
for.

Notable
Place of
Worship.

for they tell us, it is as far from *Quito* to *Bilcas*, as from *Bilcas* to *Chile*; and some *Spaniards* who have travell'd it, affirm the same. *Inga Tupac* built these Apartments, if we may believe the *Indians*, and his Successors enlarg'd them. The Temple of the Sun was large and very curious. Near the Structure, on the Top of the Mountain is an Eminency rising above the rest, which they always kept very clean. On the East Side of this Plain, was a Stone Chappel, or Place of Worship, belonging to the *Caciques*, enclos'd with a little Wall, whence a small Terrace jutt'd out six foot wide, on which other enclosures were founded, till at the End was the Spot, where the Lord plac'd himself to pray, made of one Piece, so large that it is eleven foot in Length, and 7 in Breadth, and in it two Seats for the aforesaid Purpose. This Stone, they say, us'd to be cover'd with Gold and Jewels, adorning the Place they held in such Veneration. Another large Stone like a Font, is now in the midst of the Square, on which they tell us, the Beasts and Young Children were sacrific'd, and their Blood offer'd to the Gods. Some Treasure has been found by the *Spaniards* on the aforesaid Terrace. Behind it stood the Palace of *Topaynga Tupac*, with other Apartments, and great Magazines. There are still, near a small Hill above 700 Houses, which serv'd to lay up Provisions. In the midst of the Square was another Seat, like a Stage, where the *Cacique* late to see the usual Dancing and Sports. The Temple of the Sun, the Stones whereof were curiously join'd, had two spacious Fronts, with two Stone Staircases going up to them, of about 30 Steps each; and within it were Lodgings for the Priests, and those who look'd after the *Mamaconas*. The *Orejones*, and other *Indians* say the Figure of the Sun was of great Value, that there was much Treasure dedicated to it and bury'd, and that above 40000 *Indians* serv'd these Structures in their Turns. Forty Porters were appointed to keep the Gates. Across the Square ran a curious Trench, very Artificially Drawn, and the great Men had private Baths in it, for themselves, and their Wives. There is nothing of all this now to be seen, but the Foundation, bare Walls, some of the

the Enclosures, and the Stairs of the Temple, all overrun with Grass, and most of the Magazines fallen down.

The Road runs on from hence to *Uramarca*, 7 Leagues farther towards *Cuzco*, and in the way travellers cross the broad River call'd *Bilcas*, which is near these Structures. On each Side of the River is a large Pillar of Stone, strong and with deep Foundations, to lay the Bridge over, which consists of Cables made of Withes, in the Nature of the Ropes they use in *Spain* for Wells. These Bridges, when laid, are so firm, that Horses may gallop over them, as if they were of Stone. This Bridge I went over, and it was 166 Paces in Length. About the Source of this River is the fertile Province of the *Soras*, inhabited by a Warlike People. They and the *Lucmas* us'd the same Tongue, went clad, and had much Cattle, and there were Gold and Silver Mines in both of them. The *Incas* valu'd them so much, that they reckoned their Provinces their Peculiar Patrimony, and the Sons of the prime Men resided at the Court of *Cuzco*. The Road goes on to *Uramarca*, a Town of *Misimais*, or *Indians* transplanted from other Parts, most of the Natives having perish'd during the Wars with the *Incas*.

Wonderful
Bridges.

CHAP. LXXIX.

Of the Province of *Andabaylas*, the River *Apurima*, the Vale of *Xaquixaguana*, and great Road as far as *Cuzco*.

When I came into the Province of *Andabaylas* a noble *Indian* call'd *Basco* was Lord of it, and the Natives are call'd *Chancas*, who wear Cotton Tunicks, and Mantles. They were formerly so brave, as we are inform'd, that they not only made Conquests abroad, but even laid Siege to the City of *Cuzco*, till at last overthrowa by the Valour of the *Inga Yupangue*. The

Chancas
Indians.

Cc

renowned

*Fabulous
Original.*

renowned Commander *Ancoallo*, so famous in these Parts for his Bravery, was a Native of this Country; of whom we said before, that disdaining to submit to the *Incas* he went up the Inland, and settled on the Banks of a Lake. I enquir'd of these *Chancas* about their Original, who told me such another Fable, as that above of *Xauxa*, saying, their Ancestors came on a sudden out of a small Pool call'd *Soclococha*, whence they extended their Conquests to a Place they call *Chuquibamba*, where they settled. Some Years after they made War upon the *Quichmas*, a very ancient Nation, then possess'd of this Province of *Andabaylas*, which they subdu'd, and remain'd possess'd of it to this Day. They held the Lake they pretended to have come out of as sacred, and it was their principal Place of Worship, where they offer'd Sacrifice. Their Customs were like those before mention'd, and are now Christians. They all wore their Hair long, breaded very small, and about their Heads small wollen Twists hanging down under their Chins. The Province is long, full of Tame Cattle, and the wild is innumerable; Provisions and Fruit abound in it. We were here a long Time, with the President *Gasca*, when he went to punish the Rebel *Gonzalo Pizarro*, and these *Indians* suffer'd much by the unreasonableness of the *Spaniards*, the good *Cacique* being very industrious in supplying them.

*Abancay
River.*

From this Province of *Andabaylas*, by the *Spaniards* generally call'd *Andaguaylas*, we go to the River *Abancay*, which is 9 Leagues nearer to *Cuzco*, and on its Banks there are strong Stone Pillars, holding a Bridge like the last spoken of. The Course of it forms a small but fruitful Vale among the Mountains. By this River *Don Diego de Almagro* routed and took Captain *Alonso de Alvarado*, who commanded for the Governour *Don Francisco Pizarro*.

*Aporima
River.*

Eight Leagues from this River *Abancay* is that of *Aporima*, the greatest from *Caxamalca* to the Southward. The Road is well carry'd along the Sides of the Hills, which must cost them that did it vast Labour, in breaking the Rocks, and levelling of it, especially where it comes down to the River, being so steep, and difficult, that some Horses, loaded with Gold and Silver have fallen down it, and been lost past retrieving. When

I return'd to *Lima*, after we had routed *Gonzalo Pizarro*, some Soldiers of us cross'd this River without any Bridge, because it was then Broken. Every one of us singly was put into a Basket and drawn over upon a Cable made fast to the Pillars aforesaid on both Sides, for above 50 Fathom Distance. Beyond the River is the Place where the *Ingas* had their Apartments, and an Oracle, where the *Indians* say the Devil gave Answers out of the Trunk of a Tree, near which they bury'd Gold, and offer'd Sacrifice.

From this River *Apurima* the way proceeds to the Apartments of *Limatambo*, and beyond the Mountain *Bilcaconga*, where *Don Diego de Almagro* had a Fight with the *Indians*, before he got to *Cuzco*, is the Vale of *Xaquixaguana*, Plain, and encompass'd with Hills, but small. At the Entrance into it is the Place where *Gonzalo Pizarro*, was routed and executed, with others of his Followers, by the Licenciado *Peter de la Gasca*, the King's President. Here was a stately rich Palace, to which the Kings of *Cuzco* us'd to repair for their Diversion. In this Place also *Don Francisco Pizarro* order'd *Chalicuchima*, *Atahualpa*'s General to be burnt. From this Vale to the City of *Cuzco*, is 5 Leagues, the great Road crossing it. The Water of a River that rises hard by makes a quaking Bog, which would be almost impassable, had not the *Ingas* made a broad and firm Causeway over it, with Walls on both Sides, so strong, that it will last many Years. From the Causeway the Road runs along small Hills, and the Sides of them as far as the City of *Cuzco*.

Limatambo Stru-
ture, and
Bilcacon-
ga Moun-
tain. |
Xaquixa-
guana Vale

CHAP. LXXX.

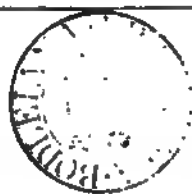
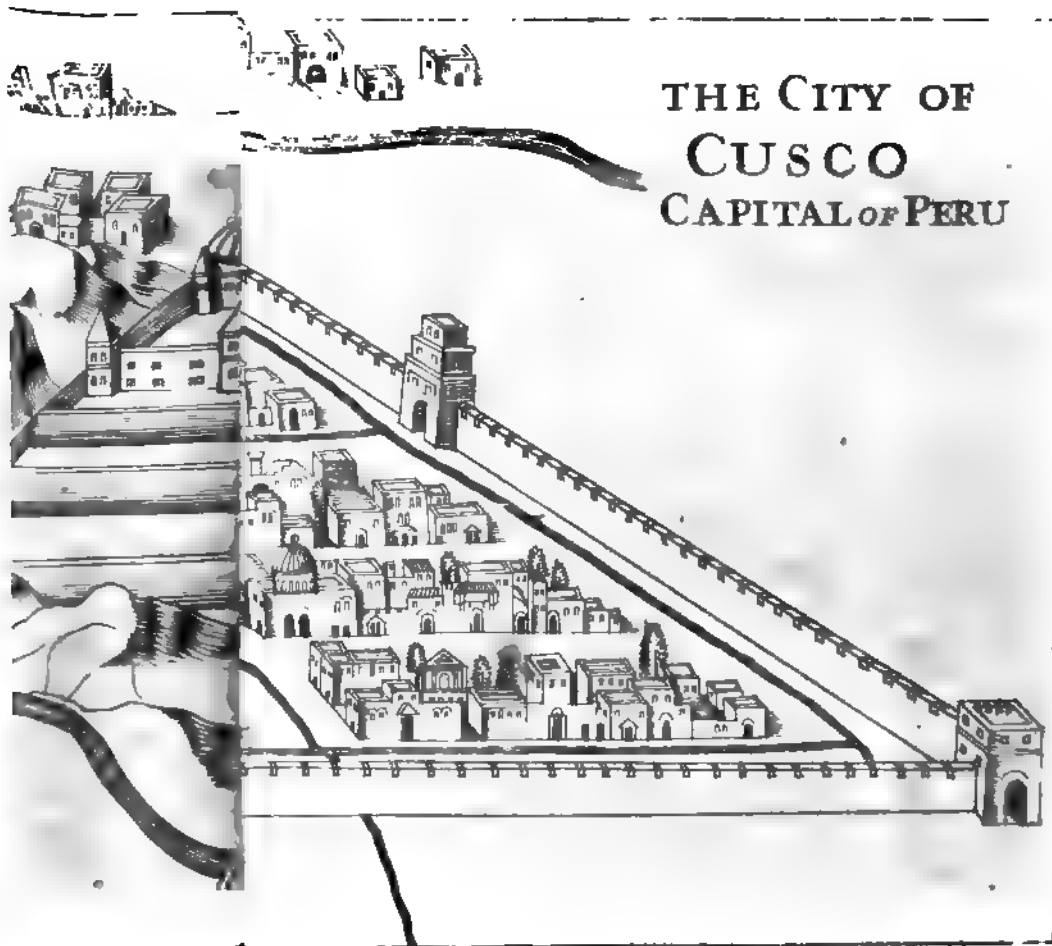
Of the great City of Cuzco.

THE City of *Cuzco* is seated on a very uneven Ground, encompass'd with Mountains on all Sides, and between two small Brooks, one of which now runs through it, because the Buildings have been extended beyond it. On the East Side of it is a Vale, beginning at the City, so that the Water of the two Brooks run to the Westward. In this Vale, by reason of its extraordinary Coldness, there are no Fruit Trees, except some *Molles*. On the nearest, and highest Hill to the Northward of the City is a Fortrefs, which was once a stately structure, for Bigness and Strength, and tho' now ruin'd, still shows what it was, the mighty Foundations being still visible, and some of the principal Towers standing. To the Northward, and Eastward, are the Provinces of *Andesuyo*, being the Woods and Mountains of the *Andes*, and the great one of *Chinchafuyo*, being the Lands towards *Quito*. On the South Side are the Provinces of *Collao*, and *Condesuyo*; the first of them to the South East, and the latter to the South West.

Cuzco
City.

One Part of the City was call'd *Hanancuzco*, and the other *Orencuzco*, in which the noblest Inhabitants liv'd, and where there were some very ancient Families. On another Side was the Hill of *Carmenga*, where there were little Towers at certain Distances, which serv'd to shew the Motion of the Sun, which they valu'd themselves much upon. In the middle near the Hills, where the greatest Part of the Town stood was an indifferent large Square; said to have been formerly a Bog, or Lake, and made good, and levell'd as it is with Stone and other Materials, by the first Founders. From this Square were deriv'd four great Roads. That they call'd *Chinchafuyo* led to the Plains, and all the Hilly Country as far as the Provinces of *Quito* and *Pasto*. The second Nam'd *Condesuyo* goes to the Provinces that are subject to

to this City, and that of *Arequipa*; the third being *Andahuay*, to the Provinces along the Sides of the Mountains
and some Territories beyond them; and the last



C . . . 1888

to this City, and that of *Arequipa*; the third being *Andesuyo*, to the Provinces along the Sides of the Mountains *Ander*, and some Territories beyond them; and the last, which is *Collasuyo*, to the Lands extending to *Chile*. Thus as *Spain* was divided by the Ancients into Provinces, so these *Indians* distinguish'd their vast Empire by Roads. Over the River that runs through the City there are Bridges. No regular City nobly adorn'd was found in the Kingdom of *Peru*, but only *Cuzco*, which, as has been said, was the Metropolis and Court of the *Ingas*. The other Provinces consisted of scatter'd Dwellings, and what Towns there were had no Form, or any thing commendable.

Cuzco was regular and stately, being doubtless founded by very understanding People. It had great Streets, tho' narrow, and the Houses of dry Stone, so curiously join'd, that it is a great Additon to the Antiquity of the Structure, such mighty Stones being so neatly put together. All the rest was Timber, Thatch and Terrafs, for there was no Sign of Tiles, Bricks, or Lime. The *Ingas* had Apartments in several Parts of the City, where every Successor in the Empire kept Entertainments. Here also was the famous, and magnificent Temple of the Sun, call'd *Curicanche*, the richest in Gold and Silver of any in the World. Most of the City was inhabited by *Mitimaes*, who were govern'd by singular Laws and Statutes, after their Manner, and known to all Men, both as to civil and religious Affairs. It was the wealthiest Place we know of in the *West Indies*, immense Treasures having been there long heap'd up by those mighty Princes, and no Gold or Silver once brought in was to be carry'd out again, on Pain of Death. The Sons of the prime Men came in their Turns from all the Provinces of the Empire to reside some Time at Court, with all their Retinue. There was a great Number of Goldsmiths and Gilders, who work'd for the *Ingas*. In the principal Temple resided their high Priest, whom they call'd *Vilaoma*. At present here are very good Houses, with Turrets, but thatch'd with Straw. The Place, tho' cold, is healthy, best furnish'd with Necessaries of any in the Kingdom, and where most Estated *Spaniards* reside. *Mangocapa* the first *Inga* King was the Founder

Temple of
the Sun.

Founder of it, and after ten other Sovereigns his Successors had kept their Court there, it was rebuilt by *Don Francisco Pizarro*, the *Spanish* Governour in the Year 1534.

This being the prime Seat of the Empire, the *Indians* at certain Times of the Year, came from all the Provinces, to build the Houses, cleanse the Streets, and do whatsoever else was enjoin'd them. On both Sides near it there are many great Apartments, and Magazines like the others in the Kingdom, all of them only differing in Size, and Strength; and the *Ingas* being so wealthy some Structures gilt, and others adorn'd with Plates of Gold. Not far from the City is a great Hill, call'd *Guanacauru*, anciently held sacred, and accordingly they there sacrific'd human Blood, and Abundance of Sheep and Lambs. The City being full of Strangers resorting from the Provinces of *Chile*, *Pasto*, *Cannares*, *Chachapoyas*, *Guanacas*, *Collas*, &c. every Race of them was by it self, in particular Places, assign'd by the Governments. They all observ'd their own Customs, and wore their several Habits, and tho' there were 100000 Men together, they were all known by the distinctive Marks on their Heads.

In several Parts of the City there are great Structures under Ground, and still, very deep in it, they find some great Stones, Pipes, and Pieces of Gold they us'd to bury, whereof very much has not been yet found. Round about there are many Temperate Vales, producing much Fruit, which is sold in the City: as also Plenty of Wheat, besides *Spanish* Fruit Trees. The River that runs through the City drives Mills, and four Leagues from it are still to be seen the Quarries where they dug the Stones for their Buildings, and very remarkable. The City has plentiful Breeds of Hens, and as good Capons, as any in *Europe*, as also good *European* Garden Stuff; and in the Vales there are Herds of Cows, Goats and other Cattle, both of our Sort, and the *Indian*.

CHAP. LXXXI.

Of the Vale of Yucay, and Province of Condesuyo.

ABout 4 Leagues from *Cuzco* is the beautiful Vale of *Yucay*, so seated among the high Mountains, that their Shelter renders it healthy and pleasant, for it is neither too hot, nor too cold; infomuch that the Inhabitants, and Council of *Cuzco* have had thoughts of removing the City thither; which will never be done because the Buildings are so great, that it will be too chargeable, and troublesome; besides that it would not be allow'd of for the Antiquity of the City. This Vale as well as that of *Bilcas* bears Vines, and all Sorts of Fruit, and delightful Trees; yet this seems to exceed all the rest, for the *Indians* resorted to it for their Diversion, and particularly *Uracoche Inga*, Grandfather to *Topaynga Yupangue*. All about it are Ruins of great Structures, particularly those at *Tambo*, three Leagues down in the Vale, between two great Hills, near a Break, through which a Brook runs. Tho' the Vale is so temperate as has been said, the Hills are cover'd with Snow the greatest Part of the Year. Here the *Ingas* had one of the strongest Forts in all their Dominions, seated on Rocks, which a few Men could defend against a mighty Army. Some of the Rocks, about it were perpendicular, and consequently render'd the Place impregnable, there being several Stages below, one above another, that look like Walls, on the Breadth whereof they sow'd as much Corn as they had Occasion for. Among these Rocks are still to be seen some Figures of Lions, and other Beasts, as also of Men, with Weapons like Halbards, in their Hands, as if they guarded the Passes, all of them curiously carv'd. The Buildings were very great, and they say there were mighty Treasures in them, before the *Spaniards* subdu'd the Country. Some of the Stones in these Structures are so large, that they requir'd much Strength of Men, and no less Art to bring and place them where they are. It is confidently

Yucay
Vale.

Fort.

ly reported, that in this, and other *Tambos*, for this Name they gave to such Structures, there was melted Gold us'd instead of Cement, [*This must be as we use Lead for cramping of Stones*] and that the Governour *Pizarro* had much of it. The *Spaniards* say, *Ferdinand Pizarro*, and *Don Diego de Almagro* the Younger took much Gold from *Pacaritambo*, at several Times, I cannot question the Truth hereof, when I call to mind the great Treasure that was seen at *Sevil* carry'd thither from *Caxamalca*, where that immense Mass of Wealth promis'd the *Spaniards* by *Atabalipa* was gather'd, and most of it brought from *Cuzco*; and yet this was inconsiderable to what was afterwards found, and distributed among them, and all together much inferior to what the *Indians* convey'd away, and could never be heard of. Had the fine Cloth that was then lost, and despis'd been preserv'd, the Value of it would have been greater than I dare to speak of.

This Province of *Condesuyo* comprehends the *Indians* they call *Chumbibilcas*, the *Vuinas*, those of *Pomatambo*, and several other Nations. Some of them were Warlike, and had their Dwellings among excessive high Mountains, where they had infinite Multitudes of Tame and Wild Cattle, and their Houses were all of Stone, cover'd with Straw. Much Gold has been found in the Rivers that run among the *Aymaraes*. At *Pomatambo*, and in some other Parts of the Kingdom there is curious Tapistry made, the Wool being very fine, and the Colours so lively, that they exceed those of other Nations. There are many Rivers in this Province of *Condesuyo*, over some of which they have Bridges of Ropes, made like those already mention'd. It yields much Fruit, and other Trees, and there are Deer, and Partridges, and Hawks to kill them.

CHAP. LXXXII.

Of the Mountains Andes, and the Indians living on them.

THIS Ridge of Mountains call'd *Andes* is one of the greatest in the World, for it commences at the Straights of *Magellan*, and runs through all *Peru*, and several other Provinces. It is very thick of high Cliffs some of them cover'd with Snow, others belching out Fire. There is much Difficulty in passing it, by Reason of the Thickness of the Woods, and because it rains there most of the Year, and is so close and dark, that there is no stirring without special Care, for the Roots of the Trees rise above the Ground, every where, so that it is more troublesome making way for Horses to pass. There is a Tradition among the *Orejones* of *Cuzco*, that *Topaynga Tupangue* went over this Mountain, with a mighty Army, and found much Difficulty in subduing several Nations, that dwelt on it. At the foot of it towards the the South Sea the Natives were civiliz'd, clad and submissive to the Laws of the *Incas*; but on the other Side to the Eastward the People are more rude, and brutal, but bring up Abundance of *Coca*, which is an Herb the *Indians* value very much, whereof I shall speak in the next Chapter. On these High Mountains there are Abundance of wild Creatures, as Bears, Lions, Tigers, Dantas, Boars, Fine Monkeys call'd *Gatos Pintados*, &c. Some *Spaniards* have seen Snakes there, as big as large Beems, and tho' so frightful to behold, they do no manner of Harm, in so much, that a Man may sit down upon them without Danger. Being at *Cuzco*, and discoursing with the *Indians* about these Snakes, they told me what I am going to relate, as a certain Truth, and is, That in the Days of the *Inga Tupangue*, Son to *Viracocha Inga*, some of his Commanders were sent by him, with a great Number of Men, to scour the *Andes*, and subdue all the *Indians* they could. That when they were far on the

Dd

Mountains,

Mountains, those Snakes destroy'd most of those Men, which prov'd so great a Loss, that the *Inga*, was much concern'd at it. An old Witch hearing of it, desir'd him to let her go to the *Andes*, and she would so stupify the Snakes, that they should never more do Harm. Leave being granted, she went to the Place, where the Mischief had been done, and by her Spels and Charms took away all their Fierceness and made them so tame, and stupid, as they now are. This is likely a Fiction of theirs, but it is certain, that tho' so large, these Snakes are not hurtful.

Barbarous
People.

Some Parts of the *Andes*, where the *Ingas* had Apartments, and Magazines were very populous; and the Soil fruitful, producing *Maiz*, *Tuca*, and other Roots and Fruits; besides those Sorts the *Spaniards* have carry'd out of *Europe*. In the most inaccessible Part of these Mountains, they say, there are People so Barbarous, that they have neither Houses nor Cloaths; but live wandering about like Brutes, killing Birds and Beasts with their Arrows to eat. That they have no Lords or Commanders; but meet accidentally in Caves and hollow Trees. They add there are also great Female Baboons, but I have not seen them, with which those Men have carnal Copulation; some whereof they affirm bring forth Monsters, with Heads and privy Members like Men, and Feet and Paws like Monkeys. These Men, they tell us are small body'd, of a monstrous Shape and hairy; having no Language, but rather a Sort of Houl. I do not vouch this for a certain Truth, but am apt to believe it may be possible, since we know there have been Men so beastly as to leave Women, to mix with Mares and other Beasts.

Los Charcas
Provinces.

In the Year 1549 I went to the Province of *los Charcas*, to take a View of the Towns and Provinces there, having Letters of Recommendation from the President *Gasca* to the *Corregidores*, or Prime Magistrates of all Places, for them to be assisting to me, that I might enquire into all that was remarkable in those Parts. A Gentleman of *Malaga*, whose Name was *Tunigo Lopez de Nunciba*, and I happen'd to lye one Night together by the Way in a Tent, where a *Spaniard*, that accidentally was present told us, that he had himself seen one of the Monsters.

in it, yet I am rather of Opinion, it is only
and fit for such People as they are.

Coca
Plant.

This *Coca* is planted on the Mountains *Andes*, from *Guamanga* to the Town of *La Plata*, where it grows up to little Trees, which they cherish and nurse up carefully; that they may bear those Leaves resembling our Myrtle. They dry them in the Sun, and then lay them in long narrow Baskets, each of them holding about a Quarter of an Hundred Weight. So highly was this *Coca* valu'd in *Peru*, in the Years 1548, 49, 50 and 51, that I believe no Plant in the World, except Spice could equal it; for at that Time most of the Plantations about *Cuzco*, *La Paz* and *La Plata* yielded some 80, some 60, some 40000 Pieces of Eight a Year, more or less and all in *Coca*; and whosoever had Lands assign'd him, first reckoned how many Baskets of *Coca* they yielded. In fine, it was more esteem'd than the best Wheat. They carry'd it to sell at the Mines of *Potosi*; and so many fell to planting, that it is now much fallen in the Price, but will always be valu'd. Several *Spaniards* got Estates by buying and selling of *Coca*, or bartering for it in the *Indian* Markets.

Mohina
Passes.

The Distance between the City of *Cuzco*, and that of *La Paz* is about 80 Leagues, before which last Place was founded; all the Country now belonging to it; was subject to the first. From *Cuzco* the great Road of *Collasuyo* leads to the narrow Passes of *Mohina*, leaving the Apartments of *Quispicanche* on the right Hand. This Road as soon as out of *Cuzco* runs to this Place all a broad Causeway, and of solid Masonry. At *Mohina* is a muddy Bog, through which the Road is still carry'd on strong Foundations; and here were great Structures, but all gon to Ruin. When *Pizarro* came with his *Spaniards* to *Cuzco*, they are said to have found a great Quantity of Gold, Silver, and curious Cloth; in and about these Buildings. Some *Spaniards* have told me, there was in this Place, a stone Statue of a Man, with a Sort of long Garment, and Beads in his Hand; besides other Figures, which the *Incas* caus'd to be carv'd, for Memorials of their Grandeur; tho' some of them were Idols they worshipp'd.

Beyond

Beyond *Mohina* is the ancient Town of *Urcos*, about 6 Leagues from *Cuzco*. Along this Road is a great strong Wall, on which the *Indians*, say, there was an Aqueduct, artificially brought from some River as they draw their Trenches. In this Wall was a spacious Gate, and Officers at it, who receiv'd the Duties payable to the Sovereigns; besides whom there were others appointed by the *Ingas*, to seize and punish such as durst presume to carry any Gold, or Silver from *Cuzco*. Here were the Quarries, where they dug Stone for their Buildings, and very remarkable. *Urcos* stands on a Hill, where there were Lodgings for the *Ingas*. Urcos Town.

Three Leagues from hence is *Quiquixama*, all the way uncooth Mountains, down the middle whereof falls the River *Yucay*, over which is a Bridge, like those above mention'd. Near this Place dwell the *Indians* they call *Cavinas*, who before they were subdu'd by the *Ingas*, had their Ears bor'd, and some Sort of Ornament in them, and were *Orejones*. *Mangocapa* the Founder of *Cuzco* is said to have gain'd them to his Party. They wear woollen Garments, most of them without Hair, and tie a black Breade about their Head. Their Towns are on the Mountains, and their Houses of Stone. They had formerly a Temple, held in great Veneration, call'd *Auzancata*, near which they say, their Ancestors saw a Devil in their own Shape and Habit, to whom they offer'd Sacrifice, after their Manner. They tell us they then positively believ'd, that the Souls departing the Body, went to a great Lake, whence they vainly thought they deriv'd their Original, and that there they enter'd into the Bodies of those that were born. When subject to the *Ingas* they became more polite, and ador'd the Sun, yet not forgetting their own Temple. Quiquixama Territory.

Beyond this Province are the *Canches*, peaceable and understanding *Indians*, free from Malice, laborious, and useful for digging Gold and Silver, and rich in their Sheep. Their Towns are like their Neighbours, as are their Garments, and about their Heads they wear black Twists hanging under the Chin. They are said to have maintain'd War long with *Viracocha Inga*, and his Predecessors, and to have been much esteem'd, when subdu'd. Cavinas Indians.

Their

Their Weapons were Darts, Slings, and those they call *Aylos*, wherewith they bound their Enemies. Their Customs differ not from the rest, and they generally have no regard for Honour, or Grandeur, yet some of their Lords are haughty among their People, and treat them roughly. They had their appointed Festivals, at certain Times of the Year, and danc'd in the Squares before the Houses of their Lords. All this Country produces Wheat, and *Maiz*, has Abundance of Partridges and *Condors*, the *Indians* breed many Hens in their Houses, and take Plenty of good Fish in the Rivers.

C H A P. LXXXIV.

Of the Province of the Canas, of Ayavire, and the Country of the Collas.

Canas
Province.

THE next Province adjoyning to the *Canches* is that of the *Canas*, another Nation, and the Names of their Towns are *Hatuncana*, *Chiquana*, *Horuro*, *Cacha*, &c. They are all clad, Men and Women, and on their Heads wear great, round, and high woollen Caps. They had their Towns on the Hills, before the *Incas* subdu'd them, whence they made War upon one another; but afterwards came down into the Plain, and built more regularly, their Customs being the same with the *Canches*. They had a Temple call'd *Ancocagua*, where they sacrific'd after their wicked Manner. On the farther Side of a River is a small Enclosure, in which some Quantity of Gold was found; for they say it was a Temple erected in Honour of their God *Ticeviracocha* whom they call, the Creator, and in it was an Idol of Stone, as big as a Man cloath'd, and with a Crown, or Diadem on his Head. There were those that imagin'd this Figure might be made for some one of the Apostles that came into this Country

All this Territory of the *Canas* is cold, as well as that of the *Canches*, and well stor'd with Provisions, and Cattle.

the South Sea is on the West, and the *Andes* on the East of it. From the Town of *Chiquana*, in the Province to that of *Ayavire* is about 15 Leagues, in which Interval there are some Towns of the *Canas* and several Plains, and large Champains fit for breeding of Cattle, but that they are too cold; and the great Store of Grass growing in them only serves the *Guanacos*, and *Vichnnas*.

This Town of *Ayavire* was formerly, and still is very remarkable, especially for the mighty Graves belonging to it, which are so numerous, that they take up more ground than the Town. The *Indians* affirm that the Natives of *Ayavire*, were of the Race of the *Canas*, and having maintain'd War against the *Inga Tupangue*, were so weaken'd that it oblig'd them to submit to his Servitude, rather than utterly to perish; yet he being revengeful, after basely murdering many *Indians* of *Copacopa*, and other Towns near the *Andes*, did the same by the People of *Ayavire*, so that very few escap'd alive, and such as remain'd rang'd about the Fields, and call'd upon their Forefathers, who had been long dead, bitterly bewailing the Defolation of their Country.

Ayavire
Town.

Ayavire standing in a good Country, and a considerable River running by it, the *Inga Tupangue* order'd a stately Palace to be there built for him, with Magazines at the Foot of a little Mountain, as also a Temple of the Sun. This done, and the Natives being consum'd as has been said, the *Inga* order'd *Mitimaes*, that is, *Indians*, with their Wives and Families, to come from the adjacent Provinces to take Possession of the Lands of the Dead, and to build a regular Town, near the Temple of the Sun, which afterwards continually encreas'd, till the coming of the *Spaniards*, since then it has been much impair'd by the Wars. Near it are the Ruins of a Temple, and round all the Town Abundance of Graves.

At *Ayavire* begins the Province of the *Collas*; the largest, I believe, in all *Peru*, and reaches as far as *Cara-*

Collas
Province.

collo. On the East of it are the *Andes*, on the West the Tops of the snowy Mountains, and their Sides running down towards the South Sea. Besides the till'd Lands, here are great Deserts, full of wild Cattle. This

Country.

Country is all Plain, and good Rivers cross it in several Parts, which make large Meadows full of Grass, tho' in Summer it is parch'd up, as in *Spain*. Their Winter begins in *October*, and ends in *April*; the Days and Nights are almost equal; and it is colder here than in any Part of *Peru*, except the higher Grounds, and snowy Mountains, the Reason whereof is that this Land is also high, and almost equal with the Hills. Were this Territory a deep Vale like *Xauxa*, or *Coquiabo*, that would produce *Maiz*, it might be reckoned one of the Wealthiest Parts of the *West Indies*. It is very troublesome travelling in these Plains of *Collao* in windy Weather; but when calm and the Sun shines, the Meddows yield a pleasant Prospect, tho' neither *Maiz*, nor any Trees thrive, and consequently there is no Sort of Fruit. The Towns stand thick, and the Houses in them close to one another, not large, but of Stone, and Thatch'd with Straw, instead of Tiling. All about these Towns are sow'd Grounds, their Chief Sustenance being *Papas*, which are Roots, not unlike those we call Pig Nuts. These they dry in the Sun, and keep the Year about, and when dry they call them *Chuno*, putting a great Value upon them, for they have no Trenches to water their Fields, as has been said of other Parts, and therefore soon want, if they have not Rain, unless they have laid up Store of these dry'd *Papas*. Many *Spaniards* have grown very rich, only by carrying this *Chuno* to *Potosi*. They have another Sort of Food call'd *Oca*, of great use with them; but their small Grain, about the Bigness of Rice, known by the Name of *Quinna* is much better. In plentiful Years the Inhabitants of *Collao* live well; but suffer very much when they want Rain.

The *Ingas* being wise and provident Princes, enacted such Laws as eas'd the People of those wants they us'd to suffer, before they were under their Government. For here among the *Collas*, and in other Vales of *Peru*, which by reason of their Coldness, were not so fruitful as the Hot, they order'd that since the great Mountains *Andes* were near most of their Towns, a certain Number of *Indians*, with their Wives should go out of each of them, and till the Lands appointed them by their *Caciques*,
wher.

where they sow'd whatsoever their own would not bear, with which they furnish'd their Lords, or Commanders, and these were call'd *Misimas*. Thus, tho' no *Maiz* be sow'd in the Province of *Collao*, by this Contrivance the Lords, and all that will have it are supply'd; for they never fail to bring Loads of *Maiz*, *Coca*, all Sorts of Fruit, and much Honey, which they find among the Woods in Trees, as has been said in speaking of *Quimbaya*. There is very good Honey of this Sort in the Province of *los Charcas*. *Francis de Carvajal*, Major to *Pizarro*, afterwards declar'd a Traitor, is said, always to have eaten of this Honey, and to have drank it like Wine, or Water, declaring, he found it kept him in Health, and Vigour; and so he was when I saw him executed in the Vale of *Lagunaguma* very lusty, tho' above 80 Years of Age, as he said himself.

CHAP. LXXXV.

A farther Account of this Nation of the Collas.

Many of these *Indians* say they receiv'd a Tradition from their forefathers, that there was formerly a mighty Flood; and pretend they are of great Antiquity, telling many Fables concerning their Original, which I think not worth Writing, for some say they came out of a Spring, others from a Rock, and others from Lakes; so that there is no regarding their Stories. They all agree, that their Progenitors liv'd very rudely, before they were subdu'd by the *Ingas*, having their Towns on the Hills, whence they warr'd upon one another, and their Manners were very Vicious. Afterwards, they learnt of the *Ingas* like the rest, went clad, and tho' they allow'd the Women to be loose before they were Marry'd, yet if they afterwards prov'd false to their Husband, the Penalty was Death. On their Heads they wore a Sort of Caps, like our Stone Mortars, made of their Wool, and call'd *Chucos*, their Heads being all long, with-

Indians
Fables.

Habit.

Ee

out

Brave
Commanders.

out any Pole; because they shape them to their Fancy, in their Infancy, as has been said before. The Women on their Heads have Hoods, almost like Friars. They tell us, there were two mighty Lords among them, before the Reign of the *Mex*, one of them call'd *Quauac*, and the other *Cari*, and these made themselves Masters of many *Pueblos*, which are their Forts. That one of them went upon the Lake *Titicaca*, and in the greatest Island, there is in it found white bearded People, with whom he fought, till he destroy'd them all. That after this, they had many Battles with the *Colas*, and the *Cameles*, and after many notable Exploits perform'd a-broad, these two great Men Ward upon one another, endeavouring to gain the Friendship of *Viracocha*, who then reign'd at *Cuzco*. He concluded a Peace with *Cari*, at *Chucayo*, and us'd such Art, that he brought many of the *Colas* under his Dominion without Force.

Graves &
Tumuli.

The great Men had a Numerous Retinue, were carry'd on Men's Shoulders when they travell'd, and much respected by all their *Indians*. They had their *Snacas*, or Temples in the Deserts; but the most remarkable thing here is their Graves, which I particularly observ'd and admir'd, they should take so little Care of the Houses they liv'd in, and be so solicitous about their Buriall. Thus in the Plains, near the Towns, there were Tombs, or Monuments, like small square Towers, some all of Stone, others of Stone and Earth; some wide some narrow, in fine suitable to the Persons that made them. The Tops of some were cover'd with Straw, others with large Stones, and I think the Way into them look'd to the East. When the great Men dy'd, they lamented them for several Days, the Women holding Staves in their Hands, and their Bodies girt, and every one of the dead Mans Kindred brought what he was able, either of Sheep, Lambs, *Maiz*, or other things. Before the Body was bury'd, they kill'd the Sheep and laid the Plucks in the Places they had for that Purpose in the Tombs. Whilst they bewail'd the departed, much Liqueur was made of *Maiz* for them to drink, and the more of it was spent, the greater Honour they reckon'd they

they had done the Dead. When the Liquor was made, and the Sheep and Lambs kill'd, they carry'd the Body to the Field where the Grave was, most of the Town's People attending him, if he were a Lord, and by it they burnt 10, or 20 Sheep, more or less according to his Quality. Then they slew the Wives, Children, and Servants, that were to be sent to serve him, according to their vain Opinion. All this was then put into the Grave, with some Persons alive. When he was thus bury'd, they all return'd to the House he was brought from, where they devour'd the Meat that had been gather'd, and drank the *Chicha*, or Liquor provided; going out now and then to the Squares before the Houses, where they all danc'd together weeping. This lasted some Days, at the end whereof they assembled the poorest Men and Women, and gave them what Meat and Drink was left. They say they had other Ceremonies, if the Person deceas'd was of extraordinary Quality. When all this was perform'd, the Wives that had not been kill'd, and other Servants went about the Town in their Mantles and Hoods, some of them carrying the dead Lords Arms, others the Ornament he wore on his Head, others his Garment; others that *Duby* or Seat he had sat on, and so of other things, following an *Indian*, who went before drumming and weeping, and all of them utter'd most dismal, and doleful Expressions. Thus they went all about the Town, singing Dirges, and in them repeating all the dead Man's Actions, and other things to that Purpose. I remember when I went from *San Charcas*, with one *James de Uzeda*, an Inhabitant of the City *La Paz*, in the Town of *Nicasio*, we saw some Women going about in the aforesaid Manner, and understood by the Interpreters that they said, what we have mention'd; and one of those present added, as soon as these Women have done wailing, they will be all drunk, and some of them will kill themselves, to go bear the dead Lord Company. I have seen them bewail the Dead in several other Places, and the Women tie Ropes about their Heads, to express more Sorrow.

Besides they cut off their Hair, and wore their worst Cloaths, without taking any Care of themselves; spending a whole Year in Lamentation, if the Dead Person was a *Chicque*; and forbearing to light Fire in his House for several Days. They also kept the Anniversaries, adorning the Graves with Greens, killing some Cattle, and burning much Fat of Lambs by them. Then they spilt several Vessels of their Liquor about, and so ended their vain Ceremony.

These People had very considerable Temples, observ'd their Ceremonies, and honour'd their Priests; keeping Festivals; particularly, when they gather'd in their *Rapas*, which are the principal Sustenance, and then they sacrific'd many Beasts. At this Time they have many Churches and are all Christians. They formerly, as well as the other Mountain People, call'd the Almighty Creator *Ticaviraocohe*, and believ'd he resid'd in Heaven; yet ador'd many Gods, like other Heathens. They have a Sort of Songs, which preserv'd something of their History, tho' they had no use of Letters. They are a rational People, and had some Knowledge of the Motions of the Sun and Moon, by which Means, they kept Account of their Years, but those were only of 10 Months. They told me, they call'd the Year *Mari*; a Month, and the Moon *Alespaquexa*, and the Day *Auro*. When subdu'd by the *Ingas*, by their Order they built stately Temples, both in the Island *Titicaca*, and at *Hauruncolla*, and else where. They hated Sodomy, tho' it is reported that some of the more rustick Sort, who look'd to the Cattle us'd it privately, as did those who serv'd the Temples.

CHAR.

C HIA. P. LXXXVI.

Of Pucara, of Hatuncolla, of the Town of Assangaro,
and of the great Lake of Titicaca.

FOUR Leagues from *Ayaviri*, along the great Road, is *Pucara*, which signifies, a strong Place, and said to have been formerly very populous, but at present there is scarce one *Indian*. I spent an whole Day, in viewing this Place. The Neighbouring People say, that *Tepaynga Yupangue* kept these *Indians* belieg'd a long Time, they having kill'd many of his Men; but that when subdu'd, the *Inga*, as a Memorial of his Victory caus'd several great Figures of Stone to be made, which I do not vouch for a certain Truth, but was told it. All I saw here, was the Ruins of mighty Structures, and many Stone Statues of Men, and other things, worth observing.

Pucara
Fortress.

Hatuncolla is 15 Leagues from *Pucara*, and in the way to it there are several Towns, as *Nicusio*, *Kullaca*, &c. In former Times *Hatuncolla* was the principal Place of *Collao*, the Natives whereof tell us, that before the *Incas* subdu'd them, they were under the Government of *Zitapana*, and his Successors, who gain'd several Victories over their Neighbours. The *Incas* afterwards adorn'd it with stately Structures, Magazines, and a Temple of the Sun; so that it was something extraordinary as the Name denotes, for *Hatun* signifies Great. Now all is gone to Ruin, and most of the Natives are consum'd by the Wars.

Hatuncolla
la Town.

From *Ayaviri*, above spoken of, runs another Road, call'd *Omasuyo*, along the other Side of the great Lake, I shall presently treat of, and nearer the Mountains *Mades*, leading to the great Townships of *Horuro*, *Assite*, *Assangaro*, and others of great Note, being rich in Cattle, and Provisions. When the *Incas* reign'd, they had great Flocks of Sheep in all these Territories. Among them in the woody Part of the Mountain is the Famous,

and

Caruaga River. and rich River of *Caruaya*, whence of late Years above 1700000 Pieces of Eight Value of Gold was taken up, and so fine, that it was above Standard. There is still more Gold found in it, but it costs much Labour, and the lives of the *Indians* if they are employ'd, the Place being reckoned unwholesome, but the Treasure immense.

Titicaca Lake.

This Province of *Collao* being very large, as has been said besides the Parts inhabited, there are several Deserts, and Snowy Mountains, and Fields abounding in Grass, which serves the wild Cattle, whereof there is Plenty every where. In the midst of the Province is the largest Lake we know of in the greatest Part of the *West Indies*, and call'd *Titicaca*, about it are most of the Towns of this Nation, and the People dwell in the Islands it forms, and there keep such things as they value most, as being safer there than near the Roads. I have already said, this Country yields no Fruit, nor *Mining*, because of its excessive cold. Among the Rushes in this Lake there are great Numbers of several Sorts of Birds, and large Geese; besides they take two or three Sorts of well-tasted Fish, but most of it reckoned unwholesome. The Lake is 80 Leagues about, and so deep, that Captain *John Ladrillero* told me, that going about it in Brigantines they had in some Places found 70 and 80 Fathom Water, in some more, and some less. This and its swelling Waves when the wind blows makes it look like a Gulf of the Sea. I cannot be positive whence so much Water comes, for tho' several Brooks, and Rivers fall into it, they all seem to me too little to form it, especially considering that this runs out into another smaller Lake, call'd *Anagas*. It might remain ever since the Flood, for had it any Supply from the Sea, I should think the Water would be Salt, rather than Sweet; besides that it is 60 Leagues from the Sea. This Water disburdens it self at a deep River, reckoned a great Security to this Country, call'd *El Desaguadero*, that is, the Drain, and runs into the Lake of *Anagas*, above mention'd. Another remarkable thing is, that we see how the Water of the Lake *Titicaca* runs into that of *Anagas*, but not how it goes out, tho' the latter has been search'd all round. To this I have

have heard some *Spaniards* and *Indians* say, that in certain Vales near the South Sea there are continually Sources of Water breaking out from under Ground, which they suppose may come from this Lake, forcing its way through the Bowels of the Earth, till it comes to the Sea; the general Receptacle of all Waters. This Lake was call'd *Titicaca*, from the great Temple built in it concerning the which they tell us a ridiculous Story, and is, that they had no light for several Days, and when they had thus continu'd in Darkness, the Sun rose very bright out of the Island of *Titicaca*, for which Reason they held it Sacred, and the *Incas* built the aforesaid Temple in it, in Honour of the Sun, which was in great Veneration and had Virgins, and Priests belonging to it, with mighty Treasures, whereof the *Spaniards* found some, but much more is supposed to have been lost.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

Of the rest of the Country, as far as Tiaguanaco, and of that Town.

TO return to *Huancolla*, the way runs thence to *Paucarolla*, and other Towns of this Nation of the *Collas*, as far as *Chuquito*, which is the best, and most regular Place to be found in the greatest Part of this Kingdom, and the chief Seat of the *Indians* belonging to the King of Spain, in this Territory. The *Incas* formerly made much Account of it, and according to the *Indians* it is one of the ancientest Places hitherto spoken of. *Cariacocha* was Lord of it, and a Man of good Sense, for an *Indian*. The Towns subject to it are *Xuli*, *Chilano*, *Acos*, *Pomara*, and *Cepita*, in which there are Lords, who have Command over great Numbers of Natives. They are rich in Cattel, and have Plenty of Provisions of the Country, having *Mitimaes* in the Islands and other Parts to sow *Coca*, and *Maiz*. There are Christian Churches in all the

Chuquito Town.

the aforesaid Towns, most of them founded by the Reverend Father Thomas of St. Martin, Provincial of the Dominicans. The Desaguadero, or Drain, running from the Lake of Titicaca to that of Aulagas passes by Copia, where in the Reign of the Incas there us'd to be Tol Gatherers, who receiv'd the Duties from those who went over the Bridge, which was made of Trusses of Oat Straw, in such Manner that Men, Horses, or any thing else might pass. Beyond these Towns is Guaqui, where the Incas had Apartments, and now there is a Church.

Tiaguana-
naco Town.

Tiaguana is no large Town, but remarkable for its mighty Structures, which are more than ordinary. Near the chief Apartments, stands a Hill rais'd by Hand, and set upon a Solid Foundation of Stone. Beyond this Hill are two Stone Idols, of a human Shape, and so curiously carv'd, that they seem to be the Work of very able Masters. They are as big as small Giants, with long Garments different from those the Natives wear, and seem to have some Ornament on their Heads. Near these Stone Statues is another Building, whose great Antiquity, and the want of Letters are the Cause we cannot discover what Nation laid such vast Foundations, and erected such mighty Piles, or how long it has been rais'd; for at present there is nothing to be seen, but only a good Stone Wall, that appears to have stood many Ages, some of the Stones being much worn, and decay'd, and so prodigiously large that it is wonderful how they could be brought thither by Men. Several of them are variously wrought, some being shap'd like Human Bodies, which perhaps were their Idols. Near the Wall there are several Cavities under Ground.

Wonder-
ful Anti-
quities.

Again, to the Westward of this Structure, there are still greater Antiquities and among them several Gate Ways, with their Jambs, Thresholds, and little Portals, all of one single Stone. What I took particular Notice of, when I view'd, and writ down these things was, that as big as these Gate Ways were, there ran out from them other larger Stones, on which they were founded, some of them being above 30 Foot long, above 15 in Breadth, and 6 in Thickness, and yet all this, the Gate, Jambs, and Thresholds were all of one entire Stone, which

which is most wonderful. I own it is beyond my comprehension, nor can I imagine what Tools they had to do it with, for it is plain those Stones must have been much larger before they were hew'd into the Shape they are now in. It is farther observable, that this Structure was never finish'd; because there is nothing of it, but only these Gate Ways, and other Stones I saw of a prodigious Magnitude, ready hew'd, and squar'd for the Building, at a little Distance from which was a small Chappel, or Closet, and in it a large Stone Idol, they probably ador'd. It is reported, that some Gold was found by this Idol, and about this Temple there was a Number of large, and small Stones hew'd out, like those already mention'd.

To conclude, I take this to be the greatest Piece of Antiquity in Peru, for these Structures are suppos'd to have been erected long before the Reign of the *Incas*; and I have heard the *Indians* affirm, that the said *Incas* took their Model for the great Building at Cuzco, from the Wall in this Town; they add that those Princes once design'd to have settled their Court at *Tiaguanuco*. Another thing is here very remarkable, which is, that for a great way about there are no Rocks, nor Quarries, whence they might have taken so great a Number of them, and doubtless there must have been a Multitude of People to draw them. I ask'd the *Indians* before *John de Varagas*, under whom they are, whether those Piles had been rais'd by the *Incas*, at which they laugh'd, declaring, as has been said, that they are much more ancient, but they knew not who was the Founder, having been told by their Forefathers, that all we saw there was done in one Night. This and what they report of bearded Men having been seen in the Island *Titicaca*, and their building the Structure at *Vinaque*, makes me believe there was formerly some civiliz'd People in these Parts, who in Process of Time were all consum'd. At a Distance from these Buildings, are the Apartments of the *Incas*, and the House in which *Mango Inga*, the Son of *Guaynacapa* was born. Near to which are the Graves of the Native Lords of this Town, as high as Towers, broad and square, with the Doors to the Eastward.

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

Of the City La Paz, the Country between it, and La Plata, and of that Town.

Viacha
Town.

La Paz
City.

Holding on the great Road; seven Leagues from *Tiaguanuco* is the Town of *Viacha*; leaving on the left Hand those of *Casayavire*, *Caquingora*, *Mullama*, and others not worth naming in particular. Amidst them is the Plain, near to *Guarina*, where the Battle was fought between *James Cemen*, and *Gonzalo Pizarro*, in which many brave Officers, and Soldiers of the Royal Party, serving under the former were kill'd, and the Rebels under the latter came off Victorious. To go to the City *La Paz* we must leave the great Road, and turn off to the Town of *Laxa*, from which the City is 7 Leagues distant, seated in the narrow Part of a small Vale form'd by the Mountains, and on the Plainest Spot, where there is Plenty of Wood and Water, this Vale being more Temperate than the higher Plains of *Collao*, which do not afford all things Necessary to supply such a City. The Inhabitants have had Thoughts of removing near the great Lake of *Titicaca*, or the Towns of *Tiaguanuco*, or *Guaqui*, but it will continue in the Vale of *Chuquiabo*, where much Gold has been taken out of rich Mines.

The *Incas* had a great Value for this *Chuquiabo*, near to which is the Town of *Oyune*, where they say much Treasure lyes hid, in an ancient Temple, on the Top of a great snowy Mountain, but could never be found. This City call'd *Nuestra Señora de la Paz*, that is, Our Lady of Peace was founded by Captain *Alonso de Mendoza*, in the Year 1549. In this Vale where the City stands, they sow *Maiz*, and plant some few Trees, and it produces *Spanish* Herbs and Grain. The *Spaniards* are plentifully supply'd with Provisions, Fish from the Lake, and fine Fruit brought from the hot Vales, where much Wheat is sow'd, and there are great Breeds of Cows, Goats, and other Cattle. The Avenues to the City are uncouth,
and

and craggy, by Reason of its Situation among the Mountains, and by it runs a River of good Water. The Town of *la Plata* is seated in the Province of *los Charcas* about 90 Leagues from *la Paz*, whence I will return to the great Road, which runs from *Viacha* to *Hayabayo*, where there were great Apartments of the *Incas*; beyond *Hayabayo* is *Siquisaca*, which is the utmost Extent of the Province of the *Collas*. Eleven Leagues farther is *Caracollo*, seated in great Champaign Plains, near the Province of *Paria*, formerly much valu'd by the *Incas*, where the People are clad like the rest, and wear a Sort of small woollen Caps on their Heads. Beyond *Paria* ate the Towns of *Pocapita*, *Macha*, *Caracaca* and *Moromoro*, and there are other considerable Provinces near the *Andes*.

Paria
Province.

The Spanish Town of *la Plata*, in the Plain of *Chuquibica*, of the Province of *los Charcas*, is very famous in *Pern*, and throughout a great Part of the World, on Account of the immense Treasure sent thence into Spain, besides which, it is seated in a Soil producing Fruit Trees, Wheat, Barley, Vines, and other Necessaries. The Farms and Lands for breeding of Cattle sell at very great Rates because of the vast Wealth of the Mines of *Potosi*. Its Territories are large, and several good Rivers run by it, so that there are great Breeds of Cows, Goats, and Horses, and some of the Inhabitants are as rich as any in the *West Indies*; for in the Years 1548 and 1549 the yearly Income of some Estates, as that of the General *Peter de Hinojosa*, was worth 100000 Peices of Eight, others 80000 and some more. This Town of *la Plata* was founded by Captain *Peruzañez*, in the Year 1538, and besides the Places already mention'd, there are subject to it those of *Totora*, *Tapaca*, *Sipisipe*, *Cochabamba*, the *Carangues*, *Quillanca*, *Chayana*, *Chagui*, the *Chichas* and others; all Rich, and some of their Territories, as the Vale of *Cochabamba* proper to bear Wheat, and *Maize*, and to breed Cattle.

La Plata
Town.

Beyond this Town is the Province of *Tucuman* discover'd by Captain *Philip Gutierrez*, *James de Rojas*, and *Nicholas de Heredia*, who went that way to the River of *Plata*, and farther Southward, than the Fort built by *Sebastian Gabot*. *James de Rojas* dy'd of a wound he receiv'd with a poison'd Arrow, and afterwards *Francis de*

Tucuman
Province.

Mendoza impudently seiz'd *Philip Gutierrez*, and oblig'd him to return to *Peru*, with great Hazard of his Person. *Mendoza* returning from his Discovery of the River was kill'd, with his Collonel *Ruy Sanchez de Hinojosa*, by *Nicholas de Heredia*, which was the Occasion that those Parts were not then thoroughly discover'd, the Divisions among them, being the Occasion of their returning to *Peru*, where meeting with *Lope de Mendoza*, Collonel to the Commander *James Centeno*, who fled from the Fury of *Caravajal*, one of *Gonzalo Pizarro's* Officers, they join'd him; but being again divided they were routed by the said *Caravajal*, at a Town call'd *Pocoma*.

Chile
Kingdom.

Farther on is the Province of *Chile*, first Govern'd by *Peter de Valdivia*, and other Countries next the Streights of *Magellan*, but *Chile* deserves a Particular Relation, and and having describ'd all from *Uraba* to *Potosi* which is 1200 Leagues in Length, I shall proceed no farther. As for the *Indians* subject to the Town of *la Plata*, their Customs are the same as those already spoken of.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

Of the immense Wealth of Porco, and Potosi.

Rich mines

IT appears by the Account the *Indians* give, that whilst the *Incas* govern'd *Peru*, the *Indians* in this Province of *los Charcas*, dug much Silver out of several Mines, and deliver'd it to the Officers appointed by those Princes, and there were then Mines on this Hill of *Porco*, whence they tell us much of the Plate found in the Temple of the Sun at *Curicancha* was brought, and the *Spaniards* have taken thence much more. In my Time a Mine belonging to the Commander *Ferdinand Pizarro* was open'd, and said to yield him 200000 Pieces of Eight a Year. *Anthony Alvarez*, an Inhabitant of this Town; at the City of *Lima*, shew'd me some Ore, taken out of another Mine he has

on

on the same Hill of *Porco*, which seem'd to be almost all Silver, so that this Place was, is, and 'tis believ'd will always be prodigious rich. Other very wealthy Mines have been found on the Mountains within the Liberty of this Town of *la Plata*, so that all Men certainly believe, if they had Hands enough to work there might be as much Silver found here, as there is Iron in *Biscay*; but much of this Treasure lyes bury'd, because the *Indians* cannot be compell'd to dig it, and the Country is too cold for Blacks, and they very costly. There are also Rivers within the Liberties of this City, that yield very fine Gold, which is little regarded by reason of the richness of the Silver Mines.

The Mines of *Porco*, and several others in these Parts were many of them open'd in the Days of the *Incas*; but those of *Potosi*, I shall now speak of were never discover'd, till the Year 1547, when one *Villaroel*, a *Spaniard*, with some *Indians*, searching about for Silver, lighted upon this Prodigious Treasure, which is on a High Hill as here represented, being the pleasantest, and best seated of any in that Country, and the *Indians* calling all Hills, and high Places *Potosi*, this however retain'd the Name. Tho' at the Time of its Discovery the Kingdom was all in Confusion, *Gonzalo Pizarro* being in Rebellion, yet the Bottom of this Hill was presently inhabited, many great Houses built; the *Spaniards* making this their Chief Residence, insomuch that the Magistrates came away to it, and the Town of *la Plata* was almost depopulated. They presently took Possession of the Mines, and discover'd about the Top five extraordinary rich Veins, the Fame whereof drew *Indians* from all Parts to dig it. The Method was that every *Indian* that work'd in the Mine gave the Proprietor of it a Mark, that is, eight Ounces a week, or if it were very rich two Marks; and if those on whose Lands the *Indians* liv'd had no Mines, they allow'd them half a Mark every Week. Such Multitudes of People flock'd to dig Silver, that the Place was like a great City. In the Year 1549 when I was there the Kings fifth amounted weekly to 25, 30 and 40000 Pieces of Eight, and notwithstanding this wonderful Mass of Treasure, they mutter'd and said the Mines

Potosi.

were

were not good, Now this that came to the King's Melting House was only the *Spaniards* Plate, and not all they got neither, for many sent it away where they pleas'd in small Ingots, and it is verily believ'd that the *Indians* carry'd mighty Wealth away to their own Towns. In all Probability there never was so rich a Hill in the World, nor had ever King so great a Revenue from one Town, for the fifts, from 1548 to 1550 have amounted to above 3 Millions of Ducats, which is more than the *Spaniards* had from *Arabalipa*, or was found in the City of *Cuzco*, when first discover'd.

Strange
Nature of
Ore.

Experience shews, that the Ore will not run with Bellows in this Place, tho' it does at *Porco*, and other Places, tho' all endeavours have been us'd to bring it about here, by the most understanding Men, the Hardness of the Ore may perhaps be the Occasion of it. The Ingenuity of Man overcomes all Difficulties, and the Method us'd in this is very peculiar, for the *Incas* finding the Ore would not run in some other Places, no more than this of *Porco*, they invented a Sort of Earthen Pots, like those we set Flowers, or small Trees in, with Holes in several Parts of them. Into these they put Coles, and the Ore at Top, planting them on the Ridges, or Sides of Hills, where the Wind blew strongest, the Ore would run which they afterwards refin'd with small Bellows, or Trunks they us'd to blow through. Thus was all the incredible Quantity of Silver found in this Hill melted, the *Indians* going about to all the highest Places to do it. These Pots they call *Guayras*, and there are such Multitudes of them all about the Hills at Night, that they look like Illuminations. When the Wind blows hard they run much Silver; but when calmer none at all; so that the Wind is as useful here to refine the Plate, as it is at Sea for Sailing. There being none to Oversee the *Indians*, and they being always employ'd to run it on the Hills, it is believ'd that many of them have enrich'd themselves carrying home considerable Quantities of this Plate. This was the Reason why the *Indians* flock'd hither, from several Parts of the Kingdom, there being such Opportunity to make their Advantage.

CHAP.

CHAP. XC.

*Of the rich Market kept at Potosi, and of the Sheep,
Guanacos, and Vicunas in Peru.*

IT is well known there were great *Tianguez*, that is, Markets kept throughout all *Peru*, where the Natives barter'd their Wares and Commodities; among all which, that of the City of *Cuzco* was the chief; for it was very remarkable after the coming of the *Spaniards*, on account of the extraordinary Quantity of Gold bought and sold in it, besides all other things the Country afforded. However this *Tianguez* or Market was never to compare to the wealthy one of *Potosi* where such a mighty Trade was Prodigious
Trade at
Potosi. drove, that the *Indians* alone, without the *Spaniards* being any way concern'd, dealt daily for the Value of 25 or 30000 Pieces of eight in Gold, and some Days above 40000, insomuch that I believe no Fair in the World did ever equal it. I observ'd it several times, and saw, that the Place being a Plain, along one Side of it there ran a Row of Baskets of *Coca*, which was the greatest Wealth in these Parts; another of great Heaps of Tunicks and Mantles, some coarse, and others very fine and curious; another of *Maiz*, of dry'd *Papas*, and other Provisions; besides Abundance of Quarters of the best Flesh in the Kingdom: In fine, there was every thing that could be ask'd for, and this Fair or Market lasted from Morning till dark Night; and Silver being daily dug out of the Mines, and these *Indians*, especially such as deal among the *Spaniards*, being fond of eating and drinking, whatsoever came to the Market was sure to be sold; and therefore Provisions were brought from all Parts, and several *Spaniards* got Estates, by only keeping two or three *Indian* Women to deal for them in this Market: Besides, there came Multitudes of *Anaconas*, which are free *Indians*, that do not belong to any Proprietors, as also the most beautiful Women in all the Kingdom. I took Notice whilst I was there, of very much sharp and unfair Dealing, and that many little regarded the Truth of what they said. Anaco-
nas free
Indians.

Such

very good, when they are fat, and the Lambs better and sweeter than ours in *Spain*: They are very tame, and no way troublesome; each carries half or three Quarters of an Hundred-weight, and when tir'd there is no Loss, because the Flesh is so good. It is pleasant to see the *Indians* of *Collao* go out with their Packs upon these Sheep, and see them return at Night, loaded with Wood. When they complain, they lie down and groan like Camels.

There is another sort of this Cattle, call'd *Guanacos*, of the same Shape, very large, which run wild about the Fields in great Flocks, and so swift in their way of leaping and galloping, that it must be a very good Dog that can overtake them. There is still a third sort, call'd *Vicunmas*, more fleet than the *Guanacos*, tho' smaller, and ranging in the Defarts, where they feed on Grass. The Wool of these *Vicunmas* is excellent, and so fine that it surpasses the best in *Spain*. The Flesh of these *Vicunmas* and *Guanacos* has something of the Taste of Venison, and is good. I eat some of a fat *Guanaco*, hung and dry'd, at Captain *Alonso de Mendoza's* Lodging, in the City *La Paz*, and thought it the most delicious I had ever tasted. There is another sort of tame Cattle, call'd *Pacos*, very ugly and wooly, resembling in Shape the Sheep, but smaller, and their Lambs, when small, much like ours in *Spain*. These Ewes yeau but once a Year.

Guanacos.

Vicunmas.

Paco.

CHAP. XCI.

Of the Tree they call Molle, and other Plants; of the Salt Pits and Baths, and of some Birds and Beasts.

I spoke of the *Zarzaparilla*, when I treated of the City *Guayaquil*, and thought fit in this Place to say something of the Trees call'd *Molles*, because of the great use that is made of them. There are great Woods in the Vales and Plains of *Peru*, and the same on the Mountains *Andes*, of several sorts of Trees, few or none of them to be found in *Spain*: Some of them, as the *Aguacates*, *Guayagos*,
Gg

yavos, *Caymitos* and *Guavos*, bear such Fruit, as I have mention'd in other Places; the rest are all thorny and prickly, or smooth, and there are some *Ceybas*, of a great Bulk, in which, and other hollow Trees, the Bees make excellent Honey, very orderly. In most Parts of the inhabited Country there are some large and some small Trees, call'd *Molles*: The Leaf is very small, and smells like Fennel, and the Bark of this Tree has such Virtue, that if a Man has great Pains in his Legs, and they swell very much, he need only boil it in Water, and wash them sometimes, and all the Pain will cease, and the Swelling fall. The little Twigs are good to pick the Teeth. A very small Sort of Fruit grows on it, whereof they make good Wine or Liqueur to drink, as also Vinegar and Horseradish, which is done only by bruising the said Fruit with Water in a Vessel, and boiling it to several Degrees, till so much is wasted as converts it into Wine, Vinegar, or Horseradish. The *Spaniards* put a great Value upon these Trees.

These Countries produce several Plants of singular Virtue. In the Province of *Cartagena*, where the City *Cartagena* stands, there is a Sort of Root growing among the Stones, which the People use for the purpose, of which they need take but a small Quantity, by being of the Thickness of a Man's Finger, and put it into three Pints of Water, half of which it will last up in the Night, and a Quarter of a Pint of what remains being drank, is Cordial, and purges as well as Remedy. I us'd it my self once or twice at *Cartagena*, and found Benefit, and all Men look'd upon it as Medicinal.

There is a Sort of Beans proper for the same Use, which some commend, and others say are dangerous. A Woman Slave of mine fell sick at *Bahia*, being troubled with some sort of Inflammation in her lower Parts, and some *Indians*, for a Sheet I gave them, brought some Herbs, bearing a yellow Flower, which they dry'd at the Fire, and powder'd and applying it two or three times, she perfectly recover'd. In the Province of *Andagayla*. I saw another Herb, so good for the Mouth and Teeth, that if they were rubb'd with it for some time, it took away all ill Scent, and left them as white as Snow. There are many more Plants in these

these Parts of great use, and others which are deadly Poyson.

I said before, there were no Salt Pits in the Province of *Popayan*, but instead of them Salt Springs, which supply that Want. In *Peru* there are such plentiful Pits, as might furnish all *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, and other Countries. Near *Tumbez* and *Puerto Viejo*, they took large Clods of Salt out of the Water, along the Coasts, which the Ships carry to *Calí*, *Terra Firma*, and other Parts. On the Plains and Sands of this Kingdom, not far from the Vale they call of *Gnaura*, are many good and large Pits, the Salt whereof is extremely white, and there are great Heaps of it, but all lost, for very few *Indians* make any Use of it. In the Mountain Country, near the Province of *Guaylas*, there are other Pits, larger than those last mention'd. Half a League from the City *Cuzco*, there are other Pans, where the *Indians* make as much Salt, as serves great Numbers of them; so there are others in the Provinces of *Condesuyo*, and in some of those of *Andesuyo*, so that all this Kingdom is well furnish'd.

There are also in divers Places great Baths, and many Springs of hot Water, where the Natives wash themselves, and I have seen many of them. Several Parts of this Kingdom, as the Plains and Vales form'd by Rivers, and the temperate Spots of the Mountain Country, are very fruitful; for they produce excellent Wheat, Maiz, and Barley, in abundance. For Vines, there is no less Plenty in the Territories of *S. Miguel*, *Truxillo*, *Lima*, *Cuzco*, *Guamanga*, and many other Places, whereof noble Wine is made; and so all other Trees and Plants brought from *Spain*, thrive, and grow to Perfection. Here is Land of all sorts to suit every Tree, temperate, wet, dry, or indifferent, and in the Plains it never thunders nor lightens, nor is there any Frost or Snow. No Oaks have been seen in this Kingdom, but if planted will certainly grow.

In the Mountain Country of *Peru* there is a sort of small Foxes, which have such an intolerable Stink, that no Man can bear it, and if they piss upon any thing, tho' it be often wash'd, the ill Scent will continue a long time. No Wolves, or other noxious Creatures have been

Tigers O-
striches
and Vif-
cachas.

Hawks.

Auras and
Condores.

seen any where, except the large Tigers I said there are on the Mountains about the Port of *Buena Ventura*, in the Territory of the City *Cali*, which have kill'd some *Spaniards* and many *Indians*. Some Ostriches have been found beyond the Province of *los Charcas*, and the *Indians* valued them highly. There is another sort of Creature they call *Viscacha*, about the Bigness, and resembling a Hare, but that it has a long Tail like a Fox; these breed in stony Places, and among Rocks, and many of them are shot with Guns and Cross-bows, and taken by the *Indians* in Gins, they being good to eat, after hanging to tender, and of their Hair or Wool, the *Indians* make large Mantles, Cloaks or Blankets, as soft as Silk, and very valuable. Here are Abundance of Hawks, which would be worth Money in *Spain*. I have said before there are two sorts of Patridges, the one small, the other as large as Hens. The Ferets here are the best in the World. Both in the Mountain and Plains there is a sort of very stinking Birds, call'd *Auras*, which live on Carrion and other filthy things. Of this same sort are the vast great *Condores*, almost like Griffins, some of which will fall upon Lambs and small *Guanacos* in the Fields.

CHAP. XCM.

Of the notable Works perform'd by the Indians of this Kingdom, and of the rich Mines in it.

THE *Indians* themselves inform us that they were not so polite or civiliz'd before the *Incas* subdu'd them, as afterwards; since when there have been such curious Works among them, as all Men admire, and the more, for that they have very few Tools, or Conveniences for doing them, and yet they are brought to such Perfection. When the *Spaniards* conquer'd the Kingdom, they found Curiolities of Gold, Silver, and Earthen Ware, so artificially joyn'd together, that they look'd as if they had naturally grown in that Form, besides many other Rarities

ties of Figures, which I do not mention, because I did not see them. This I declare I have seen, that is several Utensils of Plate, Basons, Ewers, Candlesticks, and the like, made with no other Tools but two Pieces of Copper, and two or three Stones, and yet so delicately wrought in Foliage and Figures, that our Workmen with all their Tools and Conveniences, would find it a very hard Task to match them. They have no other Furnace but a little earthen one, into which they put the Fire, and blow thro' Trunks, instead of Bellows. Besides the Silver Works, they make Gold Pictures, Twists or Laces, and several other things, and there are Children employ'd about it, who a Man would think could scarce speak; but they do little now to what they did under the *Ingas*. Their *Chaquira* or small Beads, are so nice and exactly alike, as shews them to be very able Goldsmiths, and the *Ingas* kept many of them in several Parts.

They are no less masterly at Building, and accordingly all the Houses and Dwellings of the *Spaniards* are their Work; they make the Brick and Tile, and lay great Stones, so neatly one upon another, that it is hard to see where they join. They also make Images, and that in many Places, without any other Tools but Stones, and their own Ingenuity. I do not believe any Nation in the World ever drew Trenches thro' such uneven difficult Ground as they did, which has been already mention'd. The *Mamaconas*, we have before said the *Ingas* kept in the Temples of the Sun, had no other Employment but weaving of the finest Cloth of the Wool of the *Vicunna*s, which all People in *Spain* admir'd. The Garments the *Ingas* wore were Tunicks of this Cloth, all adorn'd with Gold, or Emeralds, and other precious Stones, others with delicate Feathers, and some only of the Wool. The Colours they us'd for weaving of this Cloth, as Crimson, Blew, Yellow, Black, &c. were so sprightly, and lasting, that they excell ours in *Spain*.

It has been already said that the Mountains *Andes*, beginning at the Streights of *Magellan*, run Northward through many Provinces. On that Side next the South Sea, which is to the Westward, there is great Wealth found in most of the Rivers, and on the Hills, but those

Buildings.

Cloth and
Garments.Andes
Mountains.
their
wealth.

in the East Sea are rendered poorer in Metal, as has been shew'd by what they have cross'd all the Country between Peru and the River of Plate; and from the Mouth where he run down the River of the Amazon to the North Sea, tho' he was in many Places, but by him it was found no Gold, or Silver; and in fact no Treasure has been found beyond the *Andes*, in any Part of the Country till at *Luzon*. On the contrary, the East Sea and the South Sea has yielded the Treasure of *Peru*, and was known in the World, and a great Treasure being here shew'd throughout all the Kingdom of *Peru*, and there will be Gold and Silver in great Plenty, so that I believe these Metals abounding in the Mountains in the Plains, and in the Rivers. Besides there is great Plenty of Copper, and more of Lead about the Heads, and Banks of the Mountains, running down to the Plains. There is also Lead, and all other Metals in the Universe, so that I believe there will never want Wealth as long as there are Men, and yet so much has been carry'd out as has prodigiously encreas'd the Prices of all things in *Spain*.

CHAP. XCIII.

How the Caciques govern'd the Indians, and a notable Story of their Superstitions.

Indians
Caciques
Abalipa

THESE *Indian* Nations were continually at War among themselves, and the strongest possess'd themselves of the Provinces belonging to the weaker, as has been seen already in several Places, and in *Peru* they all tell us they came from other Parts, till the *Incas* made themselves Masters of all that great Empire. Nor were they free from Discord among themselves, for we see that *Guascar* and *Abalipa* were contending for the Government, when the *Spaniards* discover'd the Country, and their Division facilitated the Conquest of it. Some of the

the *Caciques* us'd at first to oppress their *Indians*, but that is now redress'd, since the Government is well settled, for there are Courts erected in all Places, which severely, and impartially punish any Person whatsoever, either Native, or *Spaniard* that dares offer them the least Injury.

Having said enough concerning the Customs, and Manners of these People, where there was Occasion, it will be needless to repeat it, and therefore shall only declare a Relation given me in writing by a Priest, concerning their Superstitions, which is as follows. *I Marc Otazo*, of Indian Clergyman, born at *Valladolid*, being in the Town of *Lampaz*, instructing the *Indians*, in the Christian Religion, in the Month of *May* Anno. 1574 the Moon being then at the full, the *Caciques*, and prime Men came to me, earnestly intreating I would give them leave to do as they were wont, at that Time of the Year. I answer'd, I must be present, that in case what they did were not allowable among Christians, it might be prevented for the future. They consented, and went their way home. Just at Noon they began to beat many Kettle Drums in several Places, with only one Stick to each, as is us'd among them. Then they spread several Blankets, in the Nature of Carpets, in divers Parts of the Square, or Market Place, for the *Caciques*, and chief Men to sit on, they being very fine, in their best Attire, and their Hair breaded down to the Bottom, after their Manner, one Breade of four Strands hanging on each Side. When they were all seated, I saw the Beautifullest Boy they could find, richly dress'd come forward, towards the *Caciques*, his Legs and Arms cover'd with red Tufts representing a Savage, and on his Body many Medals, and carv'd Pieces of Gold and Silver. He had in his right Hand a Sort of Weapon, like a Halberd, and in his left a great Woollen Purse, in which they carry their *Coca*. On his left side came a beautiful Girl, about 16 Years of Age, clad in their usual Dress, only that she had a great Train behind, which other Women did not use to wear. This Train was born up by an Older *Indian* Woman, but handsome and grave. After her follow'd many more Women, like Ladies of Honour, very demure,

demure, and decently. The Girl carry'd in her right Hand a rich woollen Purse full of many carry'd Pieces of Gold and Silver. Over her Back hung a small Lion's Skin, which quite cover'd it. After the Ladies attending came six *Indians* like Peasants, with each his Plow on his Shoulders, and Diadems on their Heads, with fine Feathers, of several Colours. Then follow'd six more, as if they had been their Servants, carrying Sacks of *Papas*, and beating a Drum. When they were within a Pace of the *Cacique*, the Boy and Girl aforesaid, and all the rest in Order made him profound Obedience, bowing their Heads, which the *Cacique* and his Company answer'd a little lowering theirs. Each having done thus to their own *Cacique*, for there were two Parties, they all drew back in the same Manner they came, without turning their Faces from the *Caciques*, about 20 Paces, where the Peasants stuck their Plows in the Ground, all in a Row, and on them hung their Sacks of *Papas*, which were choice, and large. This done, their Kettle Drums beating, they all made a Sort of Dance, without moving off the same Place, but only raising themselves on their Toes, now and then lifting up those Purses they held in their Hands. Only those who attended the Boy and Girl, both Men, and Women did this, for the *Caciques*, and all the rest of the People sat orderly on the Ground, keeping profound Silence, and observing what the others did. When this was over, another Parcel of *Indians*, who had gone for it, brought a Yearling Lamb, all of one Colour, without any Spot, and many of them hemming in the chief *Cacique*, that I might not see, they in his Presence, laid the said Lamb on the Ground, and pull'd out his whole Pluck, before he was dead, which they deliver'd to their Southsayers, whom they call *Guacamayos*. I took Notice, that certain *Indians* ran hastily with as much of the Blood as they could carry in their Hands, and threw it among the *Papas*, that were in the Sacks. Just at this Time out came a great Man, who was but newly become a Christian, crying out aloud, calling them Dogs, and other things in their Language, which I did not understand, and running to a high Cross that stood in the Middle of the Square, boldly call'd out, condemning

denning that Hellish Superstition. They being daunted by Reproaches slunk away, out of Countenance, without concluding their Sacrifice, which was to foretell what Harvest they should have, and other Events of the Year. There are other Diviners, whom they call *Homo*, of whom they enquire after future Events, because they converse with the Devil, and carry about them a Representation of him, made of a hollow Bone, with a Figure on it, of a Sort of black Wax they have.

I being in this Town of *Lampaz*, on a *Maundy Thursday*, a Boy I had, who lay in the Church came to me in a Fright, desiring I would rise and go Baptize a *Cacique*, that was then kneeling in the Church, and very fearful; for that having been the Night before in a *Guaca*, where the Heathens worshipp'd, he said, he had seen a Man, clad in white, who ask'd him, what he did there, with that Stone Statue, and bid him come presently to me, and be made a Christian. When it was day I rose, and said my Office, not believing what the Boy had told me, till going to the Church to say Mass, I found the *Cacique* still kneeling there, who as soon as he saw me, fell down at my Feet, begging I would make him a Christian, which I told him I would. Then I said Mass, some Christians being present, and having Baptiz'd him, he went out very joyful, crying, he was now a Christian, and not so bad as the other *Indians*. Then without speaking a Word more to any Man, he went to his House, and burnt it, dividing his Women and Cattle among his Brothers, and Kindred, returned to the Church, where he always continu'd preaching the Doctrine of Salvation to the *Indians*, and admonishing them to forsake their Vices, which he did with extraordinary Fervor, and many *Indians* were converted by his Persuasions. He said the Man he had seen in the *Guaca*, or Temple, was fair, and beautiful, and his Garments very bright. This is what that Priest gave me in Writing.

Convers-
on of an
Indian.

C H A P. XCIV.

Remarks on some wonderful Actions of Spaniards, and the Judgments that fell upon such as were cruel, and the Continuation of the Work.

Pizarro's
Sufferings.

BEFORE I conclude this Work, I cannot but observe that the Discovery and Conquest of these Countries looks like something above the Power of Man; and that on the other Side there have been singular Instances of Judgments on those *Spaniards* who signaliz'd themselves in their Cruelty to the *Indians*. Not to mention the first Discovery, by *Christopher Columbus*, or the Conquest of *Mexico* by *Ferdinand Cortez*, and of other Provinces by several Commanders, I shall only briefly observe some few things of later Years. How many Miseries did the Marquis *Don Francisco Pizarro* and his Companions endure, without being able to get beyond *St. John's River*, notwithstanding all the Supplies sent him by *Don Diego de Almagro*. The Governour of *Pazama*, *Peter delos Rios*, because there was a Ballad made calling *Almagro* the Drovers, and *Pizarro* the Butcher, who destroy'd all the Men that follow'd him, sent *John Tafur*, with Orders to fetch them all back, and they accordingly return'd, except only 13 that staid with *Pizarro*, in the Island *Gorgona*, till *Almagro* sent them a Ship, in which they set Sail, and in 10, or 12 Days found that which they had not before been able to discover in 3, or 4 Years. Thus these 13 *Spaniards*, with their Commander first saw this Country, and some Years after, when he enter'd it with 160 *Spaniards*, it had been impossible for him to withstand the Multitude of *Indians*, had not the two Brothers *Guascar* and *Atabalipa* been at War among themselves. When the general Insurrection of the *Indians* broke out, there were but 180 *Spaniards*, Horse and Foot at *Cuzco*, and *Mango Inga* made War upon them with above 200000 Men, for a whole Year, so that it is wonderful they should prevail.

Captain.

Captain *Francis Caesar* with only 60 *Spaniards*, travell'd over vast Mountains, and forded mighty Rivers, in Spight of the Natives, and being beset in the Province of *Guaca* by above 20000 of them, tho' weak, and spent with want, and travel, he routed them without losing a Man, and what is no less strange, found a way, that carry'd him back to *Uraba* in 18 Days, when he had been travelling the other way almost a Year. We have frequently seen many such unaccountable Actions, but let it suffice to say, that 40, or 50 *Spaniards* would settle in a Province where there were 30, or 40000 *Indians* and subdue them all. It is yet stranger that some Territories, which were scarce habitable, on Account of the violent Rains, and Earthquakes, since the coming in of Christians are become pleasant, and fruitful.

Captain
Francis
Caesar.

On the other Hand, as Providence has favour'd some, so have we seen severe Judgments fall upon such as were cruel, and Tyrannical, few of them dying a natural Death; as particularly all the chief Men concern'd in the killing of *Atabalipa*, most of whom came to miserable, and unhappy Ends. Nay the bloody Wars in *Peru* seem to have been a Punishment upon all that were there. Thus the inhuman Major *Caravajal* may be allow'd to have been the Executioner of Divine Justice, on those that deserv'd it, till his Turn came to atone with his Life for his own grievous Offences. Marshal *Don George de Robledo*, who suffer'd many *Indians* to be butcher'd in the Province of *Pozo*, was in that same Town condemn'd, executed, and had no other Grave but the Bellies of the *Indians*. *Ferdinand Rodriguez de Sosa*, and *Baltasar de Ledesma* being guilty of the like Cruelties, had the same Fate. The *Adelamado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Belalcazar*, who destroy'd so many *Indians* at *Quito*, being depos'd by the Judge deputed to try him, dy'd poor and miserable at *Cartagena*, as he was going over Prisoner into *Spain*. *Francis Garcia de Tovar* so much dreaded by the *Indians*, for having murder'd so many, was at last himself kill'd, and eaten by them. I knew one *Roque Martin*, an Inhabitant of the City *Cali*, who quarter'd our *Indians* that dy'd, when we came to that City, and hung them up to feed his Dogs, yet afterwards the *Indians* flew, and I believe eat him. I

Judgments
on men
cruel to the
Indians.

could bring other Instances, which would be too tedious, and some of those that have dy'd suddenly, an End more to be dreaded than the rest.

Since those Times the Government has been settled in an excellent Form, so that the *Indians* now enjoy their Liberties and Estates, no *Spaniard* daring to molest, or offend them, for Fear of the Courts of Justice, which punish them with the utmost Rigor. The King defrays the Charge of the Religious Men that go over to the *West Indies*, which has occasion'd those Parts to be Abundantly supply'd with them, for the instructing of the *Indians*, and there are very many Monasteries. The whole Kingdom is divided into *Bishoppicks*, and those into *Parishes*, all of them well serv'd, that neither Natives, nor *Spaniards* may want any Christian Assistance. Thus I conclude, having begun to write this Account, in the City *Cartago* of the Province of *Papayan*, in the Year 1541, and ended it in the City of *Lima* in *Peru*, in 1550, at the Age of 32 Years, 17 whereof I spent in the *West Indies*.

T H I

THE CONTENTS.

- C**hap. I. *Of the Discovery of the West Indies,* p. 1.
- Chap. II. *Of the the City of Panama, and its Foundation, and why treated of before any other,* p. 3.
- Chap. III. *Of the Ports, Bays, Rivers, Capes, &c. between the City of Panama, and the Borders of the Kingdom of Peru, the Distance they are from one another, and the Latitude they lye in,* p. 6.
- Chap. IV. *Containing the Description of the Coast, as far as that they call el Collao de Lima, which is the Port to the City of Lima, otherwise call'd de los Reyes, or of the Kings,* p. 9.
- Chap. V. *Of the Ports, Rivers, &c. from the City of Lima, to the Kingdom of Chile, the Latitude they lye in, and other Matters relating to Navigation,* p. 13.
- Chap. VI. *The Founding of the City of St. Sebastian, in the Place they call, la Culata de Uraba, and of the Native Indians in the Country about it,* p. 17.
- Chap. VII. *How they make the poisonous Composition, wherewith the Indians of Santa Marta, and Cartagena have kill'd so many Spaniards,* p. 21.
- Chap. VIII. *A farther Account of the Indians in the District of the City of Uraba,* p. 23.
- Chap. IX. *Of the Road between the City of St. Sebastian de Buena Vista, and that of Antiocha. Of the Mountains, Woods, and Rivers that are along it; and how, and when to travel it,* p. 24.
- Chap. X. *Of the mighty Mountains of Abibe, and the strange, and useful Wood growing on them,* p. 27.
- Chap. XI. *Of the Cacique Nutibara, and his Dominions; and of the Caciques, within the Liberties, or Jurisdiction of the City Antiocha,* p. 29.
- Chap. XII. *The Manners, and Customs of these Indians; what Weapons they use, and what Ceremonies they practise, and who founded.*

The CONTENTS.

- founded the City Antiocha,*
p. 32.
 Chap. XIII. *The Description of*
the Province of Popayan, and
the Sea on the side Indians of
it are to be seen, and
those of Peru a great, p. 36.
 Chap. XIV. *Of the Road from the*
City Antiocha, to the Town of
Anserma, the Distance be-
tween them, and the Towns and
Districts in the way, p. 38.
 Chap. XV. *Of the Customs, and*
Manners of the Indians of the
Country, and of the Mountains
there is in the way to Anser-
ma, p. 40.
 Chap. XVI. *Of the Manners and*
Customs of the Caciques, and
Indians in the Territory of the
Town of Anserma, of its
Foundation, and by whom it was
laid. p. 43.
 Chap. XVII. *Of the Towns, and*
Provinces lying between the City
of Antiocha, and the Town of
Arma, and of the Customs of
the Natives, p. 46.
 Chap. XVIII. *Of the Province of*
Arma, the Customs of the Na-
tives, and other remarkable things
in it. p. 49.
 Chap. XIX. *Of the Religious Rites,*
and Sacrifices of the People, and
how much they are addicted to
eating of Man's Flesh, p. 50.
 Chap. XX. *Of the Province of*
Paucara, and of their Manners,
and Customs, p. 53.
 Chap. XXI. *Of the Indians of*
Pozo, and their Bravery, and
how much they are dreaded by
their Neighbours, p. 54.
 Chap. XXII. *Of the Province of*
Picara, and its Caciques, or
Lords, p. 57.
 Chap. XXIII. *Of the Province of*
Carrapa, and what is worth ob-
serving in it, p. 59.
 Chap. XXIV. *Of the Province of*
Quimbaya, and the Customs of
its Caciques, and of the found-
ing the City Cartago, and by
whom, p. 61.
 Chap. XXV. *Continues the same*
subject as the last, concerning
the City Cartago, and its found-
ation, and of the Creature call'd
Chara, p. 64.
 Chap. XXVI. *Of the Districts,*
and Territories in this large and
delightful Vale, till we come to
the City Cali, p. 66.
 Chap. XXVII. *Of the Situation of*
the City of Cali, and of the
Indians in its District, and who
was the Founder of it, p. 72.
 Chap. XXVIII. *Of the Indian*
Towns, and Lands within the
Jurisdiction of this City, p. 73.
 Chap. XXIX. *Concludes what more*
is relating to the City of Cali;
and of the other Indians on the
Mountain near the Port call'd la
Buena Ventura, p. 76.
 Chap. XXX. *Of the way from the*
City Cali, to that of Popayan,
and the Indian Towns there are
along it, p. 79.
 Chap. XXXI. *Of the River of*
Santa Marta, and of what is
remarkable along its Banks, p. 81.
 Chap. XXXII. *Of the rest of the*
Towns, and Caciques subject to
the City of Popayan, and what
the

The CONTENTS.

- else occurs within its Jurisdiction,* p. 84.
- Chap. XXXIII. *Of the Country between Popayan, and the City of Pasto; who was the Founder of it, and what is worth observing of the Neighbouring Indians,* p. 86.
- Chap. XXXIV. *Containing what more is remarkable in this Country, as far as the Territory of the Town Pasto reaches,* p. 90.
- Chap. XXXV. *Of the Remarkable Springs, and Rivers there are in those Parts, and the notable way of making excellent Salt,* p. 91.
- Chap. XXXVI. *Containing the general Description of the Kingdom of Peru, extending from the City of Quito, to the Town of la Plata, above 700 Leagues in Length,* p. 94.
- Chap. XXXVII. *Of the Townships, and Provinces there are between the Town of Pasto, and the City of Quito,* p. 97.
- Chap. XXXVIII. *Giving an Account of the Inga Kings, and their Power in Peru,* p. 100.
- Chap. XXXIX. *Of the other Townships, and Structures there are between Carangue, and the City Quito; and how ingeniously the People of Otobalo robb'd those of Carangue,* p. 103.
- Chap. XL. *Of the Situation of the City Quito, its first Foundation, and who was the Founder,* p. 106.
- Chap. XLI. *Of the Townships there are from Quito to the Royal Palace of Thomebamba, and of some Customs of the Natives,* p. 109.
- Chap. XLII. *Of the Country from Tacunga to Riobamba, and what happened there between the Adelantado Don Pedro de Alvarado and the Marshal Don Diego de Almagro,* p. 114.
- Chap. XLIII. *Containing what is worth observing among the other Indians, till we come to the Palace of Tomebamba,* p. 118.
- Chap. XLIV. *Of the sumptuous Palace at Tomebamba, in the Province of Canares,* p. 120.
- Chap. XLV. *Of the Road from the Province of Quito, to the Coast of the South Sea, and Liberties of the City of Puerto Viejo,* p. 124.
- Chap. XLVI. *Of some Particulars relating to the Province of Puerto Viejo, and the Equinoctial,* p. 125.
- Chap. XLVII. *Whether these Indians were conquer'd by the Ingas, and how they slew some of Topaynga Yupangue's Commanders,* p. 129.
- Chap. XLVIII. *Of the Manners of these Indians, and other things relating to them,* p. 130.
- Chap. XLIX. *How little these Indians regarded Virginity in the Women they were to Marry, and of their being addic'ted to Sodomy,* p. 132.
- Chap. L. *How the Indians of Manta formerly worshipp'd an Emerald.*

The C O N T E N T S.

- Emeraud as their God, and other things relating to them,*
p. 133.
- Chap. LI. *Concluding the Account of the Indians about Puerto Viejo, and the Foundation of that City,*
p. 136.
- Chap. LII. *Of the Wells that are at the Cape of Santa Elena what these People tell us of the coming thither of the Giants, and of the Source of natural Bitumen there,*
p. 138.
- Chap. LIII. *Of the founding of the City Guayaquil, and how the Natives slew some of Guaynacapa's Commanders,*
p. 142.
- Chap. LIV. *Of the Island of Puna, of that of la Plata; and of the wonderful Root call'd Zarzaparrilla, of extraordinary use in Physick,*
p. 144.
- Chap. LV. *Of the founding of the City of Santiago de Guayaquil, of the Indians subject to it, and other Particulars within its Liberties,*
p. 146.
- Chap. LVI. *Of the Indians between Tomebamba, and the City of Loxa, and of the founding of that City,*
p. 148.
- Chap. LVII. *Of the Provinces between Tamboblanco and the City of St. Michael, and of the Natives,*
p. 150.
- Chap. LVIII. *The Continuation of the same Subject.*
p. 152.
- Chap. LIX. *Of the Difference of the Seasons in Peru, and that it never rains throughout all the Plains along the South Sea,*
p. 154.
- Chap. LX. *Of the Road the Incas caus'd to be made along these Plains, on which there were Lodgings, and Magazines, as well as on that along the Mountains, and why these Indians are call'd Yungas,*
p. 156.
- Chap. LXI. *That these Indians believ'd the Immortality of the Soul, and why they bury Women alive in their Graves,*
p. 159.
- Chap. LXII. *Of the Ceremonies us'd at Funerals, and of several Sorts of Graves,*
p. 161.
- Chap. LXIII. *Of Sodomy us'd in the Temples, the giving of Names to Children, and the Superstitions of the Indians,*
p. 163.
- Chap. LXIV. *Of the Fertility of the Plains, of the several Sorts of Fruit, and Roots they produce, and the Method of Watering the Fields,*
p. 165.
- Chap. LXV. *Of the way from the City of St. Michael to Truxillo, and of the Vales there are in it,*
p. 167.
- Chap. LXVI. *Of the City of Truxillo, and the Country between it, and the City of Lima,*
p. 170.
- Chap. LXVII. *Of the City of Lima,*
p. 173.
- Chap. LXVIII. *Of the Vale of Pachacama, and the ancient Temple there was in it,*
p. 174.
- Chap. LXIX. *Of the Vales lying between Pachacama, and the Fortrefs of Guarco,*
p. 176.
- Chap. LXX. *Of the great Province of Chinchá,*
p. 178.

Chap.

The C O N T E N T S.

- Chap. LXXI. *Of the other Vales, as far as the Province of Tarapaca, and of the City of Arequipa,* p. 181.
- Chap. LXXII. *Of the Province of Caxamalca,* p. 183.
- Chap. LXXIII. *Of the Cities of Frontera, and Leon de Guanuco,* p. 186.
- Chap. LXXIV. *Of the Country from Caxamalca to Xauxa,* p. 188.
- Chap. LXXV. *Of the Vale of Xauxa,* p. 192.
- Chap. LXXVI. *Of the Country between Xauxa, and Guamanga,* p. 194.
- Chap. LXXVII. *Of the City Guamanga,* p. 196.
- Chap. LXXVIII. *Of the Indians about Guamanga, and of the Province of Bilcas,* p. 199.
- Chap. LXXIX. *Of the Province of Andabaylas, the River of Apurima, the Vale of Xaquixaguana, and great Road as far as Cuzco,* p. 201.
- Chap. LXXX. *Of the great City of Cuzco,* p. 204.
- Chap. LXXXI. *Of the Vale of Yucay, and Province of Condesuyo,* p. 207.
- Chap. LXXXII. *Of the Mountains Andes, and the Indians living on them,* p. 209.
- Chap. LXXXIII. *Of the Herb Coca, and of the Country between Cuzco and the City la Paz,* p. 211.
- Chap. LXXXIV. *Of the Province of the Canas, of Ayavire, and the Country of the Collas,* p. 214.
- Chap. LXXXV. *A farther Account of this Nation of the Collas,* p. 217.
- Chap. LXXXVI. *Of Pucara, of Hatuncolla, of the Town of Afangaro, and of the great Lake of Titicaca,* p. 221.
- Chap. LXXXVII. *Of the rest of the Country, as far as Tiaguanuco, and of that Town.* p. 223.
- Chap. LXXXVIII. *Of the City la Paz, the Country between it and la Plata, and of that Town,* p. 226.
- Chap. LXXXIX. *Of the Immense Wealth, of Porco, and Potosi,* p. 228.
- Chap. XC. *Of the rich Market kept at Potosi, and of the Sheep, Guanacos, and Vicuñas in Peru,* p. 231.
- Chap. XCI. *Of the Tree they call Molle, and other Plants; of the Salt Pits, and Baths, and of some Birds, and Beasts,* p. 233.
- Chap. XCII. *Of the notable Works perform'd by the Indians of this Kingdom, and of the rich Mines in it,* p. 236.
- Chap. XCIII. *How the Caciques oppress'd the Indians, and a notable Story of their Superstitions,* p. 238.
- Chap. XCIV. *Remarks on some wonderful Actions of Spaniards, and the Judgments that fell upon such as were cruel, and the Conclusion of the Work,* p. 242.

T H E I N D E X.

- | A | | B | |
|----------------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------------|---------|
| A Bancay River, | p. 202. | B Arbarity of the <i>Indians</i> of | |
| <i>Abibe</i> Mountain, | p. 27. | <i>Arma</i> , | p. 52. |
| <i>Aburra</i> Vale, | p. 47. | Barbarous Practises of <i>Indians</i> | |
| <i>Atos</i> Territory, | p. 194. | at <i>Puerto Viejo</i> , | p. 132. |
| <i>Aguales</i> <i>Indians</i> , | p. 79. | Barbarous People, | p. 210. |
| <i>Alvarado</i> at <i>Quito</i> , | p. 116. | <i>Barranca</i> River and Vale, | p. 172. |
| Agrees with <i>Almagro</i> , | p. 117. | <i>Barrancas</i> Town, | p. 85. |
| <i>Ambato</i> River, | p. 115. | Baths, | p. 237. |
| <i>Anacondas</i> free <i>Indians</i> , | p. 231. | Bees in hollow Trees, | p. 64. |
| <i>Andes</i> Mountains, | p. 94. | <i>Bilcacongá</i> Mountain. | p. 203. |
| Their Wealth, | p. 237. | <i>Bilcas</i> Structure, | p. 199. |
| <i>Angasmayo</i> River, | p. 90. | Birds in <i>Peru</i> , | p. 166. |
| <i>Antiocha</i> City, | p. 34. | Bitumen natural, | p. 140. |
| Antiquities very wonderful, | p. 224. | <i>Blanco</i> Cape, | p. 11. |
| <i>Anzerma</i> Town, | p. 42. | Bloody Sports, | p. 62. |
| Why so call'd, | p. 43. | <i>Bombon</i> Province, | p. 191. |
| <i>Apurima</i> River, | p. 202. | Bones monstrous big, | p. 139. |
| <i>Arequipa</i> City, | p. 182. | <i>Bracamoros</i> Province, | p. 148. |
| <i>Arica</i> Port, | p. 15. | Brave <i>Indian</i> Commanders, | p. 218. |
| <i>Arma</i> Province, | p. 49. | Bravery of <i>Indians</i> of <i>Pozo</i> , | p. 56. |
| Armour of Gold, | p. 61. | Bridge made by Nature, | p. 97. |
| <i>Arracife</i> de <i>Truxillo</i> , | p. 12. | Bridges of a strange make, | p. 28. |
| <i>Atabalipa</i> his Cruelty, | p. 122. | Of a wonderful Sort, | p. 201. |
| <i>Ataris</i> Vale, | p. 90. | Brutality of ancient <i>Peruvians</i> , | p. 101. |
| <i>Auras</i> Birds, | p. 236. | <i>Buenaventura</i> Bay, | p. 7. |
| <i>Avavire</i> Town, | p. 215. | <i>Buenaventura</i> Port, | p. 77. |
| <i>Azua</i> Liquor, | p. 137. | <i>Buga</i> | |

The I N D E X

Fish Plentiful, p. 71,
 Fort very magnificent, p. 178,
 Natural, p. 207,
 Foxes, p. 166,
 Wonderful stinking, p. 235,
Frontera City, p. 186,
 Funerals of *Indians*, 34, and 218,

G

G *Allo* Island, p. 8,
 Garments of *Peru*, p. 237,
 Geese in *Peru*, p. 165,
 Giants, p. 138,
 Gold despis'd for Hunger, p. 39,
 Vast Plenty of it, p. 123,
Gorgona Island, p. 8,
 Grain in *Peru*, p. 166,
 Graves very rich, p. 31, 137, and
 159,

Of several Sorts, p. 161, and
 218,

Guachicone Township, p. 85,
Guamachuco Province, p. 188,
Guamanga City, p. 197,
Guambacho Vale, p. 172,
Guambia Province, p. 80 and 84,
Guanaca Township, *ibid.*
Guanacos, p. 233,
Guanape Vale, p. 171,
Guancabamba *Indians*, p. 150,
 Their Habit, p. 151,
Guancabilcas *Indians*, p. 140,
Gauraz Province, p. 190,
Guarco Vale, p. 177,
Guarmey Vale, p. 172,

H

Habit, p. 32, 70, 75, 86, 88,
 109, 113, and 217,
Hacari Port, p. 14,
Hatuncolla Town, p. 221,
 Hawks, p. 236,
 Houses on Trees, p. 32; and 69,
 In *Peru*, p. 95,

Illusions of the Devil,
 Confirmation of them,
 Immense hidden Treasure,
Indian Pumps,
Indians protected by the
Spain,
 Carrying Burdens,

Inga Kings, p. 10
 Judgments on Men cruel
Indians,]

L

Languague about *Quito*,
Leon de Guanuco City,
Lile Vale,
Lima Vale and City,
Limara River,
Limatambo Structure,
Lobos Marinos Island,
Loxa City,
Lunaguana River,

M

Mala Vale,
Maluasa Province
Mamaconas Vestals,
 Man Eaters,
 Manners of *Indians* at
 Town of *St. Sebastian*
 Man's Flesh eaten by

Manta Indian Town,
Manzanilla Roots,
Manzanilla Apples

Marks of Distinction
dians,

Masteles *Indians*,
Maule River,
 Medicinal Plants,
 Men spin, and V

The INDEX.

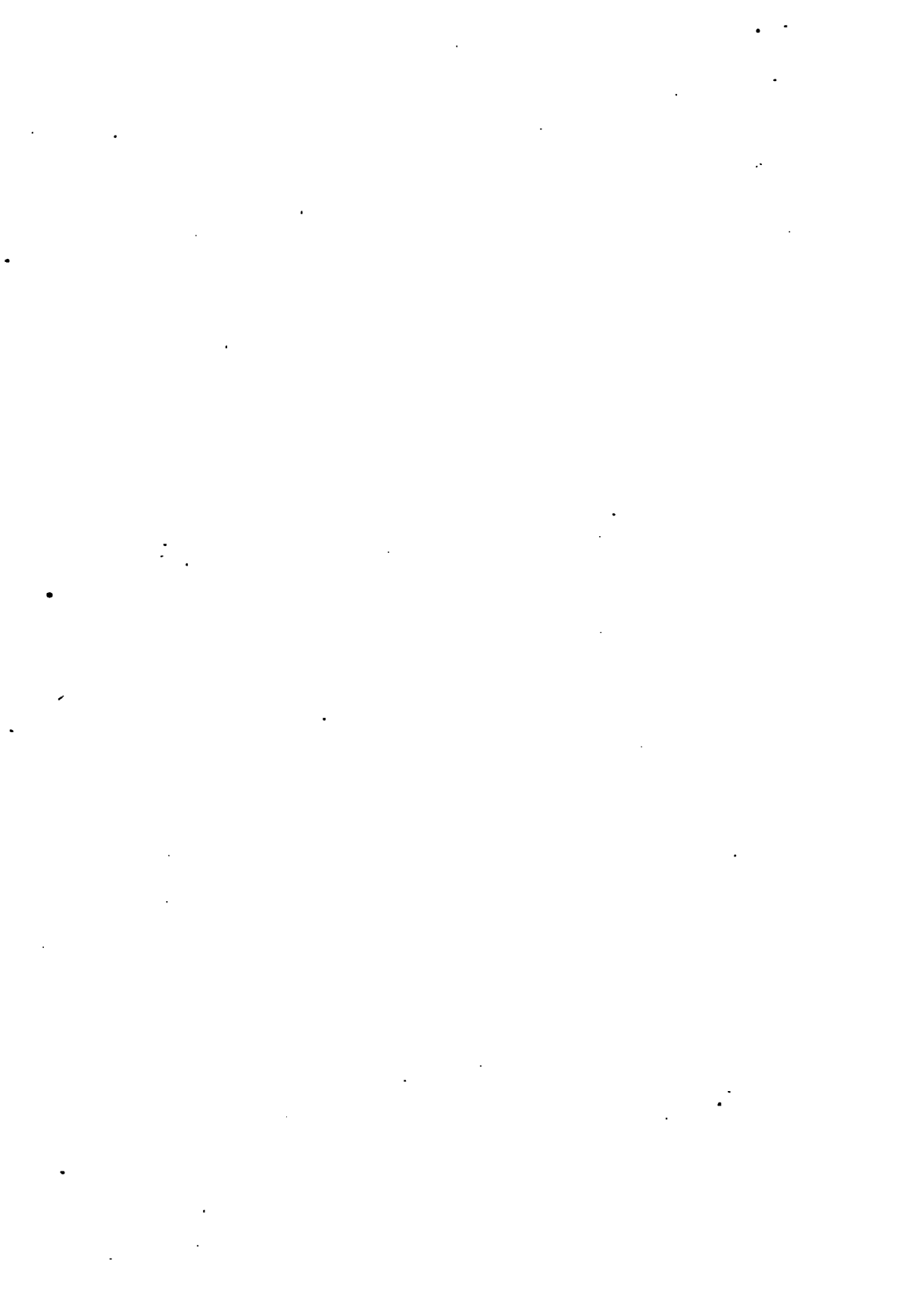
- Popayan City*, p. 81,
Popayan Province, p. 36,
Potosi, p. 229,
 Prodigious trade there, p. 231,
 Power of *Caciques* at *Arma*, p. 52,
Pozo Province, p. 45, and 54,
 Product of the Country about the
 Town of *St. Sebastian*, p. 21,
 Product and Animals about *Puerto*
 Viejo, p. 127,
Pucara Fortrefs, p. 221,
 Puddings of Men's Guts, p. 70,
Pueblo Llano, or plain Town, p. 46,
Pueblo Blanco, or white Town,
 p. 47,
Pueblo de la Sal, or Salt Town,
 p. 87,
Puerto Viejo, p. 127,
Puna Island, p. 12,
 Submits to the *Incas*, p. 141;
 Natives of it murder the *Ore-*
 jones, p. 142,
 Their Punishment, p. 143,
 Its Description, Product, and
 Customs, p. 144,
Puruaes Indians, p. 118,
- Q
- Quilca Port*, p. 14,
Quilacingas Indians, p. 88,
Quimbaya Roots, p. 234,
Quimbaya Province, p. 61,
Quiquixama Territory, p. 213,
Quito City, and Fertility, of that
 Country, p. 106,
- R
- Rattle Snake*, p. 26,
 Religion of *Indians*, p. 35,
Resolute Indians, p. 199,
Ridiculous Indian Story, p. 193,
Riobamba Structure, p. 116,
Rio Frio, Cold River, p. 72,
Rio Verde, Green River, p. 28;
 Rivers swallow'd in Sand, p. 167,
 Roads in *Peru* very noble, p. 156,
 Ruins of mighty Structures, p. 198,
- S
- Saint Helen's Cape*, p. 10,
St. John's River, p. 8, and 78,
St. Laurence's Cape, p. 10,
St. Mary's Cape, p. 16,
St. Michael City, p. 153,
St. Sebastian de Buena Vista, p. 19,
 Salt great Plenty of it, p. 13,
 Salt Springs, p. 40, 61, and 92,
 Salt Pits, p. 235,
 Sand Hills, p. 94,
Sangalla Port, p. 14,
Santa Fe Town, p. 40;
Santa Marta River, p. 82,
Santa Vale, p. 171,
Santiago River, p. 9,
Santiago City founded, p. 147,
Sarzaparilla Root, p. 145,
 Season for sailing on the South
 Sea, p. 6,
 Sheep of *Peru* that carry burdens,
 p. 232.
Sichos Indians, p. 115,
 Skins of Men Stuff'd, p. 74,
 Slaughter of *Spaniards*, p. 146,
 Snakes vastly big, p. 209.
 Snowy Mountains, p. 94,
 Sodomy practis'd about *Puerto*
 Viejo, p. 133,
 Religiously us'd, p. 163,
Solana Vale, p. 153,
 South Wind prevails in *Peru*,
 p. 155,
 Strange Plague, p. 63,
 Sugar, p. 167,
 Superstitions of *Indians* of *Puerto*
 Viejo, p. 131,
 Of

The INDEX.

Of Indians of Peru,	p, 160,	<i>Viacha</i> Town,	p. 226,
A particular Instance of them,		<i>Vicunas</i> Beasts,	p, 233,
	p, 239,	<i>Urcos</i> Town,	p 213
		<i>Viscachas</i> ,	p, 236,
T			
T <i>Acunga</i> Town,	p, 111,	W	
<i>Tambopalla</i> River,	p, 15,	W Ant of Salt,	p, 91,
<i>Tarama</i> Province,	p, 191,	Wars with <i>Mango Inga</i> ,	p, 196,
<i>Taruaco</i> Indian Town,	p, 18,	Watering by Trenches,	p, 166,
<i>Tatabe</i> Province,	p, 32,	Way of making Salt,	p, 92,
<i>Tembio</i> Province,	p, 84,	Winter in the Plains of <i>Peru</i> ,	p, 155,
Temple of the Sun,	p, 99, and	Wives eaten by <i>Indians</i> ,	p, 33,
	205,	Worship of the <i>Indians</i> of <i>Arma</i> ,	p, 51,
<i>Teocaxas</i> Apartments,	p, 118,	Worship of several Nations pre-	p, 133,
<i>Tiaguanuco</i> Town,	p 224,	posterous,	
Tigers,	p, 236,	X	
<i>Timbaza</i> Province.	p. 76,	X <i>Amundi</i> River,	p, 79,
<i>Tinguarana</i> Mountain,	p, 118,	<i>Xaquixaguana</i> Vale,	p, 203,
<i>Titicaca</i> Lake,	p, 222,	<i>Xauxa</i> Vale,	p, 192,
<i>Tomabamba</i> Palace,	p, 121,	<i>Xayanca</i> Vale,	p, 168,
Torrid Zone Temperate,	p, 126,	Y	
Towns on the Road from <i>Pasto</i>		Y <i>Aguarcocha</i> Lake,	p, 98,
to <i>Quito</i> ,	p, 97,	<i>Yca</i> Vale,	p, 181,
Trenches to water the Ground,	p, 166,	<i>Ytata</i> River,	p, 16,
Tropheys of <i>Indians</i> ,	p, 74,	<i>Yucay</i> Vale,	p, 207,
<i>Truxillo</i> City,	p, 170,	<i>Tumba</i> Mountains,	p, 110,
Its Liberties,	p, 183,	<i>Tungas</i> <i>Indians</i> ,	p, 119,
<i>Tucuman</i> Province,	p, 227,	What they are,	p, 157,
<i>Tucume</i> Vale,	p, 168,	Their Lords,	<i>ibid</i> ,
<i>Tumbez</i> River,	p, 10	Z	
<i>Tumbez</i> Vale,	p, 152,	Z <i>Ana</i> Vale,	p 169,
V			
V Ales in <i>Pern</i> ,	p, 95.	<i>Zopia</i> Province,	p 44
<i>Valparayso</i> Port,	p, 16,		

THE Reader is desir'd to take Notice, that notwithstanding our Author Peter de Cieza refers to his History of Peru in some Places, that Book of his was never made publick; which is necessary to be signify'd that no Person may think this an imperfect Work, whereas it is in truth the most compleat Description of Peru given by any Traveller whatsoever:

F I N I S.



THE
TRAVELS
OF THE
JESUITS
IN
ETHIOPIA:

CONTAINING

- I. The Geographical Description of all the Kingdoms, and Provinces of that Empire; the Natural and Political History; the Manners, Customs, and Religion of those People, &c.
- II. Travels in *Arabia Felix*, wherein many Things of that Country, not mention'd in other Books of this Nature, are Treated of, as a particular Description of *Aden*, *Moca*, and several other Places.
- III. An Account of the Kingdoms of *Cambate*, *Gingiro*, *Alaba*, and *Dancali* beyond *Ethiopia* in *Africk*, never Travelled into by any but the *Jesuits*, and consequently wholly unknown to us.

Illustrated with an exact MAP of the Country, delineated by those Fathers, as is the Draught of the true Springs and Course of the *Nile*, within *Ethiopia*, besides other useful Cut.

The whole Collected, and Historically Digested by *F. Balthazar Tellez*, of the Society of *JESUS*; and now first Translated into *English*.

London, Printed for *J. Knapton*, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*; *A. Bell*, in *Cornhill*; *D. Midwinter*, in *St. Paul's Church-yard*; *W. Taylor*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*; and Sold by *J. Round*, in *Exchange-Alley* in *Cornhill*; *N. Cliffe*, in *Cheapside*; *E. Sanger*, at the *Posthouse*, and *A. Collins*, at the *Black-Boy*, in *Fleet-Street*; and *J. Baker*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1710.



203 h. 118 (2)



THE PREFACE

THE Design of this Collection being to entertain the Publick, with such valuable Travels as have not yet appear'd abroad in English, it is thought none can be more acceptable than this Historical Account of Ethiopia, for as much as less has been hitherto writ of it, than of many others, and we have, for the most part very uncertain and fabulous. The only extant among us is in Purchas's Collection, and that only an abridgement of Francis Alvarez his History of this Empire: He was the first European that treated of it on his own knowledge, having been some years with a Portuguese Ambassador, and to do him Justice, appears to have been a Man of Judgment and Integrity, which has gain'd him Reputation, and render'd his Book, tho' small, valuable: But as has been said, Purchas only abridg'd him, and could not in a few years give a perfect Account of that large Country, besides that Purchas is grown scarce, and too bulky for the Reader. Of later years Ludolphus has writ the History of Ethiopia, wherein he labours much to show the World his Skill in the Greek Language, and relies more than is convenient on the Relation of one Gregory an Ethiopian, not so well qualify'd in many things, as the Jesuits, who were all Learned and Able Men, whom he makes it his business to contradict, as much as in him lies, notwithstanding he is beholding to them for the best part of his History. The Account of this Nation we speak of is Poncet's Voyage thither in the year 1698. so very concise, that little can be expected from it. The work here presented to the Publick is methodically digested by a learned Jesuit employ'd in it by his Society, and consequently had the advantage of consulting all that had been writ on the Subject by such persons as had been there, whom he always fairly quotes. The first is F. Peter Paiz, of whom a Manuscript Treatise of Ethiopia was receiv'd at Rome, reaching from the year 1555. till 1622, when he left that Empire. The next is F. Emanuel d'Almeyda, who was 14 years Superior there, Travell'd over those Countries, and ascended the Mountains, and Read all their Books, the better to enable him to give a satisfactory Account. Thirdly, The Patriarch Don Joao Mendez, who liv'd there Ten years, and writ the History of Ethiopia.

The PREFACE.

Ethiopia in Latin. Besides these, he had the Annual Letters written by the Fathers of the Society, from the year 1556, till 1656, as also the Commentaries of F. Jerôme Udo, resident there Nine years, and examin'd all other Books, whither ancient or modern treatises of this Subject, and compar'd them together. This may suffice, as to the Work in General, leaving the Reader to make his own Judgment of the performance.

It is to be observ'd that this upper Ethiopia, lying between the Tropick of Cancer and the Equinoctial, is sometimes call'd Oriental or Eastern, as lying Eastward of all the other African Ethiopias, which stretch along the Ethiopick Ocean, that is Angola, Guinea, Congo Verde, &c. However, according to ancient Authors, it is often call'd Occidental, or Western, to distinguish it from the former more Eastern Ethiopia, beginning on the Eastern Shore of the Red Sea, and containing the Countries of Arabia, Madian, and others as far as Palestine, all of them in Asia, whereas this Ethiopia we speak of is in Africk. So that the upper Ethiopia, or Abissinia, or after John's Country, lies between two Ethiopias, the one in Africk, and the other in Asia, and is call'd Eastern in Regard of that which is to the Westward of it, and Western, on Account of the other that is to the Eastward.

The Gallas often mention'd in this History, enter'd the Kingdoms of Ethiopia, by the way of Ballii, about the year 1537. and by degrees made themselves Masters of Ballii, Fatagar, Doaró, Ogé, Bizarra, Oifate, Angota, Cambate, and several other Provinces lying between them. There are at present above Sixty Hords, or Tribes of those People, tho' only Four came in at first, and were it not for the Wars among themselves, they would have long since conquer'd all the Empire.

THE

ABISSINE EMPIRE,

is; and the true Source of the Nile.



graphers were before utter Strangers ; so that we may say, the World is beholding to the *Portuguese* for this increase of Wealth, and addition of Extent.

*Discovery
of Ethio-
pia.*

Among the other Regions we came acquainted with, by means of this wonderful discovery of *India*, one was the Upper *Ethiopia*, which lies next to *Egypt*, vulgarly call'd *Prestor John's Country*, of which tho' many Authors have writ much, yet was it so variously, and with such unintelligible Confusion, that some discours'd, and others deliver'd Fables of it, that he would do no small Service to the Publick, who should untie or cut asunder these *Gordian Knots*, and lead the way out of this dark and intricate Labyrinth. At this Time we have such true and certain Information of the Affairs of that Empire, by such means as are mention'd in the Preface, and will appear to those who read these Travels, that I could not but think I should much oblige all curious Persons, and perform a work most acceptable to Men of Erudition, in giving a full Account, in this Volume, of all we now know concerning those Parts of *Ethiopia*, not only as to Temporals, but also in Relation to Religion, the whole Truth, as to both Points being now certainly found out ; so that I may be bold to say, I can offer this as a History altogether new, notwithstanding some may think it very old and much handled by others ; because Truth it self, which always prevails, will afford it such a Grace, as is an Ornament to all Novelty.

*Ancient
false Ac-
counts.*

I concluded this work would be the more acceptable, in regard I am fully satisfy'd that the Accounts of those Parts are either corrupted by the Fictions of fabulous Authors, or else very imperfect, for want of sufficient and credible Information, which has given occasion to forge the most Chimerical and uselefs Stories of it in the World, and even more pernicious than the fam'd Romances, which being full of Witty Inventions, and deliver'd in a lofty Stile, serve to divert the Readers, as Learned and Ingenious Fables ; whereas these other Writers, have endeavour'd to impose upon the unwary, by representing their vile Forgeries for valuable Truths.

*Name of
Ethiopia
hence.*

To come to the point, before we launch out into the Affairs of this Upper *Ethiopia*, it will be convenient to show its proper Name, for as much as Historians have spoken very variously of it, and having err'd in the very Beginning, no wonder they should afterwards utter so much Impertinence, like those of whom the Prophet says, *They are estrang'd from the Womb, they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies*, Psal. 58. 3. The name given in *Portugal* to that Empire, or its Emperor, was that of *Prestor John*, or *Presbyter John*, as may be seen at large in *Joam de Barros*.

Dec.

Dec. 3. Lib. 4. *Diogo de Couto* Dec. 4. Lib. 10. *Nicolas Godinho, Hist. Ethiop. Lib. 1. and Damiam de Goes, 3 par. Chron. Reg. Eman. cap. 6.* where he calls that Emperor *Precious John*.

But with their good leave, who gave these Names, I must declare all these were meer Fables concerning this *Precious John*; for it is now plainly and evidently made out by the *Portugueses* who have been there since, and by the Religious of the Society, who travers'd over almost every step of this *Ethiopia*, and view'd it from End to End, that they found not there the least Footsteps of such Holy Names and Celebrated Titles; and no Man in this *Ethiopia* makes the least question of this Truth, being wholly ignorant of any such Name there Emperor has, and they are surpriz'd when we stile him so, as not finding any thing in all their Language that bears the least Resemblance with this Title of *Prefter John*, or may so much as allude to it; whatsoever the *Abyssinian Zagabazo*, mention'd by *Damiam de Goes*, as also in this History, as being sent into *Portugal* with a sort of Embassy, did endeavour to invent, to find out some means of adapting this Name to his Tongue; which is no better grounded, than what *F. Lewis de Urreta*, in the History of *Ethiopia* Dreamt, when he said, this Emperor was call'd *Baldigian*.

Mistake about Prefter John.

It is therefore most certain, and beyond all controversy, that neither this Emperor, nor the Empire from him, has any claim to the Title of *Prefter John*; and tho' Philosophers may be of Opinion, that this controversy about the Name is not Material, for as much as it is what they call, an Argument about a Word, however we see that among Learned Men, he often understands Things best, who is most acquainted with the Names, and we shall next show what was the occasion of giving this Name to the King of *Ethiopia*.

Advantage of clearing Names.

To this Purpose it must be observ'd, that, as is plainly prov'd by *F. Nicholas Godinho, Hist. Ethiop. lib. 1. Pet. Iarric. in Thezaur rer. Indic. tom. 2. cap. 14. and Patriarch. Alfons. Mendez. in Hist. Ethiop. lib. 1. cap. 1, and 2.* the Name of *Prefter John*, or *Prefbyter John*, did belong to a Christian Emperor, tho' a *Nestorian*, and subject in Spirituals to the Patriarch of *Babylon*, as were those Christians, they call in *India*, of the Mountains, or of *St. Thomas*, which may be seen in *F. Antony de Gouvea*, in his Learned Book he compos'd, of the Journey undertaken to visit these Christians by that great Prelate *Don F. Alexius de Meneses*.

Prefter John where.

This Emperor liv'd in the Mountains of *Asia*, his Surname being *Johanan*, deriv'd from the Prophet *Jonas*, which the Europeans chang'd into *John*, and it was common to all the Kings of that Monarchy, as that of *Pharoah* was to the Kings of *Egypt*;

that

that of *Protolomey* afterwards to the same; and that of *Cesar* to the *Rowan* Emperors. The Addition of *Prefter* is an Abbreviation of *Presbyter*, and this Title is said to have been given him, on account of a Cross that was always carry'd before him, as is among us before Archbishops.

How mis-
plac'd in
Ethiopia;

Now the aforesaid Authors agree, that the giving this Name of that Christian Emperor in *Asia*, to the King of *Ethiopia* in *Africa*, proceeded from the mistake of the Portuguese *Peter de Covillam*, sent with *Alfonso de Payva* by King *John II.* of *Portugal*, in the year 1467, by Land, to discover both *India*; and that so much talk'd of Christian Emperor call'd *Prefter John*, of whom there was some very dark Knowledge in *Portugal*, and an earnest Desire of better Information. This Portuguese, in his Return from *India* to *Gran Cairo*, hearing much Talk at *Adem* and *Suaquem*, through which he pass'd, of the *Abyssine* Emperor, who was there nearer to him, as that he was a Christian, carry'd a Cross in his Hand, and that in his Country there were Monasteries of Religious Men; and having heard no News, in all those parts of *India* he Travell'd through, of any Christian Prince Inhabiting *Asia*, he concluded there was no occasion for him to proceed any further in search of what he did not know to have any Being there, being then so near what they told him was to be found in *Ethiopia*. Thus he perswaded himself he had met with that his King sent him in search of, and that without doubt this same was the very *Prefter John*, so much sought after, and so little known in *Portugal*.

Error
spread
through
Europe.

Upon this Notion, *Peter de Covillam* went away immediately himself to *Ethiopia*, first sending an Account from *Cairo* to King *John II.* of what he imagin'd he had found, directing several Letters to him by sundry ways. And as it often happens, that pleasing News is rather believ'd than examin'd; so this found such a general Acceptance and Approbation, that the *Abyssine* Emperor of *Ethiopia* was immediately declar'd to be the *Prefter John* of *Asia*, first in *Portugal*, and afterwards throughout all *Europe*; the true one being thus bury'd in Oblivion, and the supposititious cry'd up and applauded.

Prefter
John ex-
ist.

This Mistake was back'd and confirm'd, by the total Extinction of *Johannan*, or *Prefter John* in *Asia*, with all his Monarchy; so that not so much as the Name of any Christian Emperor reigning in *Asia* being now brought into *Europe*, and the Fame of this Christian Monarch, so near to *Egypt* increasing with the discovery of *India*, the *Europeans* had some Colour for their general mistake, absolutely concluding, especially the Portuguese,

for, trading to the Red Sea, that this King of Ethiopia was the so much sought after and celebrated *Prester John*.

Marcus Paulus Venetus, in his *Itinerary* very much strengthened this vulgar Error, writing, That the great King call'd *Prester John* us'd to reside at *Archico*, which is the first Town belonging to Ethiopia, within the Red Sea; but that this is absolutely false we shall see hereafter: Now this Ethiopia we speak of, is as remote from Cathay, where the true *Johanan* seems to have resided, as Spain is from Peru; for I am of opinion that this Emperor of Asia was that same Christian King that dwelt in Cathay, of whom *S. Antoninus*, Archbishop of Florence makes mention, and who has been so long, and with so many Toils, and Hazards, in vain, sought after, by the Religious Men of the Society, who have in India indefatigably traversed immens'd Lands, and unknown Seas, in search of this hidden Monarchy, till at last they came to this conclusion; That there remains nothing at present in all the East, but the bare Names of the Fields, in which this Celebrated Cathay stood, and its Emperor *Prester John* reign'd. And yet this Notion is so strongly rooted in some Mens Opinions, that they still expect this hidden Cathay will be found out, and that more particularly among the Portuguese, some of whom are so Credulous as to believe, there is still a great Island in our Seas, not only Undiscover'd, but Inchant'd; and so they to this Day expect the discovery of the hidden King of Cathay.

Having clear'd these Points above, I must now add, that the proper name of the Higher Ethiopia, or next to Egypt, whereof we are here to Treat, is *Abassia*, and consequently that of its Inhabitants is *Abassines*. They themselves call it *Abex*, laying the Emphasis on the last Syllable, which, according to our way of Writing, must be pronounc'd *Abesh*, or rather *Habesh*, the Portuguese pronouncing the *x* here, as we do *sh*; as we see the Latins change the *x* into *ss*, calling the Country *Abassia*, and the People *Abyssines*. These People call a King *Nugue*, and the Emperor *Nuguea Nagasta*, which is as much as King of Kings.

The Name of *Abassia*, according to *Strabo*, was given it on Account of its being surrounded with great Deserts and Wildernesses, which the Egyptians call *Abasses*. The Learned Patriarch of Ethiopia, *Don Alfonso Mendes*, in *Hist. Ethiop.* l. i. c. i. says, It might perhaps be so call'd from *Abaxa*, the Capital City of the Kingdom of *Adel*, adjoining to Ethiopia, whose Emperors were once Masters of it, even as the same Kingdom of *Adel* was call'd *Zeylonian* from the Port of *Zeyla*. But *F. Manuel de Almeyda*, says, The Names of *Abassia*, and *Abissinia*, have no certain Signification, no more than those of many

The P R E F A C E.

Ethiopia in Latin. Besides these, he had the *Annual Letters* written by the *Fathers of the Society*, from the year 1556, till 1656. also the *Commentaries* of F. Jerdne ^{Udo}, resident there Nine years, and examin'd all other Books, whither ancient or modern treating this Subject, and compar'd them together. This may suffice, as to the Work in General, leaving the Reader to make his own Judgment of the performance.

It is to be observ'd that this upper Ethiopia, lying between the Tropick of Cancer and the Equinoctial, is sometimes call'd Oriental, Eastern, as lying Eastward of all the other African Ethiopias, and stretches along the Ethiopick Ocean, that is Angola, Guinea, and Verde, &c. However, according to ancient Authors, it is call'd Occidental, or Western, to distinguish it from the former more Eastern Ethiopia, beginning on the Eastern Shore of the Red Sea, and containing the Countries of Arabia, Madian, and others as far as Palestine, all of them in Asia, whereas this Ethiopia we speak of is in Africk. So that the upper Ethiopia, or Abissinia, or Raster John's Country, lies between two Ethiopias, the one in Asia and the other in Asia, and is call'd Eastern in Regard of that which is to the Westward of it, and Western, on Account of the other that is to the Eastward.

The Gallas often mention'd in this History, enter'd the Kingdom of Ethiopia, by the way of Ballii, about the year 1537. and by degrees made themselves Masters of Ballii, Fategar, Doaró, Ogé, Bizar, Oifate, Angota, Cambate, and several other Provinces lying between them. There are at present above Sixty Hords, or Tribes of those People, tho' only Four came in at first, and were it not for Wars among themselves, they would have long since conquer'd all the Empire.

THE

stretching beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn* to 35 Degrees of *South* Latitude, and is call'd the Lower *Ethiopia*, in regard to its Position from the Upper, of which I shall presently speak, being divided into Five several Regions, viz. *Congo*, *Monomotapa*, *Cafraria*, *Zanguebar*, and *Aiana*.

We do not here treat of this Lower *Ethiopia*, but of the Upper; which is so call'd for Two Reasons. The First, because the Nile comes down from it to Water the Plains of Egypt, and for the same Reason it is call'd *High Ethiopia*, and *Ethiopia* above Egypt. The Second Reason is, because it is nearer than the other to the *Arctick* Pole, which is always above in Regard to us, as the Prince of Poets observes, *Illic Vertex semper nobis subsistis*. Georg. 1. and this *Ethiopia* being nearest to the Pole, is therefore call'd the Upper, or the Higher.

In this Upper *Ethiopia*, under the *Torrid Zone*, which some would have made not Habitable, is the *Abissinian* Empire, commonly call'd *Prester John's* Country, of which we are here to treat. And in regard that there are most notorious Errors in the Description, and laying down of these Countries, not only in *Ptolomey's* Maps, but in those of *Ortelius*, *Mercator*, and the New *Atlas*, publish'd in 1653. I thought it convenient to insert here a Map of this *Ethiopia*, drawn by some of the ablest Men of the Society, and particularly by the most Reverend Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *Don Alfonso Mendez*, and by *F. Manuel Almeyda*, a Person of great Learning and Sincerity, both whom we here principally follow.

As for the length of this Empire, these grave Fathers say, that measuring it from North to South, in a strait Line, upon the Antient Limits, which were on the North a Country call'd *Focay*, lying above *Suaquem*, and on the South another call'd *Bergamo*, it extends Nine Degrees, *Bergamo* being in Eight Degrees of North Latitude, and *Focay* in Seventeen. But at present, the Country possess'd by this Emperor, is still smaller, because we must not reckon from *Focay*, but only one Degree above *Mazua*, beginning in Sixteen Degrees of North Latitude, and thence to *Bergamo*, which as has been said is in Sixteen, and in it is contain'd the number of Leagues usually allow'd to Eight Degrees, according to the Variety of *German*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, or other Leagues.

The Breadth of this Empire is to be taken from the Coast of the Red Sea, to the Banks of Nile, including the turn the said River makes towards Egypt, after compassing the Kingdom of *Gojam*, and making it a Peninsula, which may be about 140

THE
TRAVELS
OF THE
JESUITS
IN
ETHIOPIA.

BOOK. I.

CHAP. I.

The Name of Prester John, vulgarly given to the Emperor of ETHIOPIA; the occasion of that Mistake, and the proper Name of this Empire.

THE Portuguese Nation having extended their Discoveries *Improvement of*
and Conquests along the Coasts of *Africk*, and proceed- *Cosmogra-*
ed thence to the, before unknown, remotest Eastern *phy.*
Shores; *Europe* was not only enrich'd with the precious
Spices and other valuable Commodities of those Parts;
but improv'd with the Knowledge of new Monarchies and Em-
pires, Spacious Provinces, Wealthy and Large Islands, Warlike
Nations, and variety of Countries, to which the ablest Cosmo-
graphers

and Part of *Xaoo*. The lesser Provinces, below the Dignity of Kingdoms, subject to him are, *Mazaga*, *Salent*, *Ogara*, *A-bargale*, *Holcalt*, *Silgade*, *Cemen*, *Salaoa*, *Ozecca*, and *Doba*.

The Kingdoms formerly belonging to him, but now taken from him, are *Angot*, *Dom o*, *Ogge*, *Balli*, *Adea*, *Atamale*, *Oxelo*, *Ganz*, *Betezamora*, *Guragua*, *Buzana*, *Sufgamo*, *Bahargamo*, *Cambat*, *Boxa*, *Gumar*, *Conch*, *Damot*, *Doba*, *Mota*, *Avra*, *Holeca*, *Oyfat*, *Guedem*, *Ganh*, *Marrabet*, *Manz* and *Bizamo*. By which it plainly appears, that this Emperor has not at present half the Kingdoms his Predecessors were possess'd of; the other better half has been wrested from them by the *Galas*, of whom I shall hereafter speak at large; and now, since their new revolt from the Catholick Church, they have lost others, according to the freshest News come from thence, as we shall see in its place.

Tigre
Kingdom.

I will now give a short Description of the Principal Kingdoms, that still belong to the *Abissinian* Emperor, beginning with that of *Tigre*, the first of this Empire in all respects. This Kingdom begins at *Mazua*, which is a small Island near *Arquico*, the first Port of the Continent of this *Ethiopia*, of which we shall often make mention, and it stands in Fifteen Degrees of North Latitude, being subject not long since to this Emperor, but the *Turks* depriv'd him of this his best Sea Port. From *Mazua* or *Arquico*, this Kingdom runs Ten or Twelve Leagues along the Coast of the *Red Sea*, towards the Mouth of it, as far as *Dafalo*; which was also a sort of Port of this Kingdom, tho' not much frequented, because the Sea is there very Shoal: But even this Port the *Turks* of *Mazua* took from them, and all the People betwixt *Mazua* and *Dafalo* are Subject to them, being most of them *Mahometans*. Thus the *Abissine* Empire was wholly depriv'd of Sea Ports, which was an unspeakable loss.

Fremona
Town.

South West of *Mazua*, almost in the midst of this Kingdom of *Tigre*, stands a Town call'd *Maegoga*, but more commonly *Fremona*, famous, and much spoken of in the Annual Letters of the Fathers of the Society, because there the Patriarch *Don Andrew de Oviedo* resided and dy'd, and there the Fathers, his Companions, continu'd till they chang'd this Life for a better, and afterwards others always remain'd there, that came into *Ethiopia*, till the Total change I shall speak of hereafter. This Town is in Fourteen Degrees and a Half of North Latitude, by Observations frequently taken there with the Astrolabe. The Length of this Kingdom is about Ninety Leagues, and the Breadth Fifty, being the largest and best in *Abissinia*.

The

The Kingdom of *Begameder* Borders on *Tigre* to the North *Begameder Kingdom*, on the due East it has the Kingdom of *Angor*, and thence runs along the Kingdom of *Amahara*, which is its Southern Boundiary, till it comes to the *Nile*, which is its Limit on the West. Between these Two Kingdoms of *Begameder* and *Amahara*, runs the River *Baxilo*, which is very large, and after parting the said Kingdom, loses it self in the *Nile*. The Length of it is from *Larta* to the *Nile*, being about Sixty Leagues; the Breadth from North to South, Twenty, and no more; for as much as some Provinces are at present dismember'd from it, including the which, it would be as Broad as Long.

I shall say something of the Two Kingdoms of *Gojam* and *Dambea*, in regard they are both belonging to the Celebrated *Nile*, which rises in the one, and receives its increase from the other. *Gojam* lies North West, and South East, and is about Fifty Leagues in Length; the Breadth from East to West being about Thirty; reckned from one Bank of the *Nile* to the other; for this River rising, as will be said hereafter, almost in the midst of the Kingdom, takes a compals, and encloses it quite round, becoming as it were a Ditch or Intrenchment to secure it every way in Return for having given it Birth.

North of *Gojam* lies the Kingdom of *Dambea*, well known for the great Lake in it, which the *Abissinians* call the Sea of *Dambea*, and the *Nile* runs into it, as shall be soon describ'd. This Kingdom is only Twenty Four Leagues in Length, and Ten or Twelve in Breadth; but if we add to it this Lake, which lies along the South and South East side, it will be near as many Leagues more.

The Length of the Kingdom of *Amahara* from East to West, is about 40 Leagues. *Narea* is the last Kingdom, now subject to the Emperor, we shall speak of it hereafter, and the Map will show the rest of them.

C H A P. III.

Of the River Nile, whose Source is in this Ethiopia, of the Great Lake of Dambea, and how the said River runs through it, and continues its Course towards Egypt.

Search
after the
Source of
Nile.

THE most remarkable thing discover'd in this *Ethiopia*, was the Head, or Spring of the *Nile*, formerly so eagerly sought after by all Antiquity, for the finding whereof, the Greatest Men us'd their utmost endeavours. It is said of *Alexander the Great*, that the first Question he ask'd, when he came to *Jubiter Ammon*, was, Where the *Nile* had its Rise? And we know he sent discoveries throughout *Ethiopia*, without being able to find out this Source. The same is recorded of *Philadelphus* and *Sesostris*. Historians also tell us of *Cambises*, that he travers'd much Land, with a Mighty Army, as if this Discovery were to be made by Force of Arms, and yet all prov'd in vain; for at last he return'd with the loss of abundance of Men and without finding the Spring, as *Lucan* observes, l. 10.

Et pastus cade suorum, innotote Nile redit.

Julius Caesar was so desirous of knowing this Spring, that discour-
sing in *Egypt* with that Grave Old Man *Achoreus*, and enquiring,
Where the *Nile* had its Origin? He went so far as to tell him,
It was the thing he most coveted to know in the World; *nihil est*
quod noscere malim, Quam Fluvii causas, per sacula tanta latentis:
Adding, That he would quit his Country *Rome*, for the satisfacti-
on of discovering that Source, *Spes si mihi certa videndi Niliacos*
Fontes, Bellum civile relinquam. This Spring lying still conceal'd
after so much search, Men at last concluded, that Nature had
decreed this Secret should not be reveal'd, as *Claudian* observes,
Secreto de Fonte cadit, nec contigit ulli, hoc vidisse Caput; fertur sine
Teste creatus. *Pliny* Nat. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 9. says, This Spring
was not known in his Days; yet adds, that by means of *Juba*,
King of *Mauritania*, it was said to come from a Lake call'd
Nilis. Some have made it to proceed from the River *Niger*, but
there is no such River in this *Ethiopia*, notwithstanding all
the Fables *F. Urrera* Writes of it.

Mistakes
about the
River Ni-
ger.

And

And tho' *Mercator* and others in their Maps make this *Niger* the Western Boundary of *Ethiopia*, yet they place it higher up in *Africk*, above 400 Leagues West from the *Red Sea*, and consequently very remote from our *Ethiopia*, which, as has been said, scarce reaches 150 Leagues West from the *Red Sea*, and this will appear by our Map: So that the said River *Niger* must lye 250 Leagues wide of *Abyssinia*. The new *Atlas*, in both the Maps of *Africk* and *Ethiopia*, places a Lake he calls the Black Lake, near the Kingdom he names *Tigray*, in betwixt 3 and 4 Degrees of North Latitude, whence he says, proceeds a River call'd *Niger*; but as I have before declared, there is no such Kingdom as *Tigray* in *Ethiopia*, and that of *Tigre* is not in the Latitude he mentions, nor has it any such Lake; so that it is plain there is no River *Niger* among the *Ethiopians*.

Several Sacred Writers were of Opinion, that the *Nile* was the River in *Paradise*, call'd *Gihon* by *Moses*, and that it ran thence under the Earth and the Sea itself, till it gush'd out in *Egypt*: Thus we see how great Strangers the Ancients were to the Source of the *Nile*; and the Reason they could never find it, was its lying so far up in *Africk*, and the way to it all barr'd with those monstrous high and impassable Mountains of *Abyssinia*, from which the River casts itself down most dreadful Precipices; besides that, the Nations lying in the way are the fiercest and most barbarous in the World. Now the Discoverers sent upon this Errand, meeting with those impregnable Mountains and vast Defarts, we shall speak of hereafter, chose rather to return, and give out, that the Spring was Enchanted and never to be found out, than to hazard their Lives with so little probability of Success.

It is now time to come to speak of what is certainly known at this Time, after being so long conceal'd, which we have from the Annual Letters and other Accounts, of several Fathers of the Society, who were Eye-Witnesses of what they Write, and more particularly among them the Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *Don Alfonso Mendez*, *F. Emanuel de Almeyda*, and *F. Jerome Lobo*, who all curiously view'd those Springs, and writ the Truth of what they saw, and especially the last, who is most particular in these Affairs, in the Commentaries of his long Peregrination, which he communicated to me at his Return to *Portugal*, in the Year 1673.

Here in *Abyssinia*, almost in the midst of the Kingdom of *Gojam*, spoken of in the last Chapter, and in 12 Degrees Latitude, inclining to the Westward, is a Country they call *Sacabala*, inhabited by a Nation they name *Agans*, most of them Heathens, and some, who at present only retain the Name of Christians. This

C

Country

About the

Nile.

True Source
of Nile.

Country is Mountainous, as are most Parts of *Ethiopia*, tho' there are many higher about it. Amongst these Mountains, is a spot of Level, not very Level, about a Mile in Extent, and in the midst of it a little Lake, about a Stones throw over. This Lake is full of a sort of little Trees, whose Roots are so interwoven, that walking on them in the Summer, Men come to two Springs; almost a Stones throw asunder, where the Water is clear and very deep, and from these two the Water gushes two several ways into the Lake, from which it runs under Ground, yet so as its Course may be discern'd by the Green Grass, gliding first to the Eastward to form a Market-floor, and then turns towards the North.

2. Chap.
one. Chap.

About half a League from the Source, little over or under, the Water begins to appear upon the Land, in such quantity as makes a considerable Stream, and then presently is joined by others, and after having run with all its Windings about 25 Leagues, it receives another considerable River, bigger than the *Nile* itself, and call'd *Grua*, which there loses its Name. A little farther, when its Course begins to be to the Eastward, it receives two other Rivers, call'd *Kaly* and *Bearu*, and close by is the first Fall or Cataract, of which we shall speak anon. Thence the River runs almost East, and flows into the great Lake, which in that Country they call'd the Sea of *Dambsa* for its greatness, as being in that Kingdom, of which we shall treat in the next Chapter. It is distant from the Source of the *Nile* about 20 Leagues in a straight Line.

3. Chap.
two.

The *Nile* crosses this Lake over a Point of it, which stretches to the Westward, and flows out of it again in Summer, with much more quantity of Water it goes in: Nor does it only seem to be the same in quantity alone, but even in quality; for when the Lake is very smooth, the Current of the *Nile* is perfectly discern'd crossing it, and carrying some small Sticks and Straws, which usually swim with the Stream; the Water of the Lake standing still, as if that haughty River disdain'd to mix its Waters with any others, and only took its Fringe over the Lake, which is there between 6 and 8 Leagues across.

Example:
the Kingdom
of Goum.

We have now discover'd the Source of the *Nile*, which before was thought to be enchanted, and was only concentrated in the middle of a Kingdom, which is a part of the *Upper Ethiopia*. This River, as has been said before, encloses almost all the Kingdom of *Goum*, and the compass it takes is not amiss represented by a Snake not quite turn'd round; but with those Windings here set down in the Map, represented for the better understanding of it. The Extent of it from the Turning at the Entrance into it, to the South East Point, near the Kingdom of *Xana*, may be

be about 50 Leagues, and the Breadth from betwixt the two opposite Parts, of the River which encompass it, about 30; but when the River turns again, it comes within 10 or 12 Leagues of its Source, as plainly appears in the Map annex'd.

The *Abyssinians* call the Lake above mention'd *Bar Dambea*, signifying the Sea of the Kingdom of *Dambea*, which is in 13 Degrees and a half of North Latitude, and on the South Side the said Lake is about 20 Leagues in length; on the North Side 35; but if we were to reckon the Windings of all the Bays it makes into the Land, it would be much more. The Compassings on the South Side are not so many, but will make 30 Leagues. The Breadth measur'd over the middle and deepest Part, will reach to 10 or 12 Leagues. The Water of it is very clear, light and wholesome, and has in it abundance of Fish of several sorts; as also great numbers of Sea-Horses, which come out to Graize on the Land, in the plainest Parts, where they destroy much Provision. There are some Men who live by killing them; they Eat their Flesh, and of their Skins make *Alengas*, so they call a sort of Lashes they use for their Horses; for in *Ethiopia* they have no Spurs, the want whereof is supply'd by these *Alengas*, which gird and cut. There are no *Crocodiles* or *Alligators*, generally speaking, in this Lake, as there are in other Parts of the *Nile*, so that the Cattel Graize securely on its Banks, and all the People dwelling about them, enjoy the Sweetness of its Waters, without those Frights others are subject to along the *Nile*, after it enters *Egypt*. However, it is most certain there are no *Tritons* nor *Sirens* in this Lake, as *Johnson* was inform'd, and he tells us in his Map of *Ethiopia*, in his *Atlas*, publish'd An. 1653.

Ptolemy call'd this Lake *Coloe*; *John de Barros* gives it the Name *Wrong Names of Barcena*, it is likely, from an Island which is near the Place, given it. where the River flows out. *Mercator* and *Johnson* in their *Tables of Abyssinia*, call this Lake by two Names, the South Part *Zambre*, and the North Part *Zaire*; but its true Name, as has been said, is *Bar Dambea*. There are many Islands in it, said in all to be 21, some of them large, as is that they call *Dek*, in which there are plow'd Lands, which employ 40 Yoke of Oxen. In 7 or 8 of these Islands there are Monasteries of Religious Men, which were formerly very great; being hot they produce good Oranges and Limons, and all sorts of Fruit that has Thorney Trees.

The *Abyssinians* Navigate this great Lake in a sort of Vessels they call *Tancoas*, which are like *Almadies*, or little Boats, not made of Wood, but of a sort of Rushes they call *Tabua*, whereof there is great Plenty in this Lake, each of which is as thick as a Mans Arm, and a Fathom in length; and they are satisfy'd with these

Dambea Lake.

Islands in it.

Boats made of Rushes.

Vessels, which are as handsome as those who make them. This *Tabua* grows also in the other Lakes, and all along the *Nile* where it is smaller and longer than that of this Lake, and *Plin* describes his Rush *Nat. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 11.* and it is the same they call *Papyrus*, of which was made the Paper the Antients us'd to write on, whence to this Day that we now have is call'd Paper. The Antient *Egyptians* made Boats of the same to Sail on their *Nile*.

Errors of
Mercator
and Johnson.

Many were of Opinion, that the *Nile* had its Source in this Lake, which, as has been said, only affords it a Passage; yet, the several others fall into it, none has any other Passage out of this Lake but that of the *Nile*; which shows, that *Mercator* and *Johnson* were both misinform'd, when they say, that from this Lake flows the River *Zaire*, which after watering the Kingdom of *Congo* falls into the Western Ocean, and two other Rivers, which they pretend, meet in another Lake on the Borders of *Angola* whence *Mercator* says, the River *Coanza* flows. However, not certain it is, that only the *Nile* runs out of this Lake, and the *Coanza* has a far different Source.

Gathering
of Waters.

Nevertheless, many several Rivers fall into this Lake of *Dambea*, and all the great Mountains of that Kingdom discharge all their Waters into it, as do the other Hills and Plains about it, which vast Bulk of Water much Swells the Lake, and therefore in Winter the *Nile* is very considerably increased by it, because all those Waters have no other Mouth to run out at, but only that the *Nile* has made; so that all the prodigious quantity of Waters gather'd by the Lake in Winter, serves to aggrandize the Name of the River.

Rivers fall-
ing into the
Nile.

Besides this, the *Nile*, after coming out of this Lake, and before it leaves *Ethiopia*, receives many very considerable Rivers, as the *Gamarà*, *Abeà*, *Bayxè*, *Anquer*, and others, that may be seen in the Map; and lastly, the *Tacazè* is lost in it farther towards *Egypt*. Thus we see the Learned *Mayolus* was misinform'd, when he says, the *Nile* has this peculiar Privilege, *That it Swells with only its own Waters, and scarce admits the Society of any other River; whereas the Sea receives very many.* *Mayol. Dieb. Camb. Colloq. 11. verbo Fluvius.*

As winding
Course into
Egypt.

As soon as the *Nile* is out of this Lake, its Stream runs almost directly South East, and so passes by the Kingdoms of *Begamedér*, *Amaharà* and *Oleca*, leaving them on the East; then turning towards the South, it leaves the Kingdoms of *Xasa* on the South East; and again winding to the West, North West and North, leaves *Ganz*, *Gafates* and *Bizambé* on the South West and West, and pierces into the Countries of the *Gongas* and *Cafres*, and fur-

ther on, passing by those of *Fascalb*, enters those of the *Ballous*, or *Funchor*, being, according to *F. Emanuel de Almeyda's* well grounded Opinion, the same as *Nubia*; and thence it glides on towards *Egypt*, which lying North from the Source of *Nile*, *Qandian* had good Reason to say, the *Nile* came from the South. *Epi. de Nilo*. This River draws all that infinite quantity of Water after it, as has been said, which, tho' very Clear and Chrystalline at its first coming out of the Lake, yet afterwards runs through Flats of Black Earth, where it is muddy'd, and having lost its Native Purity, well deserves the Epithets the Prophet *Jeremy* gives it of thick and troubled. To this also the Poets allude, who call it slimy and blackish. For this Reason, says *Pierius*, the *Nile* was call'd *Melon*, that is, Black, from the blackness of its Waters. It is this muddiness that causes the *Nile* to fertilize *Egypt* so wonderfully, that being satisfy'd with the Blessings it receives this way, it neither wants the Commodities of the Land, nor the Rains from Heaven.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Cataracts, and the over-flowing of the Nile, and the Opinions of the Antients concerning them; as also of the other Rivers of Ethiopia, and particularly the Tacazé, Zebec, Haoax and Mareb.

THE *Nile* by reason of the prodigious Height of the Rocks, among which it has its Course, even within *Ethiopia*, has *Cataracts or some dreadful Falls, which the Antients call'd Cataracts. The* *Falls of Nile.* The first of these is near a Town of the *Agans*, call'd *Depeghan*, 9 or 10 Leagues before it enters the Lake of *Dembea*: The second is 5 or 6 Leagues after its coming out of the said Lake, near a Territory of the Kingdom of *Begameder*, call'd *Alata*. At the first Cataract the River falls plum down a very craggy steep Rock, along which the Water scatters very much, and a great deal of it disperses into a thick Mist, or mizling Rain, which being carry'd away with any Wind, is seen at a great distance like a large beautiful Cloud that is dissolving into continual Rain.

The

Noise of
the Fall.

The Noise of the rebounding Water and the Whirlpool it makes, falling into a deep Cavity surrounded with Rocks, is so violent, that it resembles a continual and dreadful Clap of Thunder, which for a great compass round about deafens the Ear and torments the Head. For this reason I do not question, but that nearer to *Agypt* there are those Cataracts, so famous among the Antients, which, tho' little greater than these, says *F. Emanuel de Almeida*, will cause the Country for a League about to be uninhabited, or at least the Inhabitants will in a short time become Deaf; because that violent Noise must of necessity offend the Drum of the Ear. The Fall of the first Cataract is about 50 Spans, that is, 12 Yards and a half high; that of the second is twice or thrice as much, and accordingly the Noise of the Water is double.

Reasons of
the Inundati-
on of Nile.

I will now say something in relation to the other Secret of this renowned River, which was as much talk'd of as unintelligible, being the Cause of its Swelling in the Months of *August* and *September*, so as to overflow and fertilize the spacious Plains of *Agypt*; for it being then Summer there, and the Antients not knowing where the *Nile* had its Source, they could not conceive whence that Inundation should proceed, which was equal to a Sea.

Extravagant
Notion of
F. Urreta.

F. Urreta says, the mighty Storms which prevail at that Time about the Cape of *Good Hope*, are by Subterraneous Passages communicated to the Lake whence this River proceeds, and expelling the Water with their Violence, cause it to drown the large Plains of *Agypt*. This is as extravagant a Notion as many more of that Author who could find no difficulty in conveying the Storms of the Cape of *Good Hope* about 900 Leagues under Ground; for so far that Cape is from the Source of the River, to disturb the Lake of *Dambee*, which is so still and peaceable, that *F. Emanuel de Almeida*, who liv'd several Years on a Peninsula it makes, affirms, that after observing all its Qualities with the greatest exactness, he could never find the least Ground for laying such an Imputation to its Charge.

Other wild
Fancies.

Some Authors believ'd, that the Swelling Surges of the Sea being drove through the Pores of the Earth, caus'd this Lake to Swell to such a degree, as to vomit out so vast an Inundation of Waters. Others fancy'd, that these Floods proceeded from the Snows melting on the Mountains of *Ethiopia*: However, tho' the Snows may in some measure help, they are not the Prime Cause of that Inundation. I will not trouble the Reader with many other Notions of Authors on this Account, who knowing nothing of it, invented whatsoever their Imaginations could dictate; for
the

The reason of the swelling of the Nile, in July, August and September, is as well known in this Ethiopia, as in Portugal the cause of the rising of the Tagus, Mondego, or other Rivers in December and January; which is because it is then Winter with us, and so in Abyssinia, the depth of Winter is in July, August and September, and it is a plain case, that a River must needs swell, *sen-* which before it leaves Ethiopia, for the space of above 150 Leagues, receives into it almost all the Rivers and Brooks of those Parts, all which at that time are full fraught; beside the vast quantity of Water added to it by the mighty Lake of Dambea, the common Receptacle of all the Waters falling from all the Mountains round about it. And the same Nile after leaving Ethiopia, in its many windings before it comes to Egypt, for above 300 Leagues, swallows up all the Rivers and Brooks it meets in the way.

The Nile carries all this immense quantity of Waters during those Months, and coming into the spacious Plains of Egypt, when it is Summer there, spreads over, and fills them with such abundance of Water, Slime and Mud, it brings along with it, that those, who are not acquainted with the Cause, can only admire the Effect. Thus, by what is here said, these two so long hidden *Secrets of Nile's Source, and overflowing discovered.* Secrets of the source of the Nile, and the cause of its Inundation, are made manifest to the World; and it plainly appears what an infinite multitude of Waters run out of the Lake from so many Rivers along with the Nile; as also with what fury that prodigious weight of Water must needs cast it self down the Mountains of Ethiopia, and rush on towards Egypt, till it rests in the Mediterranean.

This demonstrates the impossibility of what some Authors affirm, saying, That the Grand Seigneur pays a certain Tribute to the Abyssine Emperor, lest he should divert the Course of the Nile, but may suffer it to go Water the Plains of Egypt, and to the end that when the Floods are too great, he may turn away *Impossibility of diverting the Course of Nile.* the Water, near the Island Meroc, to the Red-Sea, for fear the Lands be drown'd and the Crop spoilt. All which is fabulous and impossible, as will appear to any sensible Man, who will but consider how impracticable it is to divert any of our common Rivers, when they overflow and bear down Houses and all that stands in their way; much more the Nile, which has a Course of so many hundred Leagues, and gathering all the Waters of so many Kingdoms and Provinces, comes into Egypt with such an Immensity of Water, that it forces it self into the Mediterranean at several Mouths, about Alexandria, opposite to the Island of Cyprus, after it has it self appear'd all over that Country like a large Sea. *One.*

Confirmation
of it.

One Argument may be brought against the Impossibility of diverting the Course of the *Nile*, which is that the History of *India* informs us, the great *Alfonso d' Albuquerque* had a design of meeting the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, in order to turn away the *Nile* to the Red-Sea, cutting a new Channel and stopping up that which flow'd towards *Egypt*, to render those Fields barren; which are the Great *Turks* Granaries; which Work the Author of that great Commanders Commentaries declares to be very easy, and to be done with very little Trouble, as he expresses it. But with their leave who entertained that Conceit, I must be free to say, that Work was not only difficult, but altogether impossible, because that River never had, nor can ever have any other Course, but what the Author of Nature gave it at first, nor is it in the Power of Man to turn it away and find it a new Passage to the Red-Sea. The reason is, because there are above 100 Leagues from the nearest Part of the River to the Red-Sea, and all that Country the most horrid Rocks and Mountains it is possible to imagine, as we shall see hereafter; and what Force would suffice to hew down such Mountains and break through the Boundaries God himself has plac'd, which as the Scripture tells us, is no better than striving against the Stream.

Tacazé River.

Having spoken as much as is necessary of the *Nile*, let us now say something of the other noble and mighty Rivers, which rise in and Water this *Ethiopia*, among which the *Tacaze* is well known and famous. *Mercator* says this is the River *Ptolemy* calls *Astaboras*, and he seems to be in the right, as I suppose the *Astapus* mention'd by the said *Ptolemy* to be the *Nile*. The *Tacaze* has its source on a Ridge of Mountains, call'd *Aryuagua*, on the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Angot*, next that of *Begameder*, where at the Foot of the higher Mountain, which lies to the Eastward, three several Springs gush out violently within a Stones Throw of one another, and joining their Waters make a great Stream, which runs to the Eastward for some Days Journey, betwixt the Territories of *Daphané*, and *Hoage*, lying North of it. Then it crosses the Kingdom of *Tigre*, cutting through the midst of *Siré*, a Province of the said Kingdom, leaving the best Lands of that Province on the East, and its famous Desert *Aldoba* on the West, where formerly there were many Anchorites, as in *Thebaida* of *Egypt*.

Water-Horses.

This River *Tacaze* is not quite so large, yet not much inferior to the *Nile*, and has some very deep Places, in which there are Crocodiles of an extraordinary magnitude, as also Water-Horses, which *F. Emanuel d' Almeida* testifies he saw there, and said, they are properly call'd Horses, as being like them in the Head,
and

and particularly the Ears, tho' their Legs are short and their Tails shorter, and they have no Hair, but a bare Skin, and very smooth. It has also much Fish of other sorts, and the same *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda*, assures us they here show'd him in a Bowl, that Fish, which in *Latin*, from the Effect it produces, they call *Torpedo*, and we the Cramp-Fish; for that laying hold of it with his Hand, it immediately caused such a Numbness, that he presently let it go, not thinking fit to continue that dangerous Experiment. This same River passes on by another Province they call *Holcait*, whence it runs into very low Lands of *Cajres*, and leaving them, visits the Kingdom of *Deghin*, inhabited by a sort of *Moors*, whom we call *Baullons*, and on the Coast of *Snaquem*, they are nam'd *Funchos*, as may be seen in our Map. Then meeting with the *Nile*, loses it self in that River, which receives a considerable increase from its Waters.

There is another celebrated River call'd *Zebet*, said to be greater than the *Nile* it self, rising in a Territory call'd *Boxa* in the Kingdom of *Narea*, which is the most Southerly, and whereof we shall speak hereafter. It begins its Course Westward, and a few Leagues farther turns to the Northward, and runs about the Kingdom of *Gingiro*, of which we shall also give an Account, making it a sort of Peninsula, as the *Nile* does the Kingdom of *Gijam*. After leaving this Kingdom it takes its course to the Southward, and some say it is the same that falls into the Sea at *Mambaca*. Zebec River.

There is another very large and notable River, call'd *Haoax*, Haoax River. almost equal to the *Nile*, rising betwixt the Kingdoms of *Xaoa*, which is to the North of it, *Ogge* to the South, and *Fategar* to the East. It takes its course to the North-East, and receives the Waters of another great River call'd *Machy*, which comes out of the Lake *Zoay*, in the Kingdom of *Ogge*, and being increas'd by this Addition, the *Haoax* runs into the Kingdom of *Adel*, by us call'd *Zeyla*, entering it at a Province call'd *Anca Garrele*, being the Place where the Fathers *Bernard Pereyra* and *Francis Machado*, of whom I shall speak hereafter, continued some time, till the Perfidious *Mahometan* King put them to Death, in Hatred to Christianity. It Rains very little in that Country, but Providence has made amends for that want, with the Water of this River, which being drawn out into several Channels by the Inhabitants, waters their Fields and fertilizes the Valleys, so that it is one of the most plentiful Countries of those Parts in Grain and Cattle. And so generous is this River, that tho' it is master of so much Water, it leaves it all in those Fields it runs through,

as if it thought it more Honour to be bury'd in the Earth, than lose it self in the Sea.

Mareb River. There is another great River of the same nature, call'd *Mareb*, which rises in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, Two Leagues from *Baroa* or *Fremena*, to the Westward, whence it runs to the South, and entring some Lands of *Cafres*, which are naturally Sindy, hides it self in them for a considerable space; but if they dig Two Yards they not only find Water to drink, but good Fish, as *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* says, he was assur'd by *John Gabriel*, who was then Commander of the *Portugueses*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, being a Man of Sincerity and Conscience. A little farther on, this River rises again and coming into the better Country of the Kingdom of *Deqbin*, bestows all the Treasure of its Waters on those Fields, as if it forgot to go any farther and meet the Sea.

*F. Urreta's
Fabulous Hi-
story.*

It is not amiss here to observe that *F. Urreta*, in his *Fabulous History of Ethiopia*, says this is call'd the Black-River, because it runs through a Country of Blacks, as if any River in *Ethiopia* did run through a Country of Whites. This is the same he says, forms Three Lakes, from one of which he tells us a River flows, which always runs over Stones of great Value, and falling into the Sea at *Melinde*, has a great Fishery of Pearls, and Amber-Greece at its Mouth. So full of precious thoughts is that Chimerical Author.

CH A P. V.

Shewing that the Island Meroe, which Authors place in Ethiopia, is the Kingdom of Gojam, where the Nile rises.

*Falshood in
Barros's Hi-
story, and o-
thers*

THE famous *Portuguese* Historian, *John de Barros*, following the Opinion of several Geographers, in his 3 *Decad. lib. 4. cap. 1.* places the celebrated and fabulous Island of *Meroe* within the Bounds of *Ethiopia*, and makes the North side of this Empire to run from *Snaquew* to the end of this Island, which he says is now call'd *Noba*. Of the same mind was formerly *Pomponius Mela*, saying the Island *Meroe*, was the Head of the Em-
pire

pire of *Ethiopia*. *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 1 and 17. places this Island in *Egypt*, where he says, it is the largest and most renowned, and had its Name from the chief of its Cities, which took it from a Sister of *Cambyfes* its first Founder, who dy'd there, for it is a Thing very ancient for Places to become famous by the Death or Misfortunes of great Persons.

Pliny, lib. 2. cap. 17. also places this Island in *Ethiopia*, and makes it the chief of many he says there are in it and the Head of that Country. Some raise the number of these Islands to 700. This Author and many others tell wonders of this Island and of the abundance of Gold, Silver, Brass, Iron, Ebony, and other precious Commodities they pretend Nature has bountifully bestow'd on it, which were it not all fabulous must render it the chief of those they call Fortunate. *More Fables.*

Having duly examined the Maps and view'd *Ptolemy's* Tables, I find they place this Island in *Ethiopia*, in 13 Degrees of North Latitude, telling us, that in 11 Degrees Latitude, a River, which *Ptolemy* and most other Authors say is the *Nile*, and the *Asaboras*, supposed to be the *Tacaze*, meet and then part again in 12 Degrees Latitude, and afterwards join again between 16 and 17 Degrees, and within this distance remaining between the two Branches, he says is the Island *Meroe*, of which same Opinion is *John de Barros*, adding that it is now call'd *Noba*. The new *Atlas* of *Johnson*, says the *Nile* and *Tacaze* meet and form that Lake, which he also calls *Gueguere*. But *Pliny* and *Solinus*, quoted by the same *Ptolemy*, as also *Ortelius* and *Mercator* say, those are only two Branches of the *Nile*, and not part of the *Nile* and part of the *Tacaze*, and that they form that Island, which they call *Gueguere*. *Meroe Island.*

All these are mere Fancies, for want of true Information; for the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*, *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda*, and the other Fathers, who liv'd several Years in *Ethiopia*, in 12, 13 and 14 Degrees Latitude, cross'd over the *Nile* and the *Tacaze* many times, and most diligently observ'd all Things, do declare, it is most certain, that these two Rivers do not meet, within the Dominions of the *Abyssinians*; but have their Springs and run on 70 Leagues distant from one another, little more or less, as long as they continue in *Ethiopia*, as may be seen in our Map; and they farther add, that the *Nile* never divides it self into two Branches within that Empire. *Errors discovered.*

Now what shall we say to those Authors and ancient Histories, who so confidently inform us, that the Island *Meroe*, form'd by the *Nile* alone, or by the *Nile* and *Tacaze*, is in *Ethiopia*, and place it between 12 and 13 Degrees of Latitude? This Point being, *Meroe Island, is the Kingdom of Goujam.*

being duly weigh'd and consider'd, among the most learned Persons of the Society, that went over into *Ethiopia*, they all concluded, that the Kingdom of *Gojam*, where the *Nile* rises, and which the same *Nile* encompasses about, and makes a Peninsula, is the famous Island *Meroe* of that River, in *Ethiopia*, of which such Wonders are told. A proof whereof is, that those Authors place the said Island, between 12 and 13 Degrees, which is the Latitude that Kingdom is in; besides the said Kingdom is known to be almost surrounded with the Waters of the *Nile*, so that it is a Peninsula. It is also certain that there is no other Island in the said Latitude, whence it follows of necessity, that if there be any sort of Island in that Part, it is the Kingdom of *Gojam*, that is the to renowned *Meroe*. Now those Authors knowing very little of it, or where to place it, they had the more encouragement to enrich it at Pleasure, since it cost them nothing but letting their Pen run; for since they could not tell where it was, they reit'd satisfy'd that no body would call them to Account for what they said.

Confirmation
of it.

A farther Confirmation of this Opinion is, the Breadth of 30 Leagues, which these Authors assign the Island *Meroe*, little more or less, which is the same of the Kingdom of *Gojam*; but they are out in the Length, making the Island 100 Leagues long, whereas the Kingdom of *Gojam* is little above 50. The Cataracts of *Nile*, which these Authors place on the North Point of the Island *Meroe* next to *Egypt*, are in two Places, the first near a Village of the *Agans*, call'd *Depeghan*, 9, or 10 Leagues before the River falls into the Lake of *Damboa*, as was said before; and the second after its coming out of the same Lake, near a Town call'd *Alais*.

Proof out of
Ptolemy.

Nor can it be said that the *Nile* forms this Island *Meroe* out of *Ethiopia*, because we do not find that River makes any such Island in all its Course from *Ethiopia* to the *Mediterranean*. Besides that *Ptolemy* and the best of other Authors place this Island within *Ethiopia*, and *Ptolemy* being himself an *Egyptian* could not be ignorant of it, if the *Nile* had form'd such an Island in *Egypt*. Besides that the Inhabitants of this Island were Black, as *Lucan* tells us, which agrees with the *Ethiopians* and not with the *Egyptians*: thus says that Poet, *Phars. lib. 10.*

———*Gurgite vasto*
Ambitur nigris Meroe facunda colonis.

Not

Nor can it be said that any of the Islands I mention'd above to be in the great Lake of *Dambee* is that of *Meroe*, because they are very small and inconsiderable in Comparison of that vast Island which Authors make 100 Leagues in length, and I say is 50 at least, if it is the Kingdom of *Gojam*, as it seems to be.

By what we have said, it appears, that *Ethiopia* contains those two hidden Treasures of the World, so much spoken of, which are the Source of the *Nile* and the Island *Meroe*; both of them more valuable by Fame, than in Reality; for the Source of the *Nile*, is like that of any other ordinary River, and perhaps more inconsiderable; and the Kingdom of *Gojam* differs little from any other of the Kingdoms of *Ethiopia*, in which there are none of those Mines of pure Gold, nor those Mountains of Precious Stones, wherewith Historians enrich'd this Island, which in this particular resembles the Fortunate Islands, on whom greater Encomiums were bestow'd, than there are Blessings found in them.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Red-Sea, which leads into this Ethiopia, and the Reasons, why it is so call'd.

IT was said before, that this Empire towards the East, commences on the Banks of the Red-Sea; and in regard that all the Religious Men of the Society, who enter'd *Ethiopia* went that way, and that we shall have frequently occasion to speak of it and of its Mouths, which are two Channels, the one next *Arabia* and the other on the side of *Abyssinia* which lead into this Sea, and give it a Communication with the *Indian Sea*; and for as much as there has been great debates among the Curious, how it came to be call'd the Red-Sea, I therefore thought, that after treating of the *Nile*, it would be convenient to say something, briefly to this Particular.

The *Red Sea* is in length about 380 Leagues; on the Right Hand entering lies *Arabia Felix*, on the Left *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, otherwise call'd *Abyssinia*, or *Abassia*, on whose Coast are the Ports of *Dalee*, *Mazua* and *Suaghem*, besides others of less Note, but none of them at present belong to the *Abyssine* Empire.

*Description of
the Red-Sea.*

ror. Betwixt the two Coasts, almost in the midst lies the I. call'd *Jabel Mandel*, or *Nahum*, [all other Geographers call it *Babel-Mandel*] and a little beyond it begins a Chain of I. so close to one another, that very often 6 or 7 appear together in a Row, and this Ridge of Islands is as it were a Line that runs all in length, as the *Apennine* Mountain does *Italy*, and may be seen in our Map. The Children of *Israel* crossed this Sea *Egypt* when they fled, and in that Place it is said to be 4 Leagues over to *Arabia*, which was enough to stop them and drown the *Egyptians*.

Its several
Names.

This Sea has several Names given it, some call it the *Ar Gulph*, because it stretches along so far on the Coast of *Ar*. Others name it the *Straits* or Sea of *Mecca*, because it lies to that City, where *Mahomet's* Tomb is. The *Greeks* call it *threan*, and from them all others the *Red Sea*; whereas its Waters are as clear as those of the other *Indian* Seas, and hence comes the Question, why it should be call'd the *Red Sea*.

Reasons
assign'd for
them.

The first Reason alledg'd is from the Red Clay or Earth, which with the Reflection of the Sun causes the Water to look Red: To make good which Assertion they ought first to have prov'd, that there were such Red Shores for tho' there may be some Reddish Earth, yet it cannot create so great a Reflection, as to affect such a large Sea, which like others, would rather take its Colour from the Air above, or the Earth under it, than from the Banks. *Pliny Nat. Hist. l. cap. 23.* seems to strengthen the aforesaid Opinion, by saying it receives the Colour from the Reflection of the Sun Beams; but the same Place he says it might be so call'd from the power of King *Erythrus*, who reign'd in those Parts, and was bury'd on the Shore, whence the Sea had the name of *Erythrean*, which signifies Red, and thence all other Nations took it; of which Opinion are *Philostratus*, *Solinus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Curtius*, *Ortelius*, *F. La Cerda*, and *F. Benedikt Fernandez* upon *Exodus*. This Analogy has many followers besides those above nam'd, who are more complaisant in submitting their Judgments to such Authorities than nice in examining into the certainty of the Truth.

From the
Slaughter of
the *Egypti-
ans*.

I should not much blame those, who might urge this Sea call'd Red, from the great quantity of *Egyptian* Blood shed there when *Pharaoh* and all his Army of Horse and Foot perish'd there, where the Slaughter being so great, the Sea could not but be dyed with the Gore. It is very remarkable, in order to make good the Opinion, that *Moses* in the 14th Chapter of *Exodus*, so often mentions this Sea, as he does, in speaking of the Passage of the Children of *Israel*, never in the said Chapter once calls it the

Sea, till after the Slaughter of the *Egyptians*. And it was usual among the *Jews* to give Names to Places on account of extraordinary Deaths, as the Place where *Uzzah* was Slain by God was call'd *Perez-Uzzah*, or the Smiting of *Uzzah*; and to the Field bought with the Money for which *Judas* sold our Saviour, had the name of the *Field of Blood*. Nor is there any Author to be found, that ever call'd this the Red Sea, before God destroyed the *Egyptians* in it; for *Moses* was the first and ancientest of all the Authors in the World, as is fully prov'd by the Learned *F. Francis de Mendoza*, *Tom. 1. in Reg. Hist. Annal. 2. Proem. Annot. 12.*

There may be two Objections against this Opinion: The first, that *Moses* calls this the Red Sea, in the 10th and 13th Chapters before the Slaughter of the *Egyptians*; to which we answer, that he writ his History long after the passing of the Red Sea, and therefore might give it the Name it had then receiv'd, tho' not proper to it before the Thing happen'd. The other Objection may be, that the *Egyptians* were not Slain with the Sword, but drowned, and that causes no Effusion of Blood, to make the Sea Red. To this we answer, that here were two sorts of Deaths, for the *Vulgate* says, that the Lord looking upon the Host of the *Egyptians*, *flew them, and overthrew the Wheels of their Chariots*, and the *Egyptians* seeing this Slaughter would have fled, and then the Sea came upon them. Besides, in the Confusion of flying they might kill one another, and many be hurt and over-run by the Horses and Chariots, and so much Blood-shed.

Objections
Answered.

The *Portugueses* us'd many Endeavours to discover the Reason of calling this the Red Sea, and particularly the Great *Alfonso d' Albuquerque*, the first of the Nation who enter'd the Mouth of it, as did also the famous *Don John de Castro*, who went into the Red Sea with the Governor *Don Stephen de Gama*, and by what both of them found, the Opinion of those who say that Water is Red because of the Red Bottom, was much confirm'd and prevail'd. This the aforesaid *Alfonso d' Albuquerque* testifies in his Commentaries; for he being with his Fleet at the Mouth of that Sea, saw from his Ships a Stream of very Red Sea Water gush out at the Mouth of the Streight, and it reach'd up it as far as a Man could see; and asking the Moorish Pilots the Cause of that Redness, these are the Words of the Historian, they answer'd, That the Commotion the Tide caused in the Water, because the Sea was there Shoal and had little Depth, occasion'd the Colour upon the Flood and Ebb: And he adds, that the said *Alfonso d' Albuquerque* concluded it was so, and that the Bottom of the Sea was the Cause of it.

Don

From the
Bottom.

Don John de Castro examined this Matter more nicely, as a by his Journal, and by what the Historian John de Barros of him. He observing the Redness of the Water, as he along that Sea, order'd some of the Water to be taken up in a says the above named Author, which being brought up he found be much more clear and Crystalline, than that without the *Adel* Streight; not so satisfy'd, he caus'd some Seamen to dive, who brought him a Red Matter from the Bottom, in the Nature of Coral inches, and some covered with an Orange Colour Down, &c. They find that the Redness proceeds from the Ground, appearing the clear Water, which deceives the Eyes, so as that they take that Colour to be in the said Water, which is only in the Bottom of it.

From Weeds

Notwithstanding these Observations, there is more Reason to believe, the Redness of this Sea proceeds from abundance of Weeds there are in it, as appears by the Account given to the Reverend and Learned Patriarch Don Alfonso Mendez, who as an Eye-witness in his Treatise, concerning the Time when the Faith of CHRIST enter'd into Ethiopia, Chap. 2. His Words are these :

Three Colours.

In our way from Mazua to Suaquem, which is commonly 5 or 6 Days, we spent 45, whereof we were 15 ashore, and saw three several Colours in that Sea: The first Blue, which is in the west Part; the second Green, where there are many Flats, because generally very Shoal, and this Greenness it has from the Green that lies on the Rocks; the third Colour is not Red, but Violet (which in some Parts spreads all over the Superficies, and in others in Spots, some thicker than others, according to the Cause they proceed from; being certain Holes full of Red Weeds, not very tough, the Sea, when boisterous, casts upon the Shore, and we had them in our Hands. Besides, we made another Experiment, which removed all Cause of doubting, and was, that being on a Calm Day when the Water was still, in the midst of many Red Spots, we order'd some to swim, and they pull'd up those Tufts of Weeds; and as they took them away, the Red Spots ceased, the others about them still remain. Thus far this Judicious Person.

In my Opinion, this doubt is not only clear'd, but we perceive, why the Portuguese have not only call'd this Sea but Violet Colour, which Distinction we do not find in Authors who only speak of the Redness and not of the other Violet that Sea has of late had both Names, and the Colours are different. So that where this Sea is so deep, that the Weeds do not reach the Superficies, it looks Blue, and somewhat Blackish, which is usual in any deep Water. And again, where the Weeds are

or of a Violet Colour, they cause that variety already spoken of.

This Truth is confirm'd by what the great Doctor of the Church of S. Jerome says, which is, that the Cause of calling this Sea Red *The Redness from Weeds.* comes from the word *Suph*, which is Hebrew, us'd in Holy Writ, in speaking of this Sea, and that *Suph* signifies Red; and as it is well observ'd by our Learned F. Barradas upon Exodus, the *Septuagint* always translate *Suph* Red, and some *Hebrews* tell us, that *Suph* is the Name of a Red Weed growing in this Sea, and the Sun-glancing on these Waters, through which the Colour of those Weeds is seen, makes them look Red tho' they are not so. This Point is learnedly handled by our F. Pineda, in his 4th Book upon Solomon, and that which clenches all we have said to this Point, is, what our above quoted Patriarch says, viz. That the *Arabs* call that Weed we have spoken of *Suph*, and in *Ethiopia* they give the same Name to an Herb like this in all Respects, which they bring up in their Gardens, and use the Flower of it for Dying their Cloth Red, and Eat the Seed: And thus it is plain, that Sea is call'd Red from those Weeds growing on its Bottom.

This is what has occur'd concerning the Red Sea, which we shall often speak of in this Work; and having made so long a Stay upon it, we will now cast Anchor on its Coast and enter *Ethiopia*, to give an Account of that Empire.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Climate, the prodigious high Mountains, the Fertility, Trees, and other Product of Ethiopia; and of the several sorts of Animals, both Wild and Tame.

TIME has always been the ablest and best Master in all fallible Points, such as are the Notions and Opinions of Men. *Time the best Master.* This is most evident in relation to the Judgment Ancient Astronomers made of the Number and Qualities of the Heavenly Spheres, which they declared to be Ten, and of an incorruptible Matter, which Opinion they concluded was not only venerable, but

but would be ever unchangeable in the Schools, and yet in Time abler Mathematicians by infallible Observations found out that which is now generally receiv'd, *viz.* That there is no need of, nor are there so many Heavens as the Ancients pretended, and that even those Three, which are generally allow'd of, are not incorruptible, as they would have perswaded us. So that Time, tho' so old a Master, still teaches some Things that are new.

*Mistakes of
the Ancients.*

But what wonder that Men should err in Things that relate to Heaven, whither they cannot fly, with the weight of their corruptible Bodies, when we see how much they have been mistaken in Earthly Matters, which are near and obvious? What could be more receiv'd in Antiquity, than the Opinion which taught that all those Countries were not Habitable, which lie under the Torrid, and under the two Polar, Arctick and Antarctic, Zones; the first as too hot, and the others as too cold? Yet Time, notwithstanding that so receiv'd Opinion, has demonstrated, that there are People living near both the Poles; and that in the Center of the Torrid Zone, where they imagin'd the People must be burnt up, there are infinite Nations, and some of them enjoy as Temperate a Climate as there is in *Europe*, in the best Parts of *Spain*, or the cooler *Lombardy*.

*Temperate
Regions in the
Torrid Zone.*

There has been no occasion to make the least doubt hereof, since the Conquests and Discoveries of the *Portugueses*, and we have an evident Proof of it in this our *Abyssinian Ethiopia*, which lying betwixt 8 and 17 Degrees of North Latitude, all under the Torrid Zone, is yet so far from being inhabitable for too much Heat, that it is generally as Cold and Temperate as *Portugal*, insomuch, that in many Parts they have none of our Summer Heats, nor are ever sensible of the furious scorching of the Dog-Days among us; but on the contrary they are more afraid of the Cold.

*Different
Winters in
Ethiopia.*

But as there is a great distance betwixt those Countries, so do the Climates vary. Hence it is, that the Maritime Parts of this Empire, as from *Mazua* to *Dangbali*, along the Red Sea, have their Winter in *December* and *January*, as it is in *Portugal*, and reaches 10 or 12 Leagues up the Inland, being very mild, without any sharp Cold or excessive Rain, as if Nature gave it the Rain-Water to moisten or fertilize the Land, and not to molest or trouble the Inhabitants. Farther up the Country there is no want of troublesome Rains, till you come to some high Mountains, call'd *Bizan*, two Days Journey short of *Debaroa*, where the Winter is from the 10th of *June* till the end of *September*; and thus *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda* says, he found it in all the Countries of this Empire he travell'd through: So that the Winter throughout all the Inland of *Ethiopia*, is in the same Months as it is on the Coast of *India*.

India from *Diu* to *Cape Comori*; and on the Coast of *Ethiopia* it is at the same time as in *Portugal*, whereas it is contrary on the Coasts of *Arabia*, lying from the Mouth of the Red-Sea, to the Islands of *Curia-Muria*, where the Winter is in *June, July, August* and *September*, as on the Coast of *India*; and up the Inland of *Arabia* it is in the Months of *November, December, January* and *February*, as in *Portugal*.

All the Emperor of *Ethiopia's* Dominions he now possesses are vast Mountains, except the Kingdom of *Dambee*, the greatest Part tains. whereof is Plain along the great Lake, and has rich Fields of Fat Fertile Land for about 20 Leagues in length, little more or less, and 4 or 5 in breadth. The other Kingdoms, viz. *Tigre, Begamder, Gojam, Amara*, and the Provinces of *Camen, Ogarà, Sagado, Holcait, Xasa* and *Holecà*, are almost continual Mountains of a prodigious Height, and it is rare to travel a Days Journey without meeting such steep, lofty and craggy Hills, that they are dreadful to behold, much more to pass over. All the Mountains in *Portugal* compar'd to those of *Ethiopia*, are meer Mole-Hills. Those who have cross'd the *Alps* and *Pyrenean* Mountains, and the *Apennine*, which cuts *Italy* in two, all of them so famous in *Europe*, and have seen those of *Ethiopia*, declare, the others are but easy and low Eminences to these last.

Thus Nature, which in several Places seems to sport, producing wonders, so here it works the same marvellous Effects in Mountains, far exceeding the highest Clouds, and in Valleys so deep, that they look as if they were going to hide themselves in the very Center of the Earth and lowest Abyss, and accordingly the first partake of the excessive Cold of the second and third Regions of the Air, and the latter of the Fire of Hell. Some of these Mountains, which the Natives call *Ambas*, stand by themselves apart from all others, are prodigious high, all upright, as if they had been hew'd with a Chissel, with only one or two ways to get up to them, with much difficulty, and on the top they have Water and a Plain, where the Inhabitants live, as it were in an impregnable Fortrels, erected by Providence for the Defence of the *Ethiopians*, who hitherto have not the Skill to make any Martial Works. There are many of these throughout all this Empire, but most of all in the Kingdom of *Amara*, which is now next to the *Gallas*, who would before now have made themselves Masters of it, were it not for the Retreat of these *Ambas*, or Fortresses made by Nature, without the help of Man.

It is wonderful to see these vast high Rocks, some of them like Pyramids, others round, as if they were turn'd at the Top and Bottom; others like square Towers, as handsomely wrought as if

they had been hew'd out, and were Natural Columns, boldly rising above the Clouds, as it were to support the Sky, as the Poets feign'd of *Atlas*.

*Lamalmon
and Guca
Mountains.*

The worst is, that very often in passing from one Kingdom to another, some of these Mountains must of necessity be cross'd, as happens in going from *Fremona*, which is almost in the middle of the Kingdom of *Tigre*, 45 Leagues from *Mazna*, to *Dancax* and *Dambea*, where among many other Mountains Travellers must cross one call'd *Lamalmon*, and before they come to the first ascent of that they are at the Foot of a vast high Mountain call'd *Guca*, which is as it were the Foundation or Pedestal of *Lamalmon*. It is half a Days Journey to ascend this Mountain, always rounding it, for it goes continually winding by very narrow Paths, cut along the side of the Hill, with such dreadful Depths and Precipices, either looking up or down, that if the Caravan ascending happens to meet with the other descending, unless they take special care where they set their Feet, they are absolutely lost, and tumble down those frightful Depths, beating the Travellers to pieces, and losing the Goods they carry. The Commodities they generally load are *India* Stuffs and Salt.

*Dreadful
deep Valleys.*

On the top of this Mountain *Guca*, is a large Plain above a League in compass, where the tir'd Travellers and Caravans rest themselves, the better to prosecute the rest of their Journey; for the next Day they enter upon a most tiresome Ridge, so sharp and narrow, that it is frightful to behold, much more to pass along it; being Perpendicular on both Sides, and the Valleys on either of them so wonderful deep, that the sight cannot reach the bottom of them. As soon as pass'd this Ridge, they are at the Foot of a Mountain, almost all of it made of one entire upright Rock, which rising out of the Ground, represents an excessive high and strong Bulwork. This is the most difficult Part of all the way, and yet Nature has provided a sort of Steps like Stairs, with windings both ways, but all extraordinary uncooth, and the Steps or Rocks sometimes two or three Cubits high; so that it is wonderful, that the Beasts of Burden can climb, and keep their Feet, tho' they are there unloaded; for in this Place there are abundance of People who live by taking the Burdens off the Beasts, till they pass those Difficulties.

*Frightful
Ascent.*

*Plain on the
Mount.*

This Mount is about 300 Fathom high, and on it Nature has made a very plain Flat, being about half a League in Compass, and a Musket-shot Diameter; and this Eminence they call by the Name of *Lamalmon*, representing in some measure a Chair without Arms, for the Rock on the highest Part of the Plain resembles the Back of the Chair, being as Perpendicular as if hew'd out with.

with a Chizze!; under which is that which answers to the Seat of this wonderful Chair, where there is a Town, safe enough against all Attacks of any Enemy, were it but as well provided with Necessaries for human Life; yet they have good Water, with which they make what amends they can for the want of Provisions, whereof there is no Plenty.

From this height is discover'd, almost all the Kingdom of *Tigre*, and towards the East appears a vast Chain of excessive high Mountains, running from this of *Lamalmon*, with another like it towards the North and North East, and all together making a great Bow, in the midst of which the Hills and Mountains of *Tigre*; tho' very high, look like inconsiderable Hillocks. Tho' the famous *Carthaginian Hannibal*, from the Top of the *Alps* encourag'd and comforted his Soldiers with the pleasing sight of the spacious and delightful Plains of *Italy*; here, on the contrary, the most covetous and ambitious Person, at the sight of these dismal Mountains, might well lay aside all Thoughts of subduing such un-
Chains of Mountains.
 ooth, such craggy and such dreadful Places, which as bad as they were to behold, are much more hideous to climb. And surely; yonly those, who, as the Prophet did, *Lift up their Eyes to the Hills from whence cometh their Help*, can with the sweet Thoughts of Heaven make those almost impassable Mountains of *Ethiopia* tolerable, as the Religious Men did. And I must confess I am so much out of Humour with the bare Relation, and so far distant view of one of these Mountains, that I forbear speaking of the others, which *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda* took the pains to describe, as having undergone the trouble of passing over them.

It follows next to say something of the Fertility of the Country, and Gold being esteem'd the most precious Product of the Earth, there are said to be very rich Mines of it in *Ethiopia*; it is most certain, at least, that many grave Authors are very free in bestowing abundance of such Mines on it; and many, believe there are really such Mines in *Ethiopia*, but that they will not have them discover'd, for fear lest their Fame should move the *Turk* to invade them, as he has already done more than once, and together with their Treasure, deprive them of their Liberty, which is more precious than Gold. Such is the vile nature of this Metal, that if you want it you are miserable, and if you have too much you are in Danger. The Gold they have at present is taken out of some Rivers in small Grains, like Seed-Pearl, and there is no other Money in the Country, especially for Strangers, but this Gold, which they dispose of by weight.

Gold in Ethiopia.

But

Iron, Lead,
and Salt.

But what they want in Gold, they have to spare in Iron, which has also its value; nor do they want Lead. Salt is their most general Commodity, and they have almost brought it to serve instead of Money, all other Goods being commonly sold for it at Fairs. This Salt is not like that we have in *Europe*, made of Sea-Water; but Providence has furnished them with inexhaustible Mines of it, being as it were Rocks of Salt on the Borders of the Kingdoms of *Tigre* and *Angoi*, from which they hew out Pieces like Bricks.

Fertility.

The Land, for the most Part, where it can be till'd, is very fruitfull, for in many Places, tho' the *Abyssinians* are not over industrious, it yields three Crops in a Year of Wheat, Barley and Millet, and many other sorts of Grain that grow in *Portugal*. There is great Plenty of a small Grain they call *Tef*, which is the proper Food of the Country, as natural to the Ground, and of sufficient Nourishment, and is so very small that one single Grain of Mustard-Seed will make ten of this *Tef*, tho' it is longish, but very thin and slender. Yet tho' the Soil be so Fertile, there is often Famine in *Ethiopia*, either caus'd by the Locusts, a frequent Plague there, or by the marching of Soldiers, from one Country to another, which is a worse Plague than the Locusts, because they only devour what they find in the Fields, whereas the others spare not what is laid up in the Houses.

Tef, a small
Grain.

Amadmago
and *Affazoc*,
Plants of great
Virtue.

All the Odoriferous and Medicinal Herbs that *Europe* produces are found here, and among them one they call *Amadmago*, which draws out the Splinters of broken Bones that remain loose in the Flesh. There is another Herb they call *Affazoc*, which has such Virtue against Poison, that the most Venomous Snakes touching it, are quite stupify'd and senseless; and what is yet more wonderful, the very shadow of it does not only scare away but benumbs any Snake; so that as *S. Peter's* shadow miraculously wrought Cures, this Plant naturally destroys Poison. Beside whosoever eats the Root of this Plant retains its Virtue for many Years, and may go among all sorts of Poisonous Snakes without fearing any Hurt from them; nay he has so much Power over them, that his very shadow stuns them.

Cotton, Sugar
Canes and
Fruits.

The Fathers of the Society write, that they often saw several *Abyssinians*, who had eaten these Roots, handle the most venomous Vipers, as if they had been Eels, and put them about their Necks, like Collars; and kill them when they pleas'd. The Country also produces much Cotton, growing on Shrubs, like those of *India*; abundance of *Senna*, *Lemons*, *Citrons*, *Oranges*, and *Figs* like ours. In some Parts there are good Pearls, especially in the Kingdom of *Dambee*, and to sweeten the want of other Fruits, which do not grow here, Providence has given it very large and well tasted

tasted Sugar Canes, particularly in the Islands of the Lake of *Dambea*. There are but few Grapes, which is no small dissatisfaction to those who have tasted the Juice they afford; however the Fathers always made some Wine there for Consecrating at Mass, and to drink some Months in the Year; but 'tis likely it was not much since *F. Emanuel Fernandez*, on the 10th of *June* 1568, writ to the Reverend Father General of the *Jesuits S. Francis de Borja*, that for want of it, he sent for Grapes and squeez'd them to say Mass with the Juice. Yet he adds, he had found by Experience it would keep, and in 20 Days was excellent Wine, which lasted almost a Year.

F. Peter Pays writes, that being at the Court of *Abyssinia*, in the Year 1604, and desired by the Emperor himself, to say Mass, he forbore, for want of Wine of Grapes, not one drop of it being found in all the Court. *F. Belchior da Sylva*, residing in *Ethiopia* as Vicar to the *Portugueses*, sent to consult the Divines at *Goa*, whether Mass might be said with Wine squeez'd out of Raisins? Whereas were there such Cisterns full of Wine as *F. Urreta* speaks of, there would be no occasion for putting that Question, or saying Mass with such Wine as he propos'd.

The *Enfete* is a Tree peculiar to *Ethiopia*, not unlike the *Indian Enfete-Tree*, or Fig-Tree, and growing so thick in the Body, that two Men can scarce Fathom it; when cut down close to the Ground, 5, or 700 and sometimes 1000 sprout out from it, I say when it is cut down, for it bears no other Fruit to Eat, being itself the Tree that grows, and the Fruit that is eaten, either cut out in Slices and boil'd, or the Leaves made into Meal for Pap, or Hasty-Pudding, which 'tis likely is not very well relish'd, tho' in some Parts it is the common Food of the Ordinary sort of People.

Ethiopia has all sorts of Tame Beasts that are common in *Europe*, *Tame Cattle*, as Horses, Mules, Cows, Oxen, and other Cattel in vast numbers, this being the Principal wealth of the Country, as it us'd to be in former Times, when the World, tho' it abounded not so much in Gold, was in the Golden Age; and it is very fine to see the mighty Herds of large Cows, and stately Oxen, grazing in the Fields, especially in the Kingdom of *Tigre* and Country of the *Ayans*.

They have abundance of noble Horses, and of the true Breed, Black, Roan, Bay, Grey, Dappled, Cream-colour'd, Pyebald, and others as Mettlesome and Sprightly, as the *Spanish Andalusians*, and when well manag'd they Gallop, Trot, Pace, Curvet and Wheel, as well as the best of ours. They make their Saddles very light and sure, all like our Manage-Saddles, but rising higher, both before and behind; their Stirrups very small; and the Stirrup-Leathers long; but they put only their Great Toe into the Stirrup,

... For the most part, the wild beasts are led, as the Lions and Tigers are, and are of a gentle, large and beautiful shape, but they are much more fierce than the *Jews*, and are much more dangerous; for it is plain to see that the Lions are not like the Lions of *Florida*, but are much more fierce.

There are also many other wild beasts, and no tame one was ever seen in the Kingdom. There are also Ounces, Wolves, Foxes, Jackals, and many other Creatures, some of which they breed, and some they hunt, but they never kill them much. In the Year 1600, a Christian man and a *Levy*, near *Maagoga*, in the Kingdom of *Tora*, which was Eight Canons long from the Tail of the Desert, and he and his men all were fighting him in a field, without any other weapon, but only two Horsemen Darts in the manner. The *Levy* Creature was so blooded with many Wounds, that he was killed, and the other Creatures in the Kingdom of *Tora*, which was thought necessary to use Art and many Devices, and many a malicious and dreadful Creature, for the purpose they did, a great Fox in the way of the Desert, and he came down from the Mountains. On a fine day, he and two Shepherds, who had just dug the Pit; he and the other, who was his Brother, to secure his skin, and he was the first, for he was ready to try what he could do, and he did, and when he could do no more, he was killed, and he was very noble. Having so said, a being so noble, he put himself into a Forture to receive his skin, and he was being done within the call of his Dart, and he was so noble, and with much Force, that he struck the *Levy* through the Neck, which made the Monster Roar, and his Mouth, and he jumped from side to side, till it fell into the Pit, that had been provided for that purpose; where the Victim was killed, and he was killed several Times with the other Darts, many Wounds being necessary to destroy so potent an Adversary till he made an end of the bloody Creature.

Wild Ass.

There are many sorts of Wild Beasts, which I do not mention because they are not very strange in their shape, and will speak two, which are more remarkable for their Rarity. The first that they call, the wild Ass, being as big as a good Mule, F. Sleek and well Shap'd, only the Ears disgracing it, and from the End the Name, tho' in all other Respects it deserves not to have a Denomination. It is wild, but easily tam'd, and what they are of them, are brought into *Ethiopia*, from certain Woods beyond the Countries the *Gallas* are at present possess'd of. T

most remarkable thing in them, is the Curiosity wherewith they are by Nature diversify'd, strip'd and painted, for across the Loins they have a black Circle, which is, as it were, the beginning and foundation of the rest, for both ways from it there run other Circles or Stripes intermix'd, the one Jet Black, the other Ash-colour'd, all of them so proportionable, so orderly, and uniform, so equal in breadth and so exact in length, that nothing can exceed it in the finest Painting. And as this Creature's Body either spreads on the Back, or contracts on the Neck, Head and Legs, so these Circles or Stripes go on proportionably, as if Nature, when most at leisure had undertaken to beautifie and set it off, to humble others which bear nobler Names, but are much inferior to it in Perfection. The Emperor *Sultan Segued*, sent one of these as a Present to a *Bassa of Snaqben*, of whom an *Indian Moor* bought it for 2000 *Chequins*, to carry it to the Great *Mogol*. *P. Emanuel d'Almeida* says, he prevail'd with the same Emperor to send another to the *Bassa of Snaqben*, for his Civility to the *Jesuits*, in their Passage; and he carry'd it to *Constantinople*, to the Great *Turk*, which gain'd him a favourable Reception and dispatch of his Business, by reason of the Rarity of the Present; for very often valuable Gifts go farther in dispatch of Affairs than good Service.

Here is another Creature they call *Giratacchem*, signifying *Giratac-*
Slender End, which seems to be the largest Creature on the Earth, *chem*, or
yet known, for it is much bigger than the Elephants, tho' not so *Struthio-Ga-*
pross of Body. Men mounted on good Horses easily pass under melus.
it; the Fore-legs being 12 Spins, or four Yards high, the Hind-
legs somewhat shorter; the Neck Proportionable and long to reach
the Ground and Graze, for that is its Food. I am of Opinion
this is the *Struthio-Camelus*, the Ancients speak of, for as they
Write, it is more like the Camel, than any other Creature. Thus
much of the Beasts of the Earth, the Fishes and Birds in *Ethiopia*
are almost the same as in *Europe*.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the several sorts of People in this Empire, of the Features, Inclinations, and Habit, and of some of their Customs, as to Eating, their Marriages and Behaviour towards the Dead.

Several Nations.

HAVING spoken briefly of the Climate, Product, and Animals of Ethiopia, we will now be more particular concerning the main point, which is the Men. These Countries are inhabited by great variety of People, *Christians, Mahometans, Jews and Gentiles*. These last for the most part live in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, and are some of them *Agans*, others *Gafars*, and many *Gallas*, to whom the Emperor himself has there given considerable Lands, as also in *Dambee*, to make use of them in his Wars, against other Races of *Gallas*, who are more Barbarous and his Enemies.

Jews.

There were always *Jews* in Ethiopia, from the Beginning, without including those who came with *Melileec*, and some of them have been converted to Christianity, and they formerly had large Possessions of Lands, almost all the Kingdom of *Dambee*, and the Provinces of *Ogara* and *Cemen*; but the Empire being now drawn into a narrower compass by the *Gallas*, the *Ethiopians* have straitened the *Jews*, and drove them out by Degrees. However in *Cemen* they defended themselves most courageously, being much assisted by the great Height and Cragginess of their Mountains; yet the Emperor *Sultan Segued* subdu'd them of late Years, so that the most and best of them being kill'd in sundry Encounters, such as remain'd submitted to the Will of the Conqueror, or dispers'd themselves into several Parts. Of these there are many in *Dambee*, some were baptiz'd and live by Weaving, or else by making of Darts, Plows, and other such like Necessaries, being great Smiths.

Another sort of them.

Besides, betwixt the Emperor's Dominions and the *Cafres* dwelling near the River *Nile*, and now free from any Subjection to the Empire, there are still many of these *Jews*, whom they there call *Falaxas*, which signifies, Strangers, and it may be suppos'd, they also came into Ethiopia out of the Captivity of *Salmanassar*, or afterwards, when they were expell'd, at the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus* and *Vespasian*, and therefore the *Abyssinians*, tho' many

many of them were also *Jews*, descended from those who came with *Melileec*, the Son of the Queen of *Sheba*, by *Salomon*, always treated them as Strangers, God so ordering, that they should have no settled Dwelling on the Earth, who would not receive the King of Heaven. These have still *Hebrew* Bibles, and sing the *Psalms* very scurvily in their Synagogues.

The next sort of People are *Mahometans*, who live throughout *Mahometans* all the Empire, intermixt with the Christians, and are almost the third Part of the Inhabitants of *Ethiopia*. Some of them live by Tillage, others are Factors, for no Christians being permitted to resort to the Sea-Ports, they are sole Masters of all the great Trade, and carry Gold to the Sea, whence in return, they bring Silks and Stuffs, and not being over Conscientious, they make their Advantage of this Factorship, getting Estates out of other Men's Goods.

As there are divers sorts of Nations, so is there also variety of Languages, for the *Moors* speak their own *Arabick*, the *Jews*, *Hebrew*, but with as much corruption in the Words, as there is in their Lives and Manners. They are moderate Eaters, but exceed in drinking, whether it be Wine, if they can come at it, or their Ale, call'd by them *Sava*, with quantity whereof they make amends for the want of better Liquor.

Almost all these People are understanding and of good Dispositions, not cruel or bloody, easie in forgiving of Wrongs, nor have they many fallings out among them; and what they have are seldom decided by the Sword; but for the most part by Cuffs and Cudgels. They are naturally very submissive to Reason and Justice, and consequently upon any Quarrel, as soon as ever they have done Cudgelling, they put the matter to a Reference, or say it before the Lord of the Place; both sides pleading by word of Mouth, without our Tedious Bills and Answers, which are so many Volumes of Cheat and Fraud, and when Judgment is given, they stand to it without any Muttering, Reply, Discontent, or Appeal, and so save all the Noise and Babbling of Lawyers and Costs of Sute.

In the Kingdom of *Tigre*, they are not so apt to forgive, if there be any Blood-shed; but if a Man chance to be kill'd, the Enmity continues betwixt the Kindred of the Dead Man, and the Party who kill'd him for many Years; which they call having Blood betwixt them, and therefore that of the Slain, is not wash'd away, but by all that of the Sayer, or much of his Friends and Relations. They are not free from Malice; and are generally light and unsteady, which is of very ill Consequence, and appear'd in their changing to and from the Catholick Faith, as we

shall see hereafter. They are apt to Swear, and as ready to break their Oaths; and this Inconstancy, is the occasion of their frequent Rebellions, where the Mutinous have the Remedy at hand, for if they miscarry, they beg the Emperors Pardon, who readily grants it, and they are as good Friends as before, tho' the offence be never so heinous.

Habit, and
Beds:

A word now of their Habit. Within less than 60 Years last past, none but the Emperor, and some of his Kindred and Favourites, were allow'd to wear any thing but Breeches, and a Piece of Cloth they cover themselves with, and serves for many uses; for in the Day Time it is a Cloak, and at Night a Blanket and Sheet, their Bed generally being only a Hide, they call *Nete*, which is instead of a Quilt. There is something more of Curiosity in the Boustler or Pillow, which is a sort of Wooden Fork call'd *Bercuta*, whereon they rest not their Head, which lies hollow, but the Neck, and this they do to avoid lying upon their Hair, it being curiously dress'd, as we shall see. This is hitherto the usual Bed of all the greater number, and even considerable People; tho' of late some of the Prime Men have got their corded Couches, on which they lay the aforesaid Hides, and some of the Princes and greatest Lords have *India* Quilts, brought them from the Ports of the Red Sea, with Silk Borders to them, and those who have two or three of these, keep their Beds in their outward Rooms, for the Couches serve them instead of Chairs, and on them they lay the two Quilts, that both may be seen plainly, the Border of the one hanging down below the other, so exposing both to view, for the Grandeur of that Couch, like the Man *Martial* speaks of, who endur'd the Distemper of his Body, to show the Richness of his Bed.

Habit of the
better sort.

The Breeches and Piece of Cloth I mention'd above, are at present the Habit of the common sort; those who are better to pass wear a sort of *Indian Banyan's* Vest, not quite open, but only to the Waist, and clos'd with small Buttons. They have little Collars, and the Sleeves very straight and long, so that they lie in gathers on the Arms, and these they call Shirts, tho' in reality they are not so: They are generally made of a sort of *Cambaya* Callicoes, or of a blue Stuff brought from thence, like a Fustian; and over them they wear fine *Ethiopian* Cloth, or Silk, sew'd together in the middle, without any other Fashion. Some of the richer great Men, make those Shirts of Taffeta, or Sattin, or Damask, and have *Turkish* Vests of Velvet, or Brocard of *Mecca*, and these wear no Cloth over them, that they may show their Silk.

The

The Breeches worn by the prime Men of Quality, are after *Breeches*, the *Moorish* Fashion, reaching down to their Feet and wrinkled, and these from the Knee downward are made of Damask or Velvet; but all above that being hid under the Velt, they all, and even the Emperor himself, agree it is so much Silk lost, and therefore they make them of coarse Cloth, which is often seen as they sit down; but they never trouble themselves about such Niceties; so free are they from that Vanity, which reigns among us, of wearing Silks upon Silks, some outwardly for Ostentation, and others underneath meerly for Superfluity. But these Breeches of the better sort are close, so those of the other People are after the old Fashion, as wide at bottom as at the Top, which is very cumbersome, and thus they are generally very ill dress'd and awkward.

We must speak one word of their Hair, which is the cover-*Dressing of* ing for the Head, both of Men and Women, and which they *Hair* value themselves upon. They let it grow, tho' it will not be of any great length, but being frizly and thin, they have many ways of ordering it, especially the Men, for the Women leave all loose but the fore part, whereas the Men braid and make it up after several Fashions; and to this purpose they keep it well damb'd with Butter, which is all the sweet Essence and Perfume they have, never regarding, as we do, that strong Scent of greasie Hair, full of Dust. And those People having much idle Time, they spend the greatest part of the Day in that Employment; but we have little occasion now to reflect upon the *Ethiopians* on this account, when so many Hours are among us sacrific'd to such Follies.

In Company was ever reckon'd a contagious Distemper, which easily infects those who are near it, and if this be of long standing, it is not easily to be cur'd. The *Abyssinians* live among *Mahometans* and *Gentiles* and their Errors are of that sort the Prophet speaks of, when he says, *They are estranged from the Womb*, Psalm 58. and 3. for as we shall see hereafter, before they became Christians, they observ'd the Law of *Moses*, and since they embrac'd the Faith of *Christ*, they never sincerely re-bounc'd the *Jewish* Perverseness; whence it comes, that they Circumcise themselves to this Day, as the *Mahometans* do, who live among them, and even the *Gentiles* of *Ethiopia*, that they may not be affronted with the Name of Uncircumcised. *Errors of Ethiopians.*

And even in the manner of Baptizing their Children they conform'd to what the Old Law prescrib'd to Women, touching their coming to the Temple to be purify'd; for they Christen'd the Males on the 40th Day, and the Females on the 80th, nor would they *Baptism.*

they admit them to Baptism before those Days, even in case of Necessity; nay, at the Time when they receiv'd the Faith of Rome by the preaching of the Fathers of the Society, they very unwillingly forbore Circumcision, so prevalent are ill Customs when they have once taken Root.

Sitting and
Eating.

They generally sit on the Ground; the Great Men on Carpets, and the rest on Mats, and therefore their Tables are low, and all round, on which they have no Table-Cloths, much less any Napkins; but they wipe their Fingers on *Apas*, which is a sort of Bread they make of several sorts of Meal, as Wheat, Millet and Peas. The Table is cover'd with these *Apas*, and on them, without any other Plates or Dishes, the Meat is laid, whether it be Roast or Raw, as they Eat it; but if they happen to have any Hen or Mutton Broth, or their usual Pap, wherein they dip their *Apas*, these Things are serv'd up in Black Earthen Porringers, cover'd with those they call *Escambias*, being like Caps made of fine Straw; and this is the usual Service at all, and even the Emperor's Table: So that what was look'd upon as a Rarity in *Sicily*, at the Table of King *Agathocles*, who valu'd himself upon Eating out of Earthen Ware, is here usual at the Table of these Emperors, with only this difference, that *Agathocles*, tho' he had much Gold was serv'd in Earthen Ware, in Memory of his Father, who had been a Potter; whereas these who think themselves to exceed the Sun in Nobility, delight in Gold, but Eat out of Earthen Ware.

Raw Beef
Season.

They always Eat Beef raw, and call it *Berindé*, this being the Meat they most delight in, which they Salt and Pepper very well, if they have it; and the better sort, if they can get the Gaul of the Beast that is kill'd, think they have a great Dainty. To make the most of that delicious Sauce, they beat the Piece of Beef they have before them very well, and squeeze out that Savoury Juice on it, and when well soak'd in, they Eat it, and their Palate is so Enur'd to that Gaul, that nothing relishes better with them. But they find yet another stranger Dainty in the Beast, which is taken from the finest Part of the Filth in the Guts, season'd with Salt and Pepper, which serves them instead of the best Mustard, and is reckon'd a most curious Sauce, call'd by them *Manta*; but only Princes and very great Persons can attain this Royal Dish, because it requires much Pepper, which all Men have not.

Women grind
the Corn.

As plain and as ordinary as these their Dishes are, it costs them no small Pains to Dress them; for having no Mills, they are fain to grind all Things by Hand, which Work is so peculiar to the Women, that even the meanest Male Slaves will not do it upon any Account. A Woman Grinds as much daily as will make 40 or 50 *Apas*, which

which must be made every Day, for they are good for nothing the Day after, and consequently it is a great Toil, and requires many Slaves and much Wood, to make the *Apas* they Eat and the Ale they Drink. These are the Mills one boasted of, saying, that the Emperor had 500 of them in his Camp, and he might well have said 3000, for it plainly appears this proceeds from want of Industry, rather than Grandeur.

Their Wine is none of the celebrated *Chios* or *Falernum*, but *Liquor*: made of 5 or 6 Parts Water put into a Jar, with one part of Honey, and a handful of parch'd Barley, which makes it ferment; then they add some Bits of a sort of Wood they call *Sardo*, which so qualifies it, that in 5 or 6 Days it loses the sulsomenels of the Honey, and tho' it be not so well tasted as our Wine, is more wholesome. They never Drink whilst they are Eating, but after all is taken away, as many of the Antients us'd to do, who brought in the Goblets when the Dishes were remov'd, and this the *Ethiopians* do to such excess, that it is wonderful to think how they can hold so much; so that, tho' this Wine is very weak, yet the quantity makes it have the same Effect as the best in *Europe*, for turning the Brain, making the Tongue run, and weakning the Legs.

As for their Marriages, they contracted them till our Days, in such manner, that they were not really valid, because they did it with a *tacit*, or express Consent, that they might part whensoever the Man and Wife happen'd to disagree, and they there gave Security for Performance. The Principal Motives for parting were the Breach of Matrimonial Vows on either side, want of Children, or Strife among themselves, and this last being very frequent among Married People, Divorces are as common. But as to the Point of Breach of Faith they easily reconcil'd it, the Offender giving some of his Goods to the Party wrong'd, and hence it is, that Married People have each of them their own Chattels and their Lands apart, and if they Eat together, each brings what they have dress'd, such are their Marriages. *Marriages*

The Reconciliation is not so easy, if the Quarrel be on account of Dislike, or Contention at Home: In this Case they repair to the Judge, to whom these Causes belong, and there being only a Verbal Process it is soon decided, and as soon as Judgment given, they are both Free and may Marry where they please, so that the *Ethiopians* are sooner reconcil'd to a Wife defam'd by Adultery, than to a peevish one. The *Jesuits* took no small Pains to reduce these People to contract Marriages after the true Catholick manner, by reason this Error had prevail'd for so many Ages, and this was one of the Causes why they afterwards fell off. *Divorces*

They

Duties to the Dead.

They bewail their Dead for many Days together, begin their Lamentations very early in the Morning, and hold it till the Day is far advanc'd. There the Parents, Kindred, Friends of the Party deceas'd meet, with many Women More like the ancient *Præfice*, among the *Greeks* and *Romans* who hir'd for the Solemnity of that Lamentation, which among *Abyssinians* is done to the Beat of Drums, clapping their hands striking their Breasts and Faces, and uttering such dismal expressions, in a doleful Tone, that they torment the Heart, grieve the Heart. They bring to the Place of Mourning the Persons Horse, if he had any, his Launce, his Shield, his Carabine and other Weapons. They bury the Dead in the Churches, make their Offerings to the Clergy, who say their Psalms and other Prayers for them. They also make Offerings to the Church and bestow Alms on the Poor, killing Cows to divide among them, with abundance of *Apas* and Wine, which they do on the 3d, the 7th, the 30th and the 40th Days, and at the Year's end and yet they deny'd Purgatory, but were easily convinc'd by their own Prayers and Alms offer'd for the Dead.

Lamentations

When they receive the News of the Death of any near Relation, or of their Lord, or their Lord's Son, or Daughter, immediately cast themselves on the Ground, with such falls that some die of them, others are maim'd, and others off with broken Heads, Arms, or Legs. Those who do not cast themselves on the Ground, are look'd upon as disaffected to the Deceas'd: The *Gafases* instead of falling down, beat themselves and wound their Heads and Arms, of which Follies know not which is the most tolerable.

CH A P. IX.

Of the Custom observ'd by the Abyssine Emperors, of keeping their Sons in the Fortrefs of Amba-Guexen; the Description of that Place, and of the Ceremonies us'd in taking them out from thence to be promoted to the Throne.

AMong the other most remarkable Customs in *Ethiopia*, there was one relating to the Emperor's Sons, which being very singular, shall be here taken notice of. About the Year 1260, an Emperor call'd *Ighun Amalac*, who then reign'd in *Ethiopia* had Five Sons, or Nine according to others, to whom the Father, before his Death, very earnestly recommended Unity among themselves, and being willing to leave them equal in their Inheritance, since they were equal in Parentage, order'd they should all Reign alternatively, every one his Year, beginning with the Eldest, and so descending, according to their Ages. So they did for some Years, but not many, for the World was always the same, and there is none that will admit of any Partner in Empire, because Majesty is not divisible, as has been found by Experience. *Occasion im-
prisoning of
Princes.*

Accordingly it hapned, that the Youngest of these Princes had not Patience enough to wait so long for his Year of Government. His Name was *Free-Hecan*, and he was the more provok'd to see that those who had govern'd did Eat together at the same Table, and he with the rest, whose turn of ruling was not yet come, were left to the second Table, and were to go out into another Room to wash their Hands, because it is look'd upon as ill manners in *Ethiopia* to wash their Hands before their Betters. These things put the Prince upon contriving, how he might once come by the Empire, without being subject to such Changes and alternating. These Thoughts possessing his Breast, he could not rest, but not knowing how to ascend the Throne sooner, he resolv'd that when his turn came, he would put an end to that Ceremony of Annual Government, like that the *Greeks* seign'd of the *Theban* Brothers.

It being very hard to conceal a mighty Design, without imparting it to somebody; this Prince at length communicated his Resolution to a Friend, acquainting him in Secret, That when it was his Year to Reign, he would seize all his Brothers, and put

them into a very strong *Amba*, being one of those naturall tresses we have before spok'n of, where he would secure them ever coming out, that so he might perpetuate the Empire in self. There is no Secret that deserves the Name, after it has broke out of the Breast where it lay conceal'd; nor is there Cause to complain of being betray'd by another, when a could not keep his own Secret. The unfortunate *Free-Hocan* taken in his own Snare, like the improvident Person the Poet speaks of, who fell into the Pit he had made, *Psal. 7. 16.*

It happened that the Friend he entrusted, immediately acquainted the Brother then reigning with the Secret. He considering the Danger he was in, and liking the Contrivance, concluded the natural Fortreis of *Amba Guexen*, was very fit for that purpose, and before he could be seized himself, clapt up not only protecting Brother, but all the rest with him; and soon after his own Sons into the same Place, for Ambition is jealous of them, as was seen formerly in *Herod*, and at this Day in Barbarous Custom observ'd by the *Ottoman* Family, and many other wicked Tyrants, who think not any Power secure, unless be cemented with Blood. Mercator in his Map of *Ethiopia*, *Johnson* in his, call this Mountain where the Princes were *Amara*, but they were misinform'd, for the Name of it is *A Guexen*, tho' the Kingdom it stands in is *Amara*.

That Custom
avowed.

This Custom was observ'd in *Ethiopia* for 200 and odd Years till the Emperor *Nahod*, Father to *Onac-Segued*, who was last Prince of that Country, that came out of the Penitential of *Amba-Guexen*, broke it off, upon the following occasion. He had a Son, he reigned on betwixt Eight and Nine Years of This innocent Child being one Day by his Father, a great of the Court, who was a Privy Councillor, and happen'd present, said to the Emperor, Sir, *this Child is grown very big*; he who was no Child in Capacity, understanding what Councillor's Observation tended to, and as it were struck to Heart with the Expression, fixing his Eyes full of Tears on Father, said, *What, am I grown up for Amba-Guexen?* Those words so sensibly affected the Emperor, that assembling the Men of his Court and Privy Councillors immediately, he an Oath in their Presence, and made them Swear, that no Son his, or any other Emperor should ever be put into that Prison and this has been punctually observ'd ever since, as the Fathers who have been in *Ethiopia* do testify, and that the Emperor *S Segued*, who died in the Year 1632, as we shall see hereafter had several Sons, and never-thought of shutting them up in
Pr

Prison, that Custom of confining the Princes being wholly abolished.

This is the Reason, the greatest Statesmen agree in this Point *Wicked Po-*
of Politicks, that a King in many Cases, is to behave himself, *liey.*
even towards his own Children, rather as a publick Person, than
as a Father; and tho' innocent Princes suffer in that Place, yet
when the Distemper is dangerous, it is allow'd to cut off a Limb,
rather than hazard the whole Body, notwithstanding the Mem-
ber must be taken off where it is found; for *Tacitus An. lib. 14.*
well observes, great Evils can scarce be redress'd without some
Injustice, but the publick Advantage makes amends for the wrong
done to private Persons. So that considering the Inconstancy of
the *Abyssinians*, and their Aptness to set up new Princes, pro-
vided they be of the Blood Royal, it was a very prudent Practice
to keep them so confin'd, tho' very uneasy to them.

We will now describe the Place, where those unfortunate
Princes were shut up. On the Borders of the Kingdom of *Ama-*
hara, next to that of *Xaqa*, stands that *Amba*; which they call *Amba-Guex-*
Guexen, being an impregnable Mountain, Perpendicular, like a
natural Fortrefs of solid Rock. The breadth of it on the top,
along the Slope of the Rock, may be about half a League, but
at the Foot it is half a Days Journey about. The Height is so
great, that a Stone cast out of sling by the strongest Arm, will
not reach the top. The Ascent, tho' not so difficult at first,
afterwards grows so painful, that even the Cows, which in this
Country skip like Goats, cannot get up, or down, unless hoist-
ed with Ropes, or Thongs. At the top of this way stood a House
built with Stone and Clay, and Thatch'd, like all others, being
the Habitation of the Guards of those wretched Princes, who
liv'd there as if they had been Enchanted. In the midst of the
Plain, on the top, there are two Pools, being the Work of Na-
ture, with Springs of their own, one of which serves to drink
and the other for washing.

To render this Prison yet more intolerable, it is to be observ'd, *Its Barreness.*
that the Country being all craggy, there is no Fruit-Tree to be
found throughout it, nor any other, except some Wild Cedars,
and a few Shrubs and Bushes, no other sort growing there to
sweeten the Bitterness of that Confinement. Close by one of
those Pools, a Hill rises, on which there are two Churches, the
one Dedicated to God the Father, the other under the Invocation
of the Blessed Virgin. Near to them live some of their Religious
Men, and some *Depteras*, who are as it were Canons, or bene-
fic'd Clergy-men and Chanters of the said Churches. Formerly
there were about 14 of those Religious Men, there are still Six or

Seven, and Domestic, having Families of Wives and Children, and
 a few more Penitents.

How they were
kept for 2-3
years. By what has been said, it sufficiently appears that the Retreat
 of the *Amha Gersam* was very comfortable; yet there the Poor Prince
 received two long little Houses of Stone and Clay, lin'd on the
 Inside with Straw. At the first shutting of them up there, the
 were promised the 3d part of the Revenues of all the Empire
 but were deceiv'd; then, now said it is to promise that which
 never design'd to be perform'd; for they had only some Lands
 about their Prison assign'd them.

How rigid
the Prisons There also liv'd three Persons of Note on *Amba-Guxen*, and
 others near to it, who watch'd one another, being as it were their
 Stewards, and at the same time watch'd and observ'd them so
 strictly, that no Creature whatsoever was permitted to come near,
 nor was there any Message, or Letter deliver'd to them, but what
 was first examin'd by these severe Goalers, who, pursuant to the
 severe Rules there observ'd, kept these distressed Penitents so much
 under, that they would not allow them to wear any better Cloaths
 than the ordinary, which were of Cotton, for fear lest the mend-
 ing of their Garb should inspire them with greater Thoughts.

An Instance
of it. It was there reported, touching this Point, that one of these
 nice Guards seeing one of the Princes better clad than was allow'd
 by the Rigour of the Law, he not only reprov'd him and acquaint-
 ed his Father, but it seems he lay'd violent Hands on him, that
 it might be a warning to him never to think of such Cloaths any
 more, unless he would have the Scams so settled again. It hap-
 pened, that a few Years after, that same Prince came to be Em-
 peror, and the Keeper remembering what he had done, took care
 to secure himself, for fear of falling into his Hands whom he had
 so roughly handled. But the Emperor, who had not forgot how
 he had been treated, caus'd him to be sought out and brought
 before him; and he full of Dread and Apprehension, cast him-
 self at his Prince's Feet, begging Pardon for his Offence. The
 Emperor bid him rise, and caus'd him to be Richly clad, in re-
 turn for the good Cloaths he had forbid him, giving him a Gold
 Bracelet of great Value, and saying, *You did your Duty well, and*
serv'd your Master faithfully, go back to your Employment and ex-
ecute it with the same Zeal. This Emperor doubtless acted like a
 Discreet and not a revengeful Man; yet this Passage show'd, how
 natural it is for Men to alter their Minds, as they change their
 Conditions; for he thought it fit to have others treated in the
 same manner as he had mistak'd himself.

What:

hat has been here said, plainly shews the Hardships were gone in that Confinement, whercof nevertheleſs *F. Uireta* ſo many Fables, as if he would perſwade us there had another Terreſtrial Paradise conceal'd in that Place, but ſo the real Truth we have here deliver'd, as many Religious of the Society teſtifie, and may be ſeen in *F. Francis Al-* ſo's Book, chap. 56. And *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda*, who actu- ſaw what we here deſcribe, adds, that if this *Amba* be com- to many others there are in *Ethiopia*, there will be above ound that exceed it in all Points, as being much higher and difficult of Acceſs, having more and better Water within , and containing larger and more fruitful Fields, for thoſe his *Amba* produce nothing but Beans, Barley, and ſome at ; whereas others are much more fertile and better; all that this more or leſs fortunate, was its being the appointed n for thoſe innocent Penitents, which cauſ'd it to be more talk'd ch in *Ethiopia* and without it.

e will next relate, in what manner they drew out of this of Captivity, the Prince that was to ſucceed the Emperor ſaid, which was done after long Conſultation, and much en- making out the made into the Behaviour of him that was to be Enthron'd. Prince to be on as it was reſolv'd, which of them it was to be, the Go- Enthron'd. or Vice-Roy of the Kingdom of *Tigre* march'd with ſome s, and encamp'd at the Foot of the *Amba*, then he and the ipal Men preſent went up, and entring the Cell of the e they had pitch'd upon, put a ſort of Gold Pendant into ar, which they call *Belul*, and was the Token of his Em- m. This done they ſent word to the other Princes; who ret there to own the new Emperor and Congratulate him; h they could not but do with much Regret, ſince all of expecting ſome happy Hour to be deliver'd from that istory, they ſaw one go out to Reign, whilst they were con- d in Miſery, without any hopes of finding the leaſt Com- ation for Sighs and Tears.

e new Emperor being gone down, the Governors march'd with all the Army to meet him, and as ſoon as they came alighted all together, upon a Signal by him given, mount- His Coronation. ain, and taking him into the midſt of them, conducted him abundance of Muſical Inſtruments, as Drums, Waites, Kettle-Drums, and many other Tokens of Joy, after the er of the Country, to his Royal Tent, which they call *De-* where he alighted within, and all the reſt without it. a dignify'd Clergy-man, whom they call *Seraie Macare*, ad- ed him with Sweet-Oyl, whilst the others Sang *Pſalms*.

This

This done, they clad him in the Royal Robes, and plac'd on his Head the Crown, consisting of several Pieces of Gold and Silver, fix'd on a Thing like a Hat, on the top whereof was a Cross. Next they put a naked Sword into his Hand to denote Justice, and seated him on the Regal Throne. Then the *Ker Acc*, who is his first Chaplain got up on a high Place and made Proclamation, *We have caused such a one to Reign.* As soon as this was heard, the Standers by and all the Army and other People, made great Acclamations of Joy, and all came in order to kiss his Hand.

F. Urreta
condemned.

This is the Truth of what was practis'd touching the Confinement of the Princes of *Ethiopia* and the Election of their Emperors; and all the rest that was invented and Printed by F. Urreta, is to be look'd upon as the Product of a Head bent towards making of Fables, and fruitful in Fictions. Unless it be that the said Author intended to show the World how such an Election ought to be manag'd, assigning Rules and Ceremonies for the performing of it, as was done by *Xenophon*, who writ the Life of his renowned *Cyrus*, not as he really liv'd, but as he ought to have done; to give the World a Pattern of an accomplish'd Prince, as there had been many of Tyrannical Kings.

C H A P. X.

The manner how these Emperors take and declare their Empresses, and of the Government of the Abyssine Empire.

*Polygamy of
the Emperors.*

THE Common Enemy of Mankind has always endeavour'd to introduce Looseness of Life and Behaviour in all Parts, where Ignorance in Matters of Faith has prevail'd. In *Ethiopia*, as well as many other Parts of the World, the ill Custom has always been practiz'd from great Antiquity, of the Emperors having several Wives, all of them reputed Lawful, besides others unlawful; which evil Custom is to ancient in this *Ethiopia*, that it seems to have been brought by *Meliseec* from *Jerusalem*, as learnt of his Father *Solomon*, when he went thither to visit him, as shall be said hereafter.

And

And notwithstanding *F. Francis Alvarez* writes of the Emperor *Fran. Alva-Onag Segued*, who was first call'd *David*, in whose Days the said *rez contra-* Father went into that Country, that he had not many Wives, *dicted.* either the Father was misinform'd, or this might be so when he arriv'd there; for it is evident by the Account the Fathers of the Society had several Times from the excellent Prince *Raz Sella Christor*, of whom we shall often have occasion to speak, that he had many, and some of them Gentiles, to please whom, like his Ancestor *Solomon*, he consented to have Idols for them in his Court: So that on one side was the Church of God, and on the other the Heathen *Pagod*, so vilely are they mislead, who having the Regal Power, suffer themselves to be blinded by Affection.

As for those Emperors marrying the Daughters of *Mahometan* *Pagan* Kings, or other Great Men, causing them first to be Bap- *Those Empe-* tized, it was so common, that even King *James*, brought one, *rors marry'd* the Daughter to the *Moorish* King of *Adea*, with a design to Marry of *the Daughters* her, and treated her as a Wife, but that he dy'd before they were *of Mahome-* united by Matrimony, as is testify'd by *F. Peter Pays*, who was *tans and* then at the Court.

Those they generally marry'd were the Daughters of Subjects of Noble Families, whereof there are many in the Kingdom of *Tigre* and some other Provinces; yet sometimes they did not Regard their Quality, but rather their Natural Endowments, saying, that the Wives Birth adds nothing to the Emperor, and she is sufficiently ennobled by being prefer'd to his Bed. When any of these Ladies was pitch'd upon, she was brought to Court, and there *Their Nupti-* kept in the House of some of the Emperors Kindred, that they *als.* might be the better acquainted with her good Qualities. Being satisfy'd as to them, the Emperor and she went together to Church on a *Sunday*, to hear Mass and receive the Blessed Sacrament, all the Court being in their best Apparel upon that Occasion. From the Church they both return'd to the Palace, where the *Abana*, who is as it were their chief Bishop, us'd to perform the Matrimonial Ceremonies. Then the Emperor din'd at his Table alone, as he always does, without being seen by any Body, as will be declared hereafter: The Queen din'd in another Room with many Ladies, and the Clergy-men and *Depteras* were nobly treated in others.

This is as to Eating, for in order to Drink they all constantly meet every Day, tho' at great Entertainments there is more plenty of Wine and a greater number of Guests. The Custom as to this particular is, to place in the middle of the Imperial Chamber many Pots of Liquor, leaning against certain Wreaths of Straw, for the easier pouring of it out, and the Cups go round, begin- *The Entert-* *tainments:*
ing

ning with the Emperor and Empress, both which have a Curtain drawn before them when they Drink, that they may not be seen, and so down to the rest, according to their Quahry. Whilst they Drink, and sometimes with the Cup in their Hands, they Discourse and tell several Stories, as long as the Liquor lasts; for as soon as that is out, there is an end of the Company; but it seldom fails in the King's Lodgings till the Night is well advanced and Sleep comes on, when every one drops where he is, and so the Feast ends, but there is no Liquor left.

The Empress's Title. Thus the Nuptial Solemnity concludes; but the Empress has not yet the Title of *Atigne*, which is her Highness, or Majesty. In order to receive this Title, some Days or Months after, as the Emperor pleases, the Queen comes from her House to the Palace, for her House is always separated from his, and within another Enclosure, tho' near at Hand, and sitting down near the Emperor's Throne, which is his Couch, on a Step somewhat high, she is there clad in rich Apparell, and then one of the Principal dignify'd Clergy-men in the Court goes out into the Court, and standing upon a Chair as making Proclamation, utters these Words with a loud Voice: *Anagafna Danguccera Chem*; which signify, *We have caus'd our Slave to Reign*: Which all the People present answer with loud Acclamations, and from thence forwards they give her the Title of *Ethié*, or Highness.

Empress Dowager honour'd.

It is to be observ'd, that as long as the Emperor's Mother lives, if she was Empress and Wife to the Emperor deceas'd, the Wife of the Emperor actually Reigning is not call'd *Ethié*, but that Honour is always given to the Old One; insomuch, that not only the Wife of the new Emperor, but he himself, tho' he be not her Son, calls her Mother, and Honours her as if she were really so.

Great Men all Deacons.

They never Crown her, nor was it ever practis'd with any Queen of *Ethiopia*. As for a Scepter, the Emperors themselves use none; and as for what some have said, that a Cross was the Scepter of the Emperors of *Ethiopia*, it was a mistake; for tho' they carry'd a little Cross in their Hands, they did it not as a Token of Empire, but of their being Deacons, which Order they all of them receiv'd, as did most of the Great Men, that they might not in the Churches be left without the Curtains, or Chappels, as Lay-Men are always, and Communicate there, but that they might go in and receive with the Clergy.

That sort of Proclamation above mention'd, *viz. We have caus'd our Slave to Reign*, may seem odd to any Stranger; but is so usual in *Ethiopia*, that whatsoever the Emperor bestows on any Man, perors Slaves, tho' it be one of his own Brothers, any Employment, which they call

call *Xumete*, the Honour is always attended with that great Expression: *We have constituted such a One our Slave, Viceroy, or Governor, of such a Kingdom, or such a Province.* These are the Words of the Proclamation. They tell us of a *Portuguese* among the *Abyssinians*, who having receiv'd some such Honour from the Emperor, and not liking the Title of Slave to the Monarch of *Ethiopia*, being born in a Country where the Kings call their Subjects Children, he offer'd a great Sum to the Cryer, that he might not call him Slave, but barely such a one, which the Officer durst not do; and the Reason of it is, because the Emperor looks upon them all as Slaves, and they do not think it any undervaluing of them to be so.

There is but one only Sovereign who Rules and Governs in the Provinces and Kingdoms we have said belong to this Empire, nor has he any other King under him; for he of *Dancali*, who is a *Mahometan*, and he of *Gingiro*, who is a *Heathen*, are not properly Subjects, nor pay any Tribute to the Emperor, tho' as to a powerful Neighbour they respect and in some manner acknowledge him for their Superior. He takes and gives all the Lands at Pleasure; yet in the Kingdom of *Tigre* particularly, there are some, the Dominion whereof he never takes from certain Families, descended from the ancient Possessors. Such are those of the *Barnagies*, and the *Xumos*, or Governors of *Seraoé*, *Syré*, *Temben* and others. So in *Dambea*, the Power of the *Cantiba* never departs from the Race of the ancient Possessors; but the Emperor once in two Years, or every Year, or half Year, takes these Commands from some Persons, and bestows them on others of the same Families, according to their Merits, or his Pleasure.

The worst of it is, that not only these but all other Governments in his Kingdoms and Provinces, are rather sold than given; for no Man has them without paying down as much as he expects he can make by them and be a Gainer. Now the Candidates being many, they generally carry the Posts who bid most, and thus they give more than they are honestly worth; so that to save themselves they devour the People, and sell inferior Posts and Commands to the highest Bidders; and thus all Things here are expos'd to Sale; and these Great Men being Lords and Judges, and having absolute Power over the Lives and Fortunes of the Subjects, they are generally more like Robbers than Governours.

It is true there lies an Appeal from them to the Supreme Courts and the Emperor, but there are few that dare Appeal, which is declaring themselves the Governor's or Viceroy's Enemies, and then they fear he may find some specious pretence to undo them. When the Governor's Command is expir'd, which should seem to

All Lands at his disposal.

All Commands sold.

No Redress against Oppressors.

H

be

be a proper Time to bring in any Complaint against him, either by Favour or Corruption he prevails with the Emperor to put out a Proclamation against laying any such Information against him, or any of his Family for any thing they have done: And thus by means of this Jubilee, and entire Remission of theirs and the Sins of others, all the Outrages and Extortions committed are bury'd in Oblivion. This is all the Account those Governors are call'd to for their Administration, and so establish'd among them, that they look upon it as no Sin, or take any Care to Redress it; but if any one is scandaliz'd at it, they say, This same is and ever was the Form of Government in their Country, and it will cause great Troubles to alter it; so tenacious are Men of ancient Customs, that they will rather be in the wrong their own way, than stand corrected by others.

*Beteudets,
Prime Ministers
suppress'd*

There was formerly under the Emperor a high Dignity the call'd *Beteudet*, which imports, the Beloved, or the Favourite, and there were two so honour'd, the one of the Left and the other of the Right Hand. These two had all the Power of Government, for the Emperor spoke to no Man, nor would he suffer himself to be seen but by very few; and those two *Beteudets* did all Things. But of late Years the Emperors are grown more familiar, and suffer themselves to be seen and talk'd to by all Men; by which means they have found they had no use for that high Dignity, because the two *Beteudets* were Kings, and the Emperor had only the Name, for which Reason they suppress'd the Charge; instead whereof they constituted another call'd *Raz*, which signifies Head; because he who has that Employment is next the Emperor, Head of all the great Men in the Empire; he is first Counsellor and Prime Minister, both in Civil and Military Affairs, and is Generalissimo, as Commanding for the most Part in all Wars of any Moment.

*Raz now
Prime Minister.*

Lord Steward. Next under him is another they call *Bellatinoche Goyta*, which signifies Lord of the Servants, being like a Lord Steward, and he has Power over all Viceroys, Generals, *Xumos*, or Governors, and over the *Azages*, and *Umbares*, who are the Judges of the Empire. There is another at Court call'd *Tekache Bellatinoche Goyta*, signifying, Lord of the Lesser Servants, or an under Steward, who only commands the Household Servants, which are all mean; for the Emperor is far from being serv'd by the Sons of Kings, as *Urreia* feign'd, whereof there are none in the Empire, but even not by those of good honest substantial People, for he has none but Slaves of several sorts; some of them *Agas*, others *Gonga's*, and others *Cafres*, or *Ballons*; yet these he often makes *Xumos*, and raises them to the greatest Employments at Court. Nor is this any way reflected.

He fled on, and the Emperor says, he does it because he finds none faithful but those People he breeds up and raises from nothing, who' all of them are not so, but it seems they are more truly than others.

Under the *Bellatinoche Goyta* are all the other Viceroys, and Governors of Kingdoms and Provinces, and the Commanders of the Emperor's Camp, being those of the Van, the Rear, the Right and Left, as also the Courts and Ministers of Justice; the chief whereof is that of the *Azages*, which looks like the Judges of the King's Court in *Spain* and *Portugal*, but that they make no Distinction betwixt Judges of the Court and of those for Criminal and Civil Affairs; only there are some of the Right and some of the Left Hand, and under them the *Umbares*, which signify the Chairs, so call'd, because they sit whilst the Plaintiff and Defendant stand, and to these, if they belong to the Court, all Appeals in Causes either Civil or Criminal, throughout the Empire, are first brought; as also all Causes belonging to the Court or Camp, which are the same Thing in this Country, are first try'd before them. These are also of the Right and Left Hand, and from them the Appeal goes up to the Court Judges.

There are no Proceedings in Writing, but all Causes are commenc'd and concluded by word of Mouth, as has been said; nor are any Witnesses heard but the Plaintiffs, and therefore for the most part Judgment is given for him, because he brings what Evidence he pleases: But the Defendant may invalidate their Credit, and does it all the ways he can; yet the Success of the Cause depending on that, the Plaintiff has still a great Advantage, especially when without any Remorse of Conscience he bribes the Evidence, which is to be done with ease and cheap enough in *Ethiopia*, as well as in other Countries.

A Criminal convicted of Murder is by the Judges delivered up to the Kindred, Children or Wife of the Party murder'd, which Custom, besides many others, they have retain'd from the *Jews*. Those Relations either sell the Murderer's Life, or put him to Death after what manner they please. When the Murder cannot be prov'd upon any one Man, all the Inhabitants of the Place where the Fact was committed, are fin'd, and the dread of this Punishment prevents much Bloodshed.

Great Officers.

Judicial Proceedings.

Murder, how punish'd.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Abyssinian Soldiery, and the manner of their Camp; of the City Aczum, and other Towns and Buildings; and of the Revenues and Taxes of this Empire.

*Abyssines
good Soldiers.*

IT may be said in general, that the *Abyssinians* are good Soldiers; for they Ride well, are strong, well made, and enur'd to Hardship, enduring Hunger and Thirst to a Miracle, which is the Commendation *Agesilaus* gave his Soldiers, saying, *They could Fight with Hunger and Thirst*. So these continue in the Field most part of the Year, patiently suffering all Weather, as the scorching Heats, the sharp Cold, and violent Rains, and this with very little Food. They are bred up to War from their Infancy, and grow Old in it; for those who are not Husbandmen are Soldiers, and to that purpose the Emperor gives them Lands to live on, which they enjoy as long as they serve; but if they fail he gives them to others, and this is all their Pay; which is the Reason he can raise a great Army with little Charge.

Their Weapons.

The Weapons they use are a sort of short Spears, the Staves of them thin, and the Iron of one sort narrow, like ours, and of the other broad, but thin; the one to be darted strongly, the other to fence with in close Fight, with one Hand; for the other holds the Buckler, which is made of wild Buffalo's Hide, very strong. Each Soldier generally carries two of these Spears or Darts. The narrow ones they dart, as was said, with such Fury, that they pierce Coats of Mail and Bucklers; the broader they keep to continue the Fight, as we do with Sword and Buckler. The better sort have Swords, but very rarely make use of them, only wearing them in time of Peace, by way of Ornament, and therefore they endeavour to have a Gilt or Silver Hilt, and the Scabbard of Velvet, or some other Silk; when they talk with any body, they hold them in their Hands, and so walk; but when they go in the Streets the Servants carry them under their Arms. Some wear Daggers under their Breasts, with the Hilt towards the Right, and the Point to the Left. They also carry Clubs of hard Wood and heavy, which they call *Bolotas*, with Daggers in them, which they use when

when they come to grapple together, and sometimes they dart them.

The Horse have no Weapons to fight with but short Lances, such of them as have Coats of Mail, which are but few, do not care for Bucklers, as being less encumber'd, but they carry some of the narrow pointed Spears above mention'd, to dart at a distance. *Horse.*

The Emperor, when he gathers all his Force, brings into the Field 30 or 40000 Men, 4. or 5000 of them Horse, the rest Foot. *Abyssine Army.* Of the Horse about 1500 are sizeable, and some of them very fine and strong. About 7 or 800 of these Horse wear Coats of Mail and Head-Pieces, all the rest both Horse and Foot, have no other Arms than have been said above, the Spears and Bucklers. They have above 1500 Fire Arms, but there are seldom above 3 or 400 Musquetiers in any Action, and those for the most part so ill train'd, that they never fire above once; nor can it be otherwise, because Powder and Ball are so scarce, that very few have any to Exercise at other Times, and those few Principal Men that do, use a Rest which they have not leisure to do in their Wars with the Gallas and others; so that they are little the better for their Learning.

There being no such Martial Discipline among them, as we have in Europe, and consequently their Armies, Battallions and Squadrons, not being so regularly drawn up, the first Shock begins and ends their Battels; either the one side or the other turning their Backs, and the other pursuing; nor do they think much of running away, because it is daily practis'd. *No Discipline.*

The aforesaid number of Troops, or a much less, makes an extraordinary great Camp, by reason the other People that follow the Army are far more numerous than the Soldiers, and the following the Baggage very much; and this is because they commonly go to the War with their whole Families, Wives and Children, and the Queen herself goes; and there is need of many Women to make their *Apas*, which are their daily Food, as has been said, as also their Wine; and all these Hangers on, with the Merchants and other Followers, amount to so great a number, that where there are 10000 Soldiers, there never are less than 30000 Souls, and if the Emperor be there 100 or 120000. *Multitudes following the Camp.*

Here the Emperor, Great Men, Ladies, Commanders, and many Soldiers, have abundance of Tents, which are set up in very good Order, and always the same: For the Emperor's Tents being 4 or 5 very beautiful ones, are plac'd in the Center, and then leaving a large space between on the Right, Left, Front and Rear of them, are those of two Churches he carries with him, and those of the Queen *Manner of encamping.*

Queen and Great Men, who have all their fixt Places; then the Officers and Soldiers, according to their Posts; those of the Vanguard before, those of the Rear behind, and the two Wings on the Right and Left. The Camp thus pitch'd, takes up a very great Space, and is certainly very graceful to behold, especially the Night, by reason of the Multitude of Fires lighted.

Of marching.

When they are to march, the *Tisaurari*, so they call him, performs the Duty of a Major, or Quarter-Master General, goes before, and pitches upon the Ground for encamping, where he sticks a Lance, which shows that the Emperor's Tent is to be set up there, and by that every Man knows what Place belongs to him. On their march they observe no Order, but before the Emperor go the Waites and Kettle Drums, and he always mounts on alights within his Tent; and if he happens to alight by the way, those who are nearest make a Ring, hiding him with their Cloak, and they bring him a Couch, which is always carry'd near Hand, on which, cover'd with Carpets and Cushions of rich Silk he uses to rest him.

Disorders of the Army.

Molt of these People carry no Provisions, and they who have any, when it is spent live as well as all the rest upon what is given them, or they take in the Country Towns they march through, which they leave as much undone, as the *Gallas* their Enemies could do, were they in their Places, especially when the Army continues any time on the same Ground, for there is no other way but for the Emperor, or General, to assign them certain Towns, which they rob of all sorts of Provisions, and under that colour all the rest goes; so that the Inhabitants have no other Remedy but Patience, and may say with *Job*, *The Lord hath given me, the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord*. This is also the Reason why the *Gallas* so easily make Inroads into the Empire, and the contrary the Emperor's Forces cannot go far into their Land, because they do not Sow, nor have they any Stores of Provisions laid up, but live upon the Milk of their Cows, and when they have occasion, easily drive them away, retiring themselves, and leaving the *Ethiopians* the desert Fields, which obliges them to retire speedily, or Starve.

How the Emperor moves.

About the Emperor march his *Azages* and chief Men, attending him, and he always travels with his Crown on his Head, made up of several Pieces of Gold and Silver, with some Scattered Pearl; for precious Stones were never so much as seen in *Ethiopia*. He also wears his Silk Hat, brought from *India*, like those used there; none of those Curtains, which formerly were, being now carry'd about him, that he might be seen by no Man. On the contrary he sometimes quits his Mule and Prances on his Horse.

Wh

When the Enemy is near, the Army marches close and in better Order; all the Divisions in their Posts, and neither the Van advances far, nor the Rear stays much behind. The Wings are stretch'd out, the Emperor being in the Center with some of his Guards, great Men and Ladies, leaving a sufficient Interval for the Baggage to be enclos'd and in safety. *Damian de Goes*, writ a Treatise, *de Moribus Abyssinorum*, from which *Illefcas* took what he relates in the 2d Part of his Pontifical History, lib. 6. cap. 22. but neither of them had such certain Information of what they deliver, as we have.

The Learned *Mercator*, in the 3d part of his *Atlas*, describing *Ethiopia*, says, there are few Cities among the *Abyssinians*, and would have been more in the Right, had he said, there were none, as he is where he writes, they live in Villages. The new *Atlas* publish'd in *Spanish ann.* 1653, follow'd *Mercator*. At this time there is no settled City in all *Ethiopia*; formerly the Town of *Aczum* was very famous among the *Abyssinians*, and still preserves somewhat of its Renown; and this place seems to have been a City, at least they look upon it as most certain, that the Queen of *Sheba* kept her Court there, and that it was the Residence of the Emperors for many Ages after, and they are Crown'd there to this Day. This is the City *Aczum*, or *Auxum*, often mention'd by the learned Cardinal *Baronius* in his Ecclesiastical Annals, as we shall see hereafter; at present it is only a Village of about 100 Houses. This place is Three Leagues from *Fremona*; and about 45 from *Mazua*, in 14 Degrees and a half Latitude. There are to be seen many ancient Ruins, particularly those of a spacious Church, which appears to have been of 5 Miles, 165 Foot in Length, and 75 in Breadth. Aczum Town.

The most magnificent Thing that appears here, are certain very tall Stones, in the nature of Obelisks, or Pyramids, the biggest of them 78 Foot in Length, the Breadth at the Foot Seven Foot Six Inches. It is cut as it were in small Cushions, each of them about half a Yard Square; the smallest of them being between 25 and 30 Foot high are rude misshapen Stones. Some of those which seem to have been tallest are thrown down, and they say, the *Turks* entering *Ethiopia* overthrew them. The end of erecting these Pyramids may reasonably be suppos'd to have been for Monuments, near their Graves; which was the Design of the *Egyptians* in their so famous Pyramids. Here is also a Stone set up with a large Inscription, in *Greek* and *Latin* Characters, but they do not make any Sense. The Ceremonies here us'd at the Coronation of Emperors were many, whereof enough still remain; we shall speak Obelisks.

Speak of them hereafter at the Coronation of the Emperor *Sultan Segued*.

The Imperial Camp the only City. There is no City at this time in *Ethiopia*, only the King's Camp resembles a Royal City and the Capital of the Empire. It may deserve the name of a City, not in regard of the Buildings, but for the Multitude of People, and the good order observ'd in taking up their Ground, especially the Place where they Winter, which is generally the same, but never for many Years. When the Fathers of the Society were there, the Emperor repair'd to a Place call'd *Dameaz*, which lasted near 10 Years; but the same Emperor in 13, or 14 Years before that had 5, or 6 other Places, in each of which he continu'd 2, 3, or 4 Years. This has been always the Custom of *Ethiopia*, and when he removes, for the most part there is nothing remains to be seen, but, *Fields where Troy Town stood*.

Frequent removals.

Their frequent removals, are occasion'd in the first place by the small expence in building their Houses, as shall be soon shown; and secondly with regard to the several Wars they have in Hand, sometimes with one Enemy, and sometimes with another; but above all, for want of Wood. First the Ground is chosen, where there may be Plenty of Wood; but no order being observ'd in felling the Trees, the Mountains and Valleys are soon left bare, and then they presently think of removing to another Place, where there is Wood; and they are amaz'd to hear, that in *Europe* and other Parts of the World great Cities can continue long in the same Place without being in great want of Wood.

None but Villages in Ethiopia.

Excepting the Emperor's Camp, or that of some great Man, there is no Habitation throughout the whole Empire, that can deserve the Name of a City, nor so much as of a great Town. They are all Villages, some greater and some smaller, but such as can claim no other Title. Of these, in some Provinces and Territories there are many so close together, that all the Country seems to be inhabited; other Parts are less Populous, and many are quite Desert. Thus we may judge they are all open, without Walls, or other Enclosure; only in the Kingdom of *Amahara* and some others, such as are on the Frontiers, next the *Gallas*, who so infect them with continual Incursions, that they cannot so much as Till the Land, these, being seated on *Ambas* and high Mountains, have also some sort of Walls of dry Stone.

Buildings.

The Houses are generally of Stone and Clay, I mean those of the better sort, for the rest make their Walls of Stakes drove close together and cover'd with Straw. Only on the Sea Coast of the Kingdom of *Tigre* the Roofs are terrass'd; but for the most part

part so low, that a Man may reach them with his Head. Most of the Houses are round; yet some they build long, as were commonly those of the Emperors, which they call *Sacala*, and thence this same Name signifies the Palaces of the Emperor, or great Men. The round ones, if they be any thing large, they call *Behet Nugu*, importing a Royal House; for *Behet* is a House, and *Nugu* a King. The great Lords and Rich Men adorn these Houses with Quarters of Cedar, so close to one another that they serve instead of Wainscot, and this Wainscot they bind and fasten together with Lines of several colours, so that they look handsome enough, and are pleasant and convenient for ground Rooms. Every Man of Quality has 6, 8, or more of these Houses, or Rooms within large Enclosures, which are made of dry Stone, 6, or 7 Spans high, and on the Top of them they raise close Hedges, full of Thorns. At this time, as will be said hereafter, they have some knowledge of Lime, and have built some Churches and a few Houses with Lime and Stone.

The Revenues of this Empire are very small, and as *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda* testifies, that he had it from the Emperor *Sultan Segued's* own Mouth, these Princes never had any Treasurers; so that whatsoever *F. Uresta* writes concerning this Point is all Chimerical; I will therefore give *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda's* Account. The Kingdom of *Narea*, says he, yields more Gold than any other of this Empire. The Emperor now reigning affirms that from all Antiquity, never so much was brought to any one, as to *Malac Segued*, who reign'd from the Year 1563, till 1596; and of all that came to the said *Malac Segued* every Year, only one amounted to 5000 *Oqueas*, as some report, which many do not look upon as certain. For the most Years it did not exceed 1500 *Oqueas*, which are 15000 Pieces of Eight. This same Sum our Emperor, (meaning *Sultan Segued*) receiv'd for some Years; but now he has not usually above 1000 *Oqueas*. These came to him Five Years since, when I was in the Country of the *Damotes*, and their Viceroy, who was then the Catholick and Brave *Buco* went to fetch them, through the midst of the *Gallas* and *Cafres*, but from that time to this, *Narea* being infected by the *Gallas* and the great Men of that Kingdom at variance, in all these 5 Years, the Emperor has receiv'd but 500 *Oqueas*; yet it is hop'd that for the future he will not fail of 1000, which is the usual Tribute at this Time.

Some Lands of *Goiam* Yearly yield 1100 *Oqueas* in Gold by way of Tribute, little more or less; tho' sometimes the Emperor has bestow'd all these Lands, or part of them on some great Men, as his Sons, or Brothers, and they spend that Revenue.

The *Emperor* has some 3000 Pieces of Cloth, worth a Piece of *Agar* each, he has 100 Beavers, being very large and close, the *Emperor* of *Qorah* wears a *Bus* or *Sing* on the one side, like the *Emperors* wear, which is worth an *Opara*, little more or less. *Emperor* of *Qorah*, the same Kingdom paid 3000 Horses; but it is to be noted that none of that Kingdom were, and think the *Emperor* *Naga* and *Agar* and *Beaver*. This *Tribute* has been *received* by the *Emperor* *Agar* near and made continuous. This *Emperor* Kingdom, the *Emperor* *Melac Segued* thought it was better to enable those People with their Horses to defend themselves against the *Gallas*. All that *Emperor* *Agar* did, touching this Point, of what he saw became to *Emperor* in the Days of *Davis* the *Emperor*; and the *Emperor* and *Magnificence* he there describes, of the manner of *receiving* this *Tribute*, was a *Contrivance* to show it, like many more performed before him and his Companions, that they might have something to talk of in strange Countries.

The *Emperor* receives no *Tribute* in Gold from any other Kingdom of his Empire; but the *Governors* he places over them give it him for their Commands; so that he receives 25000 Pieces of *Agar* from several Governments, which they call *Agar*, in the Kingdom of *Tyre*; from the *Yametes* of *Dambea* 5000, from those of *Begameder*, *Amahara*, *Noleca* and *Yas*, something, but less, because those Countries are infested by the *Gallas*. Of this sort of Revenue, the former *Emperors* received much greater Sums than the present, because they had many more and much larger Kingdoms; part whereof are now possessed by the *Gallas*, and others pay no more Subjection, because the *Gallas* are got betwixt them and the *Emperor's* Dominions.

They have some *Pasies* on Mountains, where all *Commodities* pay a Duty. Sea Ports on the Ocean no *Abyssinian* *Emperors* ever had any; on the Red-Sea they had *Mazra*, but the *Turks* have long since been Masters of it. Most of the Duties payable on those *Pasies* the *Emperor* has given to great Men, with the Lands, where they are: but that of *Lamalman* he keeps for himself, which yields him the value of 100 *Oparas* a Year.

The *Emperor* has some Lands, which are like *Royalties*, from which he draws 10, or 12 Loads of Provisions. Besides this he has another Duty of Provisions, an Account whereof the *Husbandmen* of *Dambea*, *Gojam*, *Begameder* and some other Provinces pay each a Load, little more or less; but most of this he has given to several of his Commanders. What comes from *Dambea*, being about 10, or 12000 Loads, he divides among some
Soldiers,

Soldiers, on whom he has not bestow'd Lands, gives some Alms to the Poor, and distributes among some Men and Women of Quality, who are in Want at Court.

There is one considerable Tax in *Ethiopia*, which was impos'd less than 80 Years since, by which every Man that has Cows, every three Years pays him one out of Ten; and the Country being full of Cattel, most of which is Kine, this Tribute amounts to a great Value, and the Kingdoms and Provinces are so distributed, that some of them pay it every Year. This they call Burning, because they burn a Mark upon that they chuse for the Emperor; but it may deserve the Name for other Reasons, in regard that the Officers, who are to gather this Cattel, commit so many Insolencies on the poor Country People, that they ruin, and consume them. Besides this every Loom that Weaves Cotton-Cloth, if belonging to a Christian, pays one of those Cloths; if to a *Mahometan*, a Piece of Eight, and by this Duty he gathers every Year in *Dambee* and the Neighbouring Parts 1000 Cloths. He has the same Revenue in other Kingdoms, but has bestow'd it on those Lords to whom he has given the Lands of those Countries.

These are the Revenues of the *Abyssine* Empire, which being summon'd up, it plainly appears are inconsiderable enough; not only in regard of what Fame has spread abroad, but of what might be expected from so many Kingdoms and Provinces. However, besides all this we have here mention'd, which in a poor Country amounts to much more than can be imagin'd in others, that which makes this King great, is his being absolute Lord of all the Lands within his Dominions; so that he can take away and give them all as he thinks fit; for neither great nor small possess any thing but by the Emperor's Gift, and all they have is a Bounty during Pleasure. And it is so usual, for the Emperor to chop, change and take away, every Year, or two, or three, or in the midst of it, the Lands any Man has, and to bestow them on another, that it is never thought much of, and very often, one Plows, another Sows, and a third reaps. Hence it is that no Man improves what he has, or so much as Plants a Tree, as knowing it is a mighty rarity for him that Plants to gather the Fruit. It is the Emperor's Advantage that they should all so entirely depend on him; for thus they all serve him in Peace and War, some for fear of losing the Lands he has given them, and others in hopes of getting those they have not; and for this reason they make him their Presents, according to their Ability, for generally he gets most, who gives

'molt, and he has least, who presents least. These are the W
'of *F. Emanuel d' Almeida*.

C H A P. XII.

*Wherein a short Account is given of the Gallas,
are at present the greatest Enemies of the A
finians.*

Gallas, *where
they live.*

WE shall have often occasion in this History to speak of *Gallas*, who are at present the Scourge God has made of against the *Abyssinians*, and therefore I have thought it cessary to give some Account of them in this place. In ord it, we must first observe that the most Southern parts of this pire are, the Kingdom of *Cambate* due South, that of *N South West*, and that of *Bali* South East. From the Kingdom *Narea*, and *Cambate* to the Sea there are several hundred Leag but from that of *Bali* to the Sea, going directly from North to South East, there are less than an hundred Leagues to the C of the Ocean, which Sailers call the Desert Coast, and is the n ett to *Ethiopia*, as lying next the Kingdom of *Bali*, formerly longing to *Abyssinia*. These Lands that lie betwixt *Bali* and Ocean are the proper Country and Habitation of the *Gallas*.

Suppos'd to be
Jews.

The most received Opinion among learned Men is, that t People are originally descended from those *Jews*, who on occa of the Transigrations, or Dispersions of the said Nation in *Salmanasar*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Titus*, *Adrian*, and *Severus* set on that Part of the Borders of *Ethiopia*; and that from them c those we now call *Gallas*, or *Callas*, which signifies, *Milks*, chu ing the C into G, as is frequently done in other Nations: So *Abyssinians* changing *Calla* into *Galla*, gave the Name to t *Jews* and to other *Greeks* and *Affyrians*, who mix'd with t *Callas*, or *Callas* signifying White Men, for *Calla* in the *Heb* signifies Milk, and they were call'd *Milks*, to denote they v White; and still these People are call'd *Gallas*, that is Wh tho' they are now Black. So the Race of the *Portugueses*, t enter'd *Ethiopia*, with *Don Christopher da Gama*, are still by *Abyssin*

Abyssinians call'd *Portugueses*, as being descended from them, tho' they are now *Abyssinians* and of their Colour. In the same manner these *Gallas* having no Education and conversing continually with Barbarous Nations, are become some of the most brutal of all the *Cafes*.

The first time this Plague broke out of their own Country, *Their first* where they dwelt and enter'd *Ethiopia*, was in the Days of the Emperor *David*, otherwise call'd *Onag Segued*, of whom I shall *coming into* *Ethiopia*. speak hereafter; and their Irruption was at the same time that the *Moor Granbe* of *Adel*, had made an Incursion and conquer'd a considerable part of the Empire, for Misfortunes never come alone, and their first Inroad was by the Kingdom of *Bali*, on which they border'd.

The Irruption of these Barbarians into *Ethiopia*, was like an *Their Com-* inundation from a mighty River, which swelling over all the *quests* Plain, spares nothing that stands in its way, but bears down all it meets, Men, Cattle, Corn, and Buildings; so that when the Emperor *Sultan Segued* began his Reign, these Savages had subdu'd most of the largest Kingdoms of *Ethiopia*, from that of *Ango*, which now lies almost East of them, to the Southward through *Doaro*, *Oifat*, *Bali*, *Fategar*, *Oge*, part of *Maba*, *Bizamo*, and *Damut*, which lies West of *Gojam*, and they are now Masters of these Kingdoms, and of many Provinces lying between them; and had not Providence so order'd it, that they should be continually at War among themselves, one Hord, or Race against another, there would not by this time be one Foot of Land in the whole Empire, but what they would be Masters of. To this end also Providence farther seems to have order'd that the Kingdoms remaining under the *Abyssine* Emperor should be full of prodigious high and craggy Mountains, where the Horse of the *Gallas* cannot easily make their Inroads, which is their way of Warring.

Tho' at first these People were of a white Race, yet as in Process *Their Barba-* of time they lost their Colour and turn'd Black, so for want of *rity*. Improvement and through too much mixing with Barbarians, they became at length so very brutal, that their way of living is more hideous than their Colour. They are Heathens, or rather neither Christians, *Mahometans*, nor Gentiles, for they worship no Idols, and have very little knowledge of God. However, since they have Peopled the Lands of the Empire, being in the midst between the Christians, and the *Mahometans* of *Adel* and *Adel*, they have taken to Circumcision, rather because it is the Custom of the Country, than as an Act of Religion.

Not-

Manner of
living.

Notwithstanding their being all Black, yet they show their Progenitors were not so, for they have not flat Noses, like the *Cafres*, nor thick Lips, like those of *Angola*; but have generally very good Features, and are well shap'd and many of them rather deep Tawny than Black. They neither Till, nor Sow, nor gather any thing the Land produces; all the spacious Vales and rich Plains they are Masters of, only serve to afford their Cattle such Sustainance as the Earth naturally produces. They look after their Flocks, drink their Milk and eat their Flesh, which is all their Food, without any Bread, so easily are these Barbarians fed. Yet when they enter the Lands of the *Abyssinians* and find any Bread they do not mislike, but eat it, with a very good Appetite, and yet will not Sow.

Policy to de-
fond them-
selves.

The reason they alledge for it is, that so the *Ethiopians* or other Enemies may not be able to over-run their Lands; for as soon as the *Gallas* perceive an Enemy comes on with a powerful Army, they retire to the farther Parts of the Country, with all their Cattle, which is all their Wealth, and taking that they take all away; then have the *Abyssinians* several Days march to come at them, for which they cannot carry Provisions, according to their little forecast, and there being none on the Lands of the *Gallas*, as not being Till'd, they must of necessity either turn back, or perish. This is an odd way of making War, wherein by flying they overcome the Conquerors; and without drawing Sword, oblige them to encounter with Hunger, which is an invincible Enemy; tho' at the same time the *Gallas* fight against themselves, as always wanting Bread, to prevent their Enemies eating it sometimes; so that they are like the Dog in the Manger, that will neither eat Hay himself, nor suffer the Horse to eat it.

Cruelty to
Children.

The *Gallas* for the most part are barbarous and cruel, using their own Children more inhumanly than even the Wild-Beasts; for they take no care of breeding them up or providing for them, during the first Six, or Seven Years after they are marry'd, but rather throw them about the Fields, a Savageness odious to Nature, which has given the fiercest Lyons and Tigers a Sense of Tenderness for their Young. However they are generally Men of their Words, and of no ill Disposition, as was seen in some that were bred up in the Emperor's, and other great Men's Houses, who all prov'd so tractable, that the best of the *Abyssinians* did not exceed them; and some of them, who imbrac'd the Catholick Religion, were as constant in maintaining it under Torments, as they had been ready to profess it in Words.

Good Quali-
ties.

They

They are generally valiant and brave. For defensive Armour, *Weapons*, they have only Targets of double Oxes Hides, and of late some are of Wild Buffalo, which is very strong; their offensive Weapons are such small Spears as has been said the *Abyssinians* use, and Wooden Clubs which they also cast, like those People. The first of the *Gallas* fought all a foot, but now they have Horses, tho' not so good, or nobly tempered, or of so choice a Breed as the *Ethiopians*; but very hardy, because they keep them in Breath, making them run half a Day together at half Speed.

The Saddles they use are very light, and easily made, their Stirrups very thin, and small, because they don't put their Feet into them, but only their Great-Toes, which they learnt of the *Abyssinians*, who all do so, and therefore they all and even the Emperor himself always ride barefoot. I do not approve of the Custom, much less of the *Roman*, who us'd no Stirrups at all, nor had so much as a Name to call them by, for in all the *Latin* Tongue there is no proper word to express them. Nor can we approve of the Practice of the *Numidians*, who had neither Stirrups, nor Bridles to their Horses, since it is certain that Bridles and Stirrups make Men sit faster and rule their Horses better. *Horsmanship*

That which always made the *Gallas* dreadful is their great Resolution in joining Battle, where they absolutely conclude they will either Conquer, or Die; and this is the Reason they have obtain'd so many Victories over the *Abyssinians*, tho' these were still more numerous, and had better Arms and Horses. The *Gallas*, when they make an Incursion seldom exceed 7, or 8000, but these are chosen Youths, and sworn to stand by one another, and therefore the Emperor *Sultan Segued* was wont to say, That the *Ethiopians* could not stand the first shock of the *Gallas*, and therefore he always suffer'd them to run deep into the Country, that they might Plunder, and cool, and at their return, when they were loaded with Booty, thinking only how to get home and enjoy their Prize, and their first Fury much abated, then he lay in wait for them on the way, and call'd them to account for what they had robb'd, not only recovering the Prey, but sacrificing their Lives to his Resentment. *Resolution*

They have no King, or Sovereign among them, but every Eight *Government* Years they chuse a sort of Consul or Governor, whom they call *Labs*, and obey him as their General. The first thing he does, as soon as enter'd upon the Government, is to gather all the best Men he can, and make an Inroad into the Empire, killing and plundering all in his way, to gain himself and his Soldiers Wealth and Fame, for the unfortunate *Ethiopia* is the *India* they resort to for what they want. This first Irruption they call *Dela*

Dela Grito, which is as much as, a General Muster. It is an established Custom among them, never to cut the Hair of the Heads, till they have kill'd an Enemy in War, or some Wild Beast, as a Lyon, or Tiger, and as soon as that is done they put their Heads. On the top of it they leave a Lock, as is the Fashion of the *Japoneses*, which they much value themselves upon, as a Token of their Valour, not inherited from their Parents but obtain'd by their own Merit.

This may suffice, as to the *Gallas*, and much less would satisfy'd the *Abyssinians*, who are not only oppress'd but undone by these Barbarians, Almighty God making use of them to chastise them for their Sins and Errors, as he made use of the *Philistines* to humble the Children of *Israel*, and both Nations did and do still deserve it, the *Jews* for their Rebellion, and the *Ethiopians* for their Schism.

CHAP. XIII.

How the Abyssinians came to the knowledge of the true God, by means of the Queen of Sheba, who went to see Solomon, and of the Son she had by him; with an Account of what seems to be real and what fabulous, touching the coming of that Queen, and her Son by him.

Ethiopian
Histories.

THE *Abyssinians* have but a very imperfect Knowledge of their Histories and ancient Times, for want of the Curiosity of writing Books, which are the Treasury wherein we lay up the precious Wealth of Knowledge, valu'd by *Solomon* more than mighty Kingdoms; and those few Books they have, their Monks take great care to keep from the Catholics, because of the strong and irresistible Arguments they draw from them to confound the Errors of *Dioscorus* and *Entyches*. However I will here deliver, what can be gather'd out of a very ancient Book of theirs, which is to them like another Gospel, and kept with extraordinary Veneration in the Church of *Axum*, or *Accum*, being the ancient Metropolis and prime Seat of all the *Abyssine* Empire, there

there being a most positive Tradition among them, that there was the Residence of the Queen of *Sheba*, and there is no question but for many Ages it was the Court of the *Abyssine* Emperors. I will here briefly relate, what is very largely contain'd in that Book and others of theirs, and what is unanimously receiv'd among all those People, which is,

That a mighty Potent Queen, call'd *Azeb* or *Maqueda*, reigning in *Ethiopia*, she was inform'd of the great Power and Wisdom *Queen of Solomon*, by one *Tamerin*, a Merchant of hers; and being desirous to see and hear *Solomon*, she came to *Jerusalem* with a mighty Retinue of the greatest Princes and Lords in *Ethiopia*, and abundance of Treasure. There *Solomon* gave her the Knowledge of the true God, and returning home at the end of Nine Months, she was delivered of a Son begotten by *Solomon*, who was call'd *Menilehec*, and by another Name *David*. This Son afterwards went to *Jerusalem* to see his Father *Solomon*, by whom he was magnificently entertain'd, and he caus'd him to be anointed and Sworn King *Menilehec of Ethiopia*, by *Sadoc* and *Joas* the Priests; and when well instructed in the Law of God, which he was to cause to be observ'd in his Country, he assign'd him several of the first begotten of *Israel* to attend and serve him in *Ethiopia*, and furnish'd him with all Officers and Servants belonging to the Royal House of *Juda*, as also a High Priest and Levites, and Men learned in the Law of *Moses*.

Then the afore said Book proceeds to give an Account how these first begotten, at the Instigation of *Azariah*, the Son of *Sadoc* the Priest, took an Oath to one another to carry away with them the Ark of the Covenant, which they call'd the Heavenly *Sion*; and that going by Night to the Temple, Providence so ordering it, they found the Gates open, and put the Ark upon a Cart, and being attended by abundance of People, with much Wealth, and great Acclamations, they travell'd so swiftly, that *Solomon*, who went to recover the Ark, could not overtake them, and with the same Expedition they cross'd the *Red Sea*, as joyfully as the Children of *Israel* had done, with only this Difference, that the *Israelites* pass'd it on Foot, without being wet, and they flying in their Chariots; so that the Sea obey'd the former, and the Air was subservient to the latter.

This Book farther tell's us, that when Queen *Maqueda* understood that her Son already made King was coming, and brought along with him all those first begotten, as also the Ark of the Heavenly God of *Sion*, she went out with great Solemnity to meet them, and plac'd the Ark in the Temple of the Land of *Maqueda*, all the People of *Ethiopia* receiving the Knowledge of the true God; there

being none at that time, throughout all the World, to compare to King Solomon in *Judea*, and to Queen *Maqueda* in *Ethiopia*. It further adds, that the Queen afterwards resign'd the Kingdom to her Son *David*, and oblig'd him and his Great Men to swear by the Heavenly *Sion*, that they would never after admit any Woman to the Throne of *Ethiopia*, nor any but the Male Race descending from *David*.

Arabia the
Country of
Perfumes.

All these Stories are told much at large in that Book of theirs, which they look upon as of undoubted Reputation. As to what they say, that the Queen of *Sheba* went out of *Ethiopia* to *Jerusalem*, the *Abyssinians* believe it to be beyond all Controversy. It is true, those precious Sweetnesses the Scripture tells us the Queen of *Sheba* carry'd with her, are rather to be found in *Arabia Felix* than in *Ethiopia*, and in the same *Arabia* we find the *Sabean* Region, which is the proper Land of Frankincense, as appears by all Authors who have treated of it, and so says the Prince of Poets,
Georg. 1.

India mittit Ebur, molles sua Thura Sabæi.

Opinions concerning this
Queen.

Besides the Name of *Sheba*, or as the *Latin* has it *Saba*, denote that the Queen was of this *Sabean* Country, which is in or near *Arabia Felix*. Many Holy Expositors have also declar'd that this Queen was of *Arabia* and not of *Ethiopia*; of this Opinion are *Justin*, *Cyprian*, *Epiphanius*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Cardinal Baronius*, *Suarez*, and others. But *Josephus* in the 2d Book of his Antiquities, says, the Queen of *Sheba* was of *Ethiopia*, and *Origen*, *St. Augustine*, *S. Anselm* and others, quoted by *F. Toledo*, are of the same Opinion; but that Author adds, that *Arabia* is not far distant from *Ethiopia*, and so she might be Queen of *Ethiopia* and *Arabia*, and *Josephus* says, she was also Queen of *Egypt*.

F. Peter Pays of the Society, a Man of great Sincerity, whom we shall often speak of, being taken by the *Turks* in that Part of *Arabia*, was carry'd with his Companion *F. Antony of Montferat*, from *Dofar* to *Xaer*, and thence to *Sennaar*, and they gave an Account, that in that Journey through *Arabia*, they found a Parcel of very large and wonderful ancient Ruins of Old Structures, and enquiring of the Natives concerning those Antiquities, they answer'd, That Place had been formerly the Pen for the Queen of *Sheba's* Cattel; and it may be suppos'd, add's the said Father very discreetly, that the said Great Queen was Mistress of *Ethiopia*, and of that Part of *Arabia* lying opposite to it, beyond the *Red Sea*; and thus we may reconcile the Authors, who say she was Queen of *Arabia* with those who affirm she was Queen of *Ethiopia*, and

hence

nence she might carry the Gold, since this is to be found in *Abyssinia*, as are Sweets and Frankincense in *Arabia*. A farther Confirmation of this Opinion is the Name the *Abyssines* give this Queen, saying, She was call'd *Maqueda* in *Arabick*, but the Name he goes by in their Book is *Neguesta Azeb*.

Near to *Auxum* or *Aczum*, in the Kingdom of *Tigre* in *Ethiopia*, here is still a small Village call'd *Saba* or *Sabaim*, where they say the Queen of *Sheba* or *Saba* was Born. There is also another Village call'd *Azebo*, which answers to the Name of *Azeb*, and another call'd *Beth David*, signifying the House of *David*, and in the *Ethiopian* Books this Queen is sometimes call'd *Saba*, sometimes *Azeb*, and sometimes *Maqueda*.

Her several Names.

In the first Book of *Kings*, chap. 10. and in the second of *Chronicles*, chap. 9. She is call'd Queen of *Sheba*, or according to the Vulgate *Saba*; in *S. Matthew*, chap. 12. where our Bible has the Queen of the South, the *Ethiopick* Version has *Neguesta Azeb*, which is the same Thing; for *Neguesta* signifies Queen, and *Azeb* in *Arabick* is the South Wind, and our Saviour call'd her so, because *Ethiopia* and *Arabia* lie to the Southward of *Jury*.

In Scriptura.

It is farther said of this Queen in that Book, that she built a City, which was Capital of *Ethiopia*, calling it *Debra Maqueda*, which they say is the same as *Auxum* or *Aczum*, and for many Ages was the Court and Capital of *Ethiopia*, and in it, they say, the Queen of *Sheba*, as soon as she came from *Jerusalem*, built a stately Temple, in Honour of the true God; which same they add, Queen *Cadace*, whom they call *Andake*, afterwards consecrated to our Saviour *JESUS CHRIST*, and to the blessed Virgin his holy Mother.

Auxum City and Temple.

I am sensible there are many Fabulous Notions among what has been said in this Chapter, and therefore as to the Point of the Queen of *Sheba*'s having a Son by *Solomon*, it seems no difficult matter to believe, and the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*, has endeavour'd to prove it; nor is it hard to credit that he who took to Wife the Daughter of *Pharoah*, and lov'd without measure the *Maabites*, *Edomites*, *Sidonians*, *Hittites*, and others, should contract Affinity with the Royal Family of *Ethiopia*; which is further confirm'd by the *Abyssinians* to this Day, calling all the Offspring of their Kings *Israelites*, and these must of necessity by their Laws be descended of the Male Line of the Sons of *Menilech*, the Son of *Solomon* and the Queen of *Sheba*; and on this same Reason the Arms of *Ethiopia* are a *Lyon*, with this Inscription in an Orle, *The Lyon of Judah hath overcome*.

Arms of Ethiopia.

Queen of
Sheba brought
Judaism into
Ethiopia.

I make no Question, as the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*, and the other Fathers of the Society who were there, do declare, that the Queen of *Sheba* was a Native of this *Ethiopia*, and introduc'd in it the Customs of the Court of *Jerusalem*, with Circumcision and the other Ceremonies of the *Jewish* Law, which continu'd even in the Days of our Saviour, and the preaching of the Gospel, as appears by the Pilgrimage the Eunuch of Queen *Candace* undertook to the Temple of *Jerusalem*, whom *S. Philip* the Deacon, as appears in the *Acts* of the Apostles, chap. 8. ver. 27. found reading the Prophet *Isaiah*; whence it may be interr'd, that he observ'd the Law of *Moses*. They were so tenacious of these Customs, that we shall hereafter see how obstinately they adher'd to Circumcision, the keeping of the *Sabbath*, or *Saturday*, and other *Jewish* Ceremonies.

Resemblance
between Jews
and Ethiopians
in Customs.

A further Confirmation of this Truth we find in the exact Resemblance there is betwixt the Customs of the *Jews* and those of the *Abyssines* in Peace and War, and in the Administration of Justice, for whatsoever we read in Holy Writ is there to be seen represented to the Life. The aforesaid Patriarch, who was one of the most learned Men in *Spain* as to Holy Writ, owns this of himself, that after his coming into *Ethiopia*, he understood many Passages of the Scripture he was before ignorant of, by comparing the Customs of those People with what the Bible relates, and that it is so undoubtedly an establish'd Opinion in *Ethiopia*, that this Queen was Born there, of her introducing the *Jewish* Rites, and of several Places retaining her Name, that it would be there look'd upon as no less Folly to deny their Emperors descending from *Solomon*, than it would be in *Rome* to say, that City was not built by *Romulus* and *Remus*; or in *Spain*, that their Kings did not descend from the *Goths*, or theirs in *Portugal* from King *Alfonso Henriquez*.

Fabulous
Stories.

As for the Story of the Ark of the Covenant, stolen by *Achaziah* and his Companions, all of them first begotten Sons, and the Miracles of their flying through the Air, and making their escape from *Solomon*, it is a Fable much like that of *Daedalus* his flying, when he escap'd cut of *Crete* into *Italy*; and if the Inhabitants of that Island, were, as *St Paul* writes of them, in his Epistle to *Titus* C. 1. v. 12: *always Liars*, the *Abyssines* are nothing inferior to them in this particular, as the Fathers of the Society found by sufficient Experience; so that all the Relation was doubtless the Author's Invention, to gain Reputation to that Church and its *Tabor*, which is the Altar Stone, saying it stood on the Ark of the Covenant.

For the better understanding of what they pretended to urge as to this particular, we must observe that in *Ethiopia* they call an Altar

Altar Stone *Tabor*, which Name signifies the Ark of the Covenant, *Tabor*, and the same they give to *Noah's Ark*. It is also well known, *Altar Stone*, that in the Infancy of Christianity, the Altars were of Wood, and like little Chests, and there were no other Altar Stones, till the Time when *St. Silvester* Pope began to Consecrate Altar Stones; but leaving in *St. Peters Church* the little Wooden Chest, which had for so many Years serv'd as an Altar to so many holy Popes, and on which none but his Holiness is now permitted to say Mass.

From this ancient Custom of the Church, seems to be deriv'd that which the *Abyssines* still observ'd, of saying Mass on little Chests, and therefore they gave it the Name of *Tabor*, signifying the Ark of the Covenant, and they thought they added much Reputation to their Church of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, by saying their Chest or *Tabor*, was the very Ark of the Old Testament that was in *Solomon's Temple*, and that God brought it so miraculously into *Ethiopia*; the Inventor of this Fable never reflecting, that it is directly contrary to the holy Text, 2 *Machab.* Chap. 2. v. 4 and 5. where it is said, That the Prophet being warn'd by God, commanded the Tabernacle and the Ark to go with him, as he went forth into the Mountain where Moles climb'd up, and saw the Heritage of GOD. And when *Jeremy* came thither, he found an hollow Cave, wherein he laid the Tabernacle and the Ark, and the Altar of Incense, and he closed the Door.

This the Scripture delivers plain enough, but they will not hear of it, much less submit to what the Fathers of the Society urg'd upon this Point, so positive are Men in their Errors, that some make their Appetite their God, and others have no Gospel but their Opinion. The *Abyssines* to gain more Respect to this little Chest of theirs, always kept it so close and conceal'd, that they would not show it even to their Emperors. They call it by way of excellency *Sion*, or *Seon*, as they pronounce it, and for the same Reason the Church, where they kept this to them so precious a Relick, being dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, had the Name of *S. Mary of Seon*.

Not many Years since, perceiving that the Catholick Faith began to spread abroad, and fearing lest this little Chest of theirs should be taken away, or disregarded, the most Zealous of their Monks remov'd it thence, and very privately convey'd it to the Territory of *Bur* near the Red Sea, where they hid it among close Thickets and vast high Mountains, in order at a convenient Time to restore it to its ancient Place, in the Church of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, where in all likelihood it now is, since their Revolt, of which we shall speak hereafter.

Thus

This is what is known in *Ethiopia*, concerning the Religion they followed from the Days of the Queen of *Sheba*, till the Conversion of Queen *Candace's* Eunuch to the Faith of *CHRIST*, which is above 1000 Years; for according to the Computation of our most diligent Writer *F. Cornelius a Lapide*, in *Synops. ad Tom. Gen. &c.* from the building of *Solomon's* Temple till the Birth of *CHRIST*, there elaps'd 1017 Years. We will next come to the Emperors that Reign'd after the Queen of *Sheba*.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Emperors that reign'd in Ethiopia after Solomon's Son, and particularly of one call'd Lalibela.

Number of
Emperors.

THIS Empire is of great Antiquity, and had always a Succession of Emperors, tho' in their Books they only make mention of them since the Days of the Queen of *Sheba*; and from that Time to the Birth of our Saviour they reckon 24 Emperors, and from our Saviour to the present Emperor *Faciladas* there were 6. [Observe this Emperor was at the Time the Author writ, which was the Year 1659, and the same may be taken notice of in other Places, where he speaks of the present Time.] I will here give a brief Account of these Kings, which *F. Emanuel d' Almeida* faithfully translated at large from their Book of the Church of *Auxum* or *Aezum*, and another Book of the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, and I will adjoin the Years answerable to those of the European Emperors, that we may guess about what Time they reign'd.

Queen of
Sheba.

Menilebec
her Son.

The first Royal Person nam'd in those Books is the Queen of *Sheba*, who is there also call'd *Neguesta Azab*, which is the same as Queen of the South, as our Saviour call'd her in the Gospel. This Queen, as was said in the last Chapter, went to *Jerusalem* in the fourth Year of *Solomon's* Reign, and had by him a Son call'd *Menilebec*, by another Name *David*. It is said of her, that after her return Home, she reign'd 25 Years, and her Son *Menilebec* rul'd 29 Years, and according to this she liv'd to the 29th Year of *Solomon*, and her Son was 11 Years contemporary with him, and the other 18 with *Rehoboam*.

Menilebec

Menilebec had a Son call'd *Sagdur*, and there was a Succession of 24 Kings from Father to Son till King *Phacen*, who was contemporary with *Augustus Caesar*, and in the 8th Year of this *Phacen* our Saviour was Born. From this Year of the Birth of our Saviour, till 327 there were 13 Emperors in *Ethiopia*, at which Time two Brothers call'd *Abra* and *Abza* rul'd jointly in a peaceable and friendly manner, a Thing rare between Brothers (waying the same Scepter, which allows of no Brotherly Affection, nor Fidelity to one another, according to that certain Rule of *Lucan*, lib. 10. *Nulla fides regni sociis, &c.* In the Days of these two Brothers *S. Frumentius* came into *Ethiopia*, sent by *S. Athanasius*, as we shall relate, and it is likely his coming was in the beginning of their Reign.

13 Others.

After them Three other Brothers call'd *Azsa*, *Azged* and *Amey* reign'd jointly, of whom it is said, that for their better Governing in Peace, and without interfering with one another; they divided the Days into 3 parts, which was doubtless an odd sort of Government, and subject to more Confusion; yet the *Abyssinians* will persuade us, that it prosper'd well with them. Their Successors were *Arado*, *Aladoba* and *Amiamid*, and at this Time their Books say, many Religious Men came from *Rum*, who, as shall be shown, enter'd the Kingdom of *Tigre* about the Year 424 little over or under. After *Amiamid* reign'd *Tazena*, and then *Caleb*, who answers to the Time of the Emperor *Julianus* in *Europe*, which was about the Year of Grace 521; and this *Caleb* is the same that Cardinal *Baronius*, and the Acts of the Holy Martyr *S. Aretas*, call *Elesbaan*. The *Roman* Martyrology, and the said *Baronius* call him a Saint, and as such he is reckon'd, as shall be shown hereafter.

3 Brothers
Reign at once.

From the Year 521, till 960, when *Del Noad* reign'd, there was a Succession of 19 Kings, and at this time the Line of *Solomon's* Posterity was interrupted, and a Family call'd *Zague* enter'd upon the Government, and held the Empire 340 Years, for so many there are from 960 to 1300, about which time, according to the Catalogues of these Emperors, and the general receiv'd Opinion of *Ethiopia*, *Ighunn Amalar* Reign'd, in whom the Posterity of *Solomon* was restor'd to the Empire, and those are the only Emperors there taken notice of, for I do not now speak of those, who intruded themselves into the Empire, which did not belong to them.

A Time of
Usurpation.

From this *Ighunn*, who Reign'd about the Year 1300 till *Zara Jacob*, who Govern'd about 1437, they reckon 16 Emperors. In the Days of this *Zara Jacob* the *Florentine* Council was held, as shall be hinted hereafter, and this was he that desir'd to reduce his Empire to the Catholick Faith, and in order to it writ Letters and

The right Line
restor'd.

and sent some of his *Abyssinians* to Pope *Eugenius* the 4th, who then govern'd the Church, and answer'd him in a Letter mention'd by the Emperor *David*, or *Onad Segued* of *Ethiopia*, as will be seen hereafter, in a Letter he writ to Pope *Clement* the 7th. After *Zara Jacob* follow'd *Beda Mariam*, and after him *Efrander*, or *Alexander*, in whose Days *Peter da Covilham* came into *Ethiopia*, about the Year 1491. The next was *Andeseon*, who Reign'd but 6 Months, and then *Naod* Rul'd 13 Years, answering to the Year of our Lord 1500. Next came *Onag Segued*, otherwise call'd *David*, in whose Days *Don Roderick de Lima* enter'd *Ethiopia*, with the Embassy from King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, and with him went *F. Francis Alvarez*, often mention'd in this History. *David* began his Reign in 1507; and held it till 1540. In his Days the *Moor Granbe* enter'd *Ethiopia*, destroying and conquering the greatest part of it, as we shall see hereafter.

Afnaf Segued
or *Claudius*
Emperor.

Afnaf Segued, otherwise call'd *Claudius*, or as the *Ethiopian* name him *Glandios*, succeeded his Father *David*, to succour whom *Don Christopher da Gama* came into *Ethiopia* with 400 *Portuguese*, who restor'd the Empire and slew *Granbe*. This Emperor ascend'd the Throne in 1540, and dy'd in 1548. Then follow'd *Adam Segued*, by another Name *Minas*, and this was he who persecuted and banish'd the Patriarch *Don Andrew de Oviedo*. His Successor was *Malac Segued*, who began his Rule in 1573, and dy'd in 1597. In his Days dy'd the aforelaid Patriarch *Don Andrew*, and the other Fathers his Companions, as shall be shown. This Emperor neither persecuting, nor favouring them, but suffering them to live at *Fremona* and administer the Sacraments to the *Portuguese*. The next *Jacob* rul'd 7 Years; then *Za Danguel*, after whose Death *Jacob* reign'd again, whose Competitor was *Socinius*, otherwise *Sultan Segued*. The Controversie lasted 3 Years, *Socinius* prevailing in the end and governing 25 Years, without including the 3 the Civil War lasted, for there are so many from 1607, when *Jacob* dy'd, till 1632, when he ended his Reign with his Life.

Women not
taken notice
of.

All these make 99 Emperors descended from *Solomon*, and it is no small Reputation to the *Abyssines*, to show so great Antiquity, and produce a Line of Kings for so many Ages to this Time, when that Empire is much decay'd, by the Neighbourhood of the *Gallas*, and the Tyranny of the *Turks*, as this History will show. (I know not how to reconcile the Author to himself here, saying the Emperors were 99, whereas before he says, there were but 24 before Christ, and from thence till his writing 68, which in all make but 92.) I have not here taken notice of the Queen of *Sheba*, or of Queen *Canlac*, or the Empress *Helen*, because it

is: not the Custom of the *Abyssines* to Name Women in these Catalogues of theirs, wherein they also follow the Custom of the *Jews*, from whom they descend, who, as *S. Jerome* observes, did not use to take notice of Females, in their *Genealogies*.

We have thus given a very brief account of the Emperors of *Ethiopia*, descended from *Solomon* in a direct Male Line, for among them they do not admit of those who descended by the Females. I took no notice of those, who usurp'd the Empire, during that Interval the Family of *Zague* Rul'd, for the reason before given; but among them there was one call'd *Lalibela*, who

Lalibela, a great Emperor.

prov'd very potent, had great Dominions and was extraordinary fortunate, not only in regard of his long peaceable Possession of the Empire, which lasted 40 Years, and for leaving a Son to succeed him, who govern'd as long; but also for his greatness of Mind, in erecting sumptuous Structures, which perpetuated his Name in *Ethiopia*. He caus'd many notable Architects to be

brought out of *Egypt*; where there were always some famous, since the raising of the celebrated *Piramids*, and spent 24 Years building so admirable Churches, after an unusual and wonderful Method, for they were all hew'd out of solid Rocks, and wrought most curiously contriv'd. So that as in other stately Works we

Churches hew'd out of solid Rocks.

admire how much they increase by the addition of the Stones the Workmen lay on; in these prodigious Churches the Work increas'd as the Stone diminish'd, for all the advancing of the Structure depended on what was hew'd from it. The Names of the Churches were these, *S. Emanuel, S. Saviour, S. Mary, the Holy Cross, S. George, Golgotha, Bethlehem, Marcureos, the Martyrs and Lalibela*. This last, which is the chiefest, and finest Structure retain'd the Name of the Founder of them all, well deserv'd by a Prince so magnanimous and of such singular Piety, who in a Country where there ever were such mean Structures, and so great a Scarcity of Builders, had Resolution and Treasure enough to bring those notable Artists from so far, which must be an extraordinary Expence, and to erect such singular Works, worthy to be reckon'd among the most sumptuous and wonderful in the World. The particular Description of these Churches I leave to *F. Francis Alvarez*, who saw them himself, as he writes in his History.

On Account of these Renowned and Pious Works, the common People look'd upon this Emperor as a Saint, and perhaps he might be so; I will here set down what we find written concerning him, in a Book of theirs. On the 17th of June, says the Book, the blessed, unspotted Contemplator of the Heavenly Mysteries, *Lalibela, Emperor of Ethiopia, went to rest: When this Saint was*

Lalibela reckon'd a Saint.

born, his Parents educated him in the Fear of God; and when he was grown up a Youth, the Emperor his Brother was told; that he should possess his Empire and sit upon his Throne; whereupon he grew cautious, sent for him, and order'd him to be whipt; but the Stripes did not touch him, the Angel of the Lord delivering him, which Angel reveal'd to him, that he should build the Ten Churches, and when he had done building them, he rested in Peace.

Abraham
another.

Thus far their Book, which is no Gospel, but relates many Apocryphal Stories, as *F. Emanuel de Almeyda* informs us, and as such I look upon what *P. Francis Alvarez* tells us, that he saw written in a Book they kept in that Church, wherein it is said, That a King, whose Name was *Abraham*, liv'd there a retir'd Life, for the space of 40 Years, and that he was a Priest, and said Mass every Day, for which an Angel daily supply'd him with Bread and Wine. I question not but he was a Holy Man; if the Angel came thus to attend him; but it does not appear that there was any such Emperor then in *Ethiopia*.

This short Account of the Emperors of *Ethiopia* will give us some Light, for the better understanding of this History; and as we have seen the Original of the Knowledge of the true God in *Ethiopia*; so shall we now see how the Faith of **JESUS CHRIST** came into this Empire. The famous *Portuguese* Historian *Jam. de Conjo* Decad. 7. lib. 1. cap. 8. brings a long Catalogue of the Emperors of *Ethiopia*, but not upon such certain Information.

CHAP. XV.

As what Time and in what manner the Knowledge of the Faith of CHRIST was brought into Ethiopia; a Proof of it out of the Ethiopian Books; a farther Confirmation of it.

AS to the Knowledge of the Faith of JESUS CHRIST, it is a most unquestion'd Tradition among the *Ethiopians*, that they receiv'd it by means of the Eunuch and great Favourite to Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, of whom mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. 8. I will here deliver this Story in the same Words it is written in the aforementioned Book of *Auxum*, or *Acxum*, whence F. Emanuel de Almeida took it, and it runs thus.

Before the Queen of Sheba went to Jerusalem to hear the Wisdom Story of Q. of Solomon, all the People of Ethiopia were Heathens; but at her Candace. Return, she brought in the History of Genesis, and they continu'd in the Jewish Law, till the coming of CHRIST. After that, Queen Candace's Eunuch's going to Jerusalem to pay his Worship on the Feast of the Passover, was the cause of their becoming Christians, for the Gentiles, who embrac'd the Jewish Law, went to Jerusalem at the Passover, because it was not lawful for them to offer Sacrifice in their own Country, but in the Place where the Name of God was call'd upon. And as the said Eunuch was returning, the Angel of the Lord spoke to Philip, and said to him, Arise and go towards the South to the way that goes down from Jerusalem to Gaza in the Desert. He went thither and found an Ethiopian, Eunuch to Queen Candace of Ethiopia, who was Treasurer of all her Wealth and came to adore in Jerusalem, and was returning into his Country in his Chariot; and Philip coming up, heard he read a Prophecy of Isaiah, and ask'd him, Whether he understood what he read? He, answer'd, How should he understand it, unless some body taught him? And intreated Philip to come up into his Chariot, which he did, and taking occasion from what he ask'd, concerning that Prophecy, he preach'd to him JESUS CHRIST, converted, instructed him in the Faith and baptiz'd him. Then the Spirit took away Philip, and he saw the Eunuch no more. He continuing his Journey very joyfully, for what

had hapned to him, came into Ethiopia, and to his Mistress's Palace, and telling this Story, they believ'd in the Gospel of the Grace of JESUS CHRIST. Thus far the Ethiopian Book, which is almost the same we read in the above quoted place of the Acts of the Apostles.

Ethiopia the
first Country
Converted,

The Histories of Ethiopia farther add, That, when our Saviour was born, *Bacona* Reign'd, being the twentieth King from *Menilebec*, the Son of *Solomon*. (Note here that the Author before calls this King *Phacen*, and says he was the 24th Emperor from *Menilebec*, which is a gross mistake, as well as that before observ'd.) It is no small honour to the *Abyssinians* to have been the first of all Foreign Nations that embrac'd the Faith of CHRIST, after the Apostles began to spread it through the World; and so it is many Fathers expound those Words of the 68 Psalm, ver. 31. *Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her Hands unto God*; because it submitted to CHRIST before any other Province in the World.

But imper-
fectly.

But that Eunuch being no Bishop, nor so much as a Priest in Ethiopia, and having but an imperfect Knowledge of the Mysteries of the Faith, as being instructed and baptiz'd upon the Road, and that by *Philip*, who was a Deacon, and neither Apostle, nor Bishop, who are the Fathers of spiritual Life, and by Imposition of their Hands can in Spirit beget Sons, that may also be Fathers, his Preaching was not in such perfect Knowledge as might be requisite, and they only receiv'd a confuse Idea of the Faith of CHRIST, and continu'd in the Observation of the Law of *Moses*, till *S. Athanasius* was preferr'd to *S. Mark's* Chair at *Alexandria*, in the Year of our Lord 326; for in his Time God ordain'd the Faith should extend all over Ethiopia, and that there should be a Bishop in it and Priests.

S. Matthew
not in Ethi-
opia.

As for *S. Matthew's* coming into this Ethiopia and preaching the Gospel; it is a thing the *Abyssinians* know nothing of, and altogether groundless, and when the *Jesuits* told them, that our Histories gave an Account of it, they answer'd, It must be understood of the lower Ethiopia, which stretches from *Saqbem* up the Inland, as far as *Egypt*; for they never knew any thing of *S. Matthew*, or any other Apostle coming into their Country, as their Books testify, and all those affirm, who among them value themselves upon having any Knowledge of Antiquity.

The occasion and manner of the Faith of CHRIST being more formally introduc'd into Ethiopia, in my Opinion, was that we find in *Ruffinus* his Ecclesiastical History, lib. 1. cap. 9. The learned Cardinal *Baronius* gave such entire Credit to him, that he inserted all his Relation in the 3d Volume of his Annals, in the Year of Grace 327, when he thinks it happen'd, which had been before

before done by *Socrates*, *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*. Yet none of the four knew certainly, which the Country was they spoke of; thinking it enough to say, that the great Conversion they treated of happen'd in the Lower, or Hither *India*, as it really was. But *Rufinus* was mistaken, in placing it, beyond the Gulph of *Persia*; between the *Parthians* and the *Medes*, whereas he should have brought it into this *Ethiopia*, near the Red Sea. And whereas the Connexion there is between this Story of *Rufinus*, and that the *Abyssinians* tell us of their Conversion, was before unknown; it has pleas'd God to discover this Truth to the Fathers of the Society, who were there, by reading our Books; and those of *Ethiopia*, comparing them both together. To come to the Relation *Rufinus* in his Tripartite History speaks thus.

A certain Philosopher born at *Tyre*, whose name was *Me-* *Ethiopia*
ropius, being desirous to Travel through *India*, left his Coun- when convert-
try, taking along with him two Children his Nephews, whom ed out of
he instructed in the liberal Arts. The Youngest of them was *Rufinus*.
call'd *Edesus*, the Elder *Fruventius*. Having travell'd and seen
all he desir'd, he return'd towards *Tyre*, but falling short of
Water and Provisions, was oblig'd to put into a certain Port
of *Barbarians* with his Ship. It is the Custom of that Nation
when any Ship arrives there, to enquire of the Neighbouring
People, whether the Peace they have made with the *Romans*
holds good, and if they hear of any Breach, they immediately
fall upon the Mariners, and kill all the *Romans* they find among
them. On this pretence they seiz'd on the Philosopher, taking
the Ship, and killing all the Men in it. The two Children were;
at this Time, ashore, resting themselves, and conning their Lessons.
The *Barbarians* seeing them, and being mov'd to Compassion, spar'd
their Lives, and carry'd them as a Present to their King, who
was so fond of them, that he made *Edesus* his Cup-Bearer;
and finding *Fruventius* more solid and understanding entrusted
him with all his Writings, and Accounts. The King dying;
appointed the Queen to Govern his Dominions, till his Eldest
Son, then under Age, was capable of the Administration; and
gave the two Youths their Liberty, and free leave to go where-
soever they pleas'd.

They being about to prepare to return into their own Coun- *Fruventius*
try, the Queen earnestly intreated them to stay, and assist her *Governor*.
in the Government, till such time as her Son was of Age to
manage it himself, being destitute of Persons of such Experience,
and whom she could so well trust as they. This she did chiefly
on account of *Fruventius*, whose Wisdom was such, that he
alone could have govern'd larger Kingdoms; for *Edesus* was a
plainer

plainer Man. They two having the ordering of all Things, God mov'd the Heart of *Frummentius*, who was a Christian, observing that *Roman* Merchants resorted to that Country, to enquire, whether there were any Christians among them, whom he lent for, shov'd them extraordinary Kindness, and allow'd them great Privileges, to the end they might meet in some Towns, and there offer up their Prayers, after the *Roman* manner. He himself would be present, and invited the People of the Country with Gifts and Kindness, allowing them to Embrace the Faith of CHRIST, to which he drew many of them. When the Prince was of Age and Discretion to take the Government upon him; tho' both he and his Mother us'd all endeavours to retain the two Brothers, they could not prevail.

Is made Bishop.

Returning homewards, *Edeus* made all Speed to *Tyre*, to see his Parents and Kindred; but *Frummentius* went to *Alexandria*, where *S. Athanasius* had not long been Patriarch, to whom he gave an account of all his Adventures, and the good Disposition there was in that Country for a plentiful Harvest of Soul, telling him it would be convenient to send some Bishop thither, to take Charge of those Churches and Christians there were already. *S. Athanasius* assembling the Bishops, looking upon *Frummentius*, and considering his Actions, his Words, his Zeal, and Understanding, said to him in the midst of them all. *Whom can we find equal to your self, on whom the Divine Spirit may so much reside, and operate?* And Consecrating him Bishop, he order'd him to return, with his Blessing, and the Grace of the Lord. *Frummentius* returning for *India*, was so full and replenish'd with the virtue of the most high, that he wrought many Miracles; not inferiour to those of the Apostles, by which many became Christians in those Parts of *India*, many Churches were built, and many Priests ordain'd. This we do not deliver without good grounds, only upon Hearsay, but having had from the Mouth of *Edeus* himself, who had been Companion to *Frummentius*, having met him at *Tyre*, where he was a Priest. These are the Words of *Ruffinus*, interted by *Basil* in his 3d Volume, in the Year of CHRIST 327.

Converts Ethiopia.

This Story we find almost in the same Words and Method, in several *Ethiopian* Books, and particularly in that they so highly value of the Church of *Auxum*, or *Aczum*, which delivers it thus.

The same from the Ethiopian Books.

After many Years were past, a Merchant came from *Tyre*, with two Servants, the one call'd *Fremomasos* and the other *Sydracos*, and the Merchant falling sick, dy'd near the Sea, in the Dominions of *Ethiopia*; for which Reason the Youths were brought

brought to the King, who was well-pleas'd with them, and order'd they should be with his own Sons. They wonder'd much at the People of *Ethiopia*, and ask'd them, How they came to believe in the Faith of CHRIST, because they saw them Pray and Adore the most Blessed Trinity, and that their Women wore the Sign of the Holy Cross on their Heads, and they prais'd God, who had been so merciful to those People, as that they should believe without preaching, and receive the Faith without an Apostle. They continu'd in that King's Court whilst he liv'd, and at his Death he discharg'd and gave them leave to go whither they pleas'd.

Sydrazos therefore return'd to his own Country *Tyre*; and *Fremonatos* went to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, desiring him to provide for the Salvation of the *Ethiopians*, and told him all he had seen, and how they believ'd, without having been taught by the Apostles. The Patriarch rejoyc'd very much, and gave great Praise to God, for his mercy in acquainting them with his Holy Faith. Then he said to *Fremonatos*, you shall be their Pastor, for God has chosen and rais'd You. Then after Ordaining him Priest, he made him Bishop of *Ethiopia*; and he returning baptiz'd the Natives, and ordain'd many Priests and Deacons, to assist him; and was much honour'd and respect'd by all Men. And because he brought Peace, they call'd him *Abba Salama*, which signifies Father of Peace, or Peaceable. His coming into *Ethiopia* was in the Reign of *Abra* and *Azba*, Brothers, who receiv'd the Doctrine of Holiness, as the dry Earth receives the Rain from Heaven. Thus far the Book of *Auxum*, or *Atzum*: is another containing the Life of *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, of whom we shall speak hereafter; it is express'd, that the Patriarch of *Alexandria* who consecrated *Fremonatos* and sent him into *Ethiopia* was *S. Athanasius*; and this is the Tradition and Belief of all those, who in this Country know any thing of History.

Both these Histories, as well the *Ethiopian*, as ours agree that *Consent be- S. Athanasius* was the Patriarch, who consecrated *Fremonatos*, or *twice the same Frumentius*; and all the *Ethiopian* Books consent that this was Relations. the beginning of the Conversion of the *Abyssines* to the Faith of CHRIST, there being no material Difference; for they only vary in not calling *Meropius* by his Name, and not saying he was Philosopher, but a Merchant of *Tyre*, and that he dy'd a natural Death, and that the younger of the Lads was call'd *Sydrazos*, and in calling *Frumentius* *Fremonatos*, which does not at all lessen the Credit, or the Connection of the Story.

For as to the first Point, the *Ethiopian* Writers might per- Difficulties
haps not know the Name of *Meropius*, who was a Stranger; reconcil'd
and

and as for saying he dy'd a natural and not a violent Death, either they might believe so, or be ashamed to own such a piece of Barbarity and Cruelty of their Country, as the murdering of a Stranger that came upon their Coast. Nor is it any Contradiction to call him a Merchant and not a Philosopher, for it is well known that many of the Ancient Philosophers were also Merchants, as *Solon, Thales, Crates, Zenon, Hippocrates, and Plato* which Custom was also at *Tyre*, where the Merchants were not only Philosophers, but also Princes and Governours, as appears by those Words of *Haiah* chap. 23. v. 6. *Who hath taken the Counsel against Tyre, the crowning City, whose Merchants are Princes, whose Traffickers are the honourable of the Earth?* And the Traders of *Tyre*, had settled their Trade towards *India*, on the Red Sea, at the Port we now call *Tor*, or *Gibel-Tor*, as being at the Foot of Mount *Sinai*, and in sight of it and the *Arabs* calling a Mountain *Gibel*, they therefore call'd Mount *Sinai*, *Gibel-Tor*, because it stands over the Town of *Tor*.

Tyrians trading to India.

Here it is likely *Meropius* embark'd for *India*, being of *Tyre*, and this might be the Port he directed his Courte to in his return, but was forc'd into *Mazna*, 45 Leagues from *Auxum*, or *Aczum*, the Metropolis of *Ethiopia*. By reason of this Trade, the *Tyrian* Mariners were as well acquainted with the Red-Sea, as the *Mediterranean*, on whose shore their City stood, and those who came from *India* for *Tyre* by Sea, must needs run up the Red-Sea to *Tor*, or some other nearer Harbour, whence they might Travel by Land to *Tyre*; but they putting into *Mazna* were carry'd to *Auxum*, or *Aczum*.

Ethiopia call'd India.

Nor was *Etesius* mistaken, in calling *Ethiopia* by the Name of *India*; but *Ruffinus* was out in not knowing, and misplacing it. For the People of *Phenicia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* give the Name of *India* to all that Tract of Land, which stretches out to the Eastward from *Suez*, on both sides the Sea, and particularly to *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, which is the *Abyssine* Empire we speak of. *Marcus Antonius Sabellicus Aeneid.* 10. lib. 8. writes out of *Herodotus*, that a great number of People swarm'd out of *India* into *Arick*, and being settled and increasing there, gave it the name of the Country they came from, calling it *India*; as we see the *Vandals*, gave the name of *Vandalia* to that Province of *Spain*, we corruptly call *Andalusia*; and *Virgil* speaking of the *Nile*, which has its Source in *Ethiopia*, as has been observ'd, says it rises among the *Indians*.

Ufque coloratis Amnis devexus ab Indis. Georg. 4.

Encherius

Eucherius on the 1st Book of Kings, calls the Queen of *Sheba*, *Indian*; and *Procopius* on *Isaiab*, *Ethiopian*. Which name was ever after continu'd to the *Abyssinians*, as appears by a Letter Pope *Alexander* the 3d sent the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, in the Year 1174, by *Philipp*, a Physician, mention'd by Cardinal *Baronius* in his 12th Volume, the Superscription whereof runs thus, *Tharissimo in Christo Filio, illustri & magnifico Indorum Regi, &c.* To our most dearly beloved Son in CHRIST, the Illustrious and Magnificent King of the *Indians*, &c. *Marcus Paulus Venetus*, who travell'd all over the East, about the Year 1300, calls *Abyssinia* the middle *India*; yet not properly, because to be call'd the middle, there ought to be another below it, however the name of *India* is allow'd.

Nor is the Connexion between these two Relations any way lessen'd by the *Ethiopian* Books calling *Fruementius's* Companion *Sidracos* and not *Edepus*; for as much as it is an ancient Custom of Masters to give new Names to their Slaves, as we see in *Daniel* and his Companions, one of whom, viz. *Ananias*, was by the Prince of the Eunuchs call'd *Shadrac*, which is the same as *Sidracos*, or *Sidracos*. In the Name of *Fruementius* the Alteration was small at first; calling him *Fremonatos*, and many other Names are much more alter'd in *Ethiopia* for they call *S. Sylvester*, *Solpetros*; *S. Damasus*, *Damaris*; *S. Dionysius*, *Dionaceos*; *S. Ildefonsus*, *Decios*, and so others. Four Leagues Eastward of *Auxum*, or *Aczum*, which was their Metropolis, as appears by a Place in *S. Athanasius*, which we shall quote, stands a Town, the most famous and frequented in all the Kingdom of *Tigre*. It is call'd *Fremona*, where the Fathers of the Society had their first and principal Residence, and it seems to have been so to *S. Fremonatos*, and he to have taken this first Name from it.

Afterwards, the People observing the Sanctity of their Prelate, and that he had made Peace betwixt God and them, they call'd him *Abba Salama*, which signifies, Peaceable Father. From him to *Simon*, who was the *Abuna*, that rebell'd with *Elos* against the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, and was kill'd at the Battel of *Sada*, in the Year 1618, as shall be said hereafter, they reckon 95 *Abuna's*; and this Holy *Abba-Salama*, or *Fremonatos*, was still living in the Year 356, which was the 20th of the Emperor *Constantius*, when that Emperor being an *Arian* Heretick, had put *George* an *Arian* Patriarch into *Alexandria*, in the Place of *S. Athanasius*, as is to be seen in the Life of that Saint and many other Books; and the Saint absconding, the wicked Emperor thought he was fled into *Ethiopia*, to his Son *Fruementius*, and therefore writ to the *Ethiopian* Monarch and Governors of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, that Letter *S. Athanasius*

nasius mentions in his first Apology, entitul'd thus: *Hac adversus Frumentium Episcopum Auxumae, Tyrannis ejus loci Scripta sunt*: That is, This was writ to the Governors of *Auxum*, against *Frumentius*, the Bishop of that Place. And in the Letter, the Heretickal Emperor testifies, that *S. Frumentius* was consecrated Bishop by *S. Athanasius* in these Words: *Te know and remember, unless ye pretend to be Ignorant of such Things as are notoriously manifest, that Frumentius was chosen to this Rank by Athanasius, a Man guilty of all sorts of Ills.* And to conclude, he orders them, in c to *Athanasius* be among them to send him to *Alexandria*, to be punished, and with him *Frumentius* to be intructed, and confirm'd by *George the Arian Bishop*. Cardinal *Baronius* handles this Point, *Anno Christi 356. num. 18.*

Bellarmin
his mistake.

This makes out a mistake in the said Cardinal *Baronius*, who in his Notes on the *Roman Martyrology* on the 27th of October, where in the said Martyrology he makes mention of our *S. Frumentius* or *Frumentos*, says, that in the Days of *S. Athanasius* there were two Bishops, who bore the Name of *Frumentius*, the one consecrated by that Saint, Bishop of the Lower *India*, whose Feast is kept on that Day, and of whom we here treat; and the other Bishop of *Auxume*, a City in *Egypt*, of whom *S. Athanasius* makes mention in his first Apology. But *S. Frumentius* and the Bishop of *Auxume* or *Auxum*, is the same with him of the lower *India*; for *Auxum* was the Capital City of it, as has been shown. Nor does *Ptolemy*, tho' an *Egyptian* and of *Alexandria*, in his Tables or Geography, Name any City call'd *Auxume* in *Egypt*, but in *Ethiopia*, above *Egypt*, which is this we speak of, and in the same Place where the Ruins of it are now, and he calls it a Royal City, as may be seen in the 5th Book of his Geography, cap 8. and in the 4th Table of *Africk*.

Besides the same Letter from *Constantinus* plainly proves, that *Auxum*, where *Frumentius* was Bishop, and which is there spoken of, was not a City in *Egypt*; for there are these Words in it: *Therefore send the Bishop Frumentius, as soon as possible into Egypt, to the most Venerable George, and other Bishops in Egypt, who have the Supreme Authority in treating and judging of Bishops.* So that had *Auxume*, where *Frumentius* was Bishop, been a City in *Egypt*, there was no need for the Emperor to order him to be brought into *Egypt*, and be presented before the Bishops of *Egypt*. But as *Ruffinus* was mistaken in placing the hither *India*, wherof *Edesius* spoke to him, near *Parthia*, so Cardinal *Baronius* err'd in not placing the City *Auxume* in this lower *India*, or *Ethiopia* above *Egypt*, but in *Egypt* itself; which may sometimes happen to those who do not write what they saw, but what they receive from others.

Error of
Ruffinus.

A

A further Proof hereof is, that the Governors of *Auxum* are in that Letter call'd *Tyranni*; for this Name the *Romans* gave to all Kings and Great Men who were not their Subjects, as those of *Ethiopia* were not; whereas all *Egypt* was theirs, since the Days of *Augustus Caesar* and *Cleopatra*, who was the last Queen of *Egypt*.

The King to whom the two Lads *Edesus* and *Fruementius* were presented as Slaves, was in all likelyhood *Agder*, between whom *Two Kings* and *Bacena*, who reign'd in our Saviour's Days, the Catalogue of reigning Kings of *Ethiopia* places 13 others. The Child at his Death left jointly. under Age to govern, was perhaps *Abrà*, who seems to have associated to him in the Kingdom another younger Brother call'd *Azba*; for all the *Ethiopian* Books tell us, that when *S. Fruementius* return'd into *Ethiopia*, consecrated Bishop by *S. Athanasius*, two Brothers call'd *Abrà* and *Azba* reign'd jointly, and that in their Days, there, were great Numbers converted to the Law of *CHRIST*.

Genebrardus in his Chronicon makes mention of them, by the Name of Defenders and Spreaders of the Christian Religion, and that in the 17th Year of their Reign, the Faith extended wonderfully; but he was mistaken, in making them an hundred Years more Modern than they really were; for he says they liv'd in the Year of *CHRIST* 460, whereas the utmost they could live to mult be 360, because the said two Brothers were reigning when *S. Fruementius* return'd from *Alexandria*, consecrated Bishop by *S. Athanasius*, who was lately made Patriarch, and begun to be so in the Year 326: So that *S. Fruementius* might return about 330, and he being still alive in 356, as has been shown, the two Brother Emperors could not probably Survive 360.

At what Time.

I suppose all those who shall happen to read this History, will not make a Question of *Ethiopia's* being the lower *India*, where *Ethiopia the Meropius* landed in his Return to *Tyre*, and where *S. Fruementius* Lower India. was first a Captive or Slave. and afterwards Bishop of *Auxum* or *Aczum*, and Apostle of that Nation; since in it we find an Agreement of all Circumstances of Name, Place and Actions; and did not the Power of Truth so strongly unite the Relation of *Ruffinus* and the Histories of *Ethiopia*, there could not be such Consonance between them.

By all that has been said it appears, that the Faith of *CHRIST* was brought in Form into *Ethiopia* by means of *S. Fruementius*, sent When fully by *S. Athanasius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, in the Year of our Lord converted. 330, little more or less; for *S. Athanasius* dy'd in the Year of Grace 372, according to the best Account of Cardinal *Baronius*. Tom. 4. p. 331, and that Saint governing his Church 46 Years, his beginning being under *Constantine* the Great, who commenc'd

his Reign in 326, and this Passage of *Fremonas*, being in the beginning of *S. Athanasius's* Rule, it follows, as has been said, that the Faith of *CHRIST* came into *Ethiopia* about the Year 330, little over or under. The *Roman Martyrology* makes mention of *S. Frumentius* sent by *S. Athanasius* to this Conversion, on the 27th of *October*.

C H A P. XVI.

*At what Time the Monastical Life began in Ethiopia ;
with an Account of the Holy King Kaleb.*

WE have fix'd the Time, when the Knowledge of the Faith of *CHRIST* began more regularly in *Ethiopia*; it remains now to clear another Point, very considerable in itself, and very acceptable to the Curious, which is, at what Time the Monastical Life first came into that Empire; and in regard this Affair is much controverted, there being variety of Opinions about it, and much Falshood intermix'd with some Truth: Therefore I will here deliver what the most Reverend Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *Don Alfonso Mendez* writ concerning it, in the Information he gave upon Oath, after he had with indefatigable Labour fairly extracted all he found relating to this Point in the *Ethiopian Books*, and Authors that treat of such Affairs, being himself then in *Abyssinia*.

* It is likely, (says he) that *S. Athanasius* did not send *S. Frumentius* into *Ethiopia* alone, but that he gave him some Counsellors and Assistants, of those he always had about him, who were try'd Monks of Exemplary Lives, bred up under *S. Antony*, then living, for whom he had so great an Esteem, that he writ his Life, and boasts of his Friendship and Instructions; whereof he gave Testimony when going to *Rome*, in the Year 340, being call'd by *S. Julius*, then Pope, to answer to the Calumnies laid to his Charge by the *Arians*, who took along with him *Isidorus* and *Ammonius*, two chosen Monks; the sight of whom drew the Eyes and inflam'd the Hearts of the *Roman Court* and Nobility, to imitate the Monks of *Egypt*, as *S. Jerome* testifies, *Epist.*

*Monks when
first in Ethi-
opia.*

i. *ad Principiam*. Palladius *Histor. Lausiac. cap. 1.* mentions *Idem's* bearing *S. Athanasius* Company; and that *Ammonius* d 10, *Socrates* testifies 4 *Hist. Eccles. cap. 18.*

I am perswaded, that *S. Athanasius* gave *S. Frumentius* such companions, by the Words of *S. Jerome Epist. 7. ad Letam*, here inviting her to send her Daughter *Paula*, then a Child, to her Grand-mother *S. Paula*, the Elder, that she might there be among the Lillies of Purity, he says, *From India, Persia and Ethiopia, we daily receive Troops of Monks.* And that it may appear, he does not speak of that *Ethiopia* which borders on *Africa*, where *Moses* took his *Ethiopian* Wife, but that it was above *Egypt*, in the 17th Epistle to *Marcellus*, he says, *What do we mention the Armenians, the Persians, the Indians, the Ethiopians, or Egypt, close by abounding in Monks?* From which Places may collect, that the Religious Life enter'd *Ethiopia* together with the Faith of *CHRIST*; for according to the Computation of Cardinal *Baronius*, *Tom. 4. anno 372.* *S. Jerome* was in the Year 342, which was the Time, a Year over or under, when *S. Frumentius* converted all *Ethiopia*; for about that time must fall the 17th Year of *Abra* and *Azba*, and he dy'd 420: And in that Interval of Time, when he writes, the monastical Life did so flourish in *Ethiopia*, that Swarms of Monks went thence to visit the Holy Places.

Tho' there were already Monks in *Ethiopia* in the Days of *S. Jerome*, yet 50 or 60 Years after his Death, there was a great increase of them by many Monks that came in, who the *Ethiopian* Histories of the Monastery of *Auxum*, and of all the other Churches, say, came from *Rum* and from *Egypt*. These, it may be gather'd, enter'd that Country betwixt the Years 470 and 520. The most renown'd of them are Nine, who settled and founded Monasteries in the Kingdom of *Tigre*; which we find expressly declar'd in the Life of *Tecla Haymanot*, in the Chronicles of *Auxum*, and in many other Books.

These Chronicles tell us, that after the Days of *Abra* and *Azba*, whose Time *S. Frumentius* was consecrated Bishop, till the coming of these Religious Men, there were Six Emperors, *Azfa*, *ded* and *Amei*, Brothers, who they say divided the Days into 3 Parts, and took their Turns round in the Government, *Ab*, *Aladoba*, or *Saladoba* and *Amiamid*, whom others call *Alad*, and others *Alamida*; and whom *F. James Gualterius* in his Chronicle, rightly places in the 5th Century, under this last name. It will not be impertinent here to translate the very words of the Chronicle of *Auxum*, which are these. *In the days of Amiamid many Monks came from Rum, who fill'd all the Empire;*

Empire; Nine of them stay'd in Tigre, and each of them erected a Church of his own Name.

Nine famous
Monks.

To Eight of them the People of the Country gave Names after their manner, from something that beset them, and only one call'd *Pantaleo* preserv'd his own. The Names are these, *Abba Arogay*, signifying the Old Man, because he was the Eldest and Superior of them all; *Abba Pantaleon*, *Abba Guarima*, *Abba Aleft*, *Abba Sahami*, *Abba Afe*, *Abba Licanos*, *Abba Adimata*; *Abbaos*, whom they call'd *Guba*, signifying Swollen, because he building his Church on a very high Mountain, where he liv'd alone, those that pass'd by the Foot of it said, *What high Swollen Monk is this?* Whence this Nickname stuck by him. These Monks wrought extraordinary Miracles, by which they converted a great Part of Ethiopia. Among the rest, they tell one of a great Serpent that was about *Auxum*, which devour'd many Men and much Cattel, and burst asunder by their Prayers. Thus far the Books of *Auxum*. In the Life of *Tecla Haymanot* there is writ as follows. He came to the Monastery *Damo*, built by *Abba Agaravi*, one of the Nine Saints that came from *Rum* and *Egypt*, in the Days of *Alamida*, the Son of *Saladoba*, and Predecessor to *Tacena*. These Nine are so many Stars that gave Light to all the World, &c. And so they run on in their Praises.

Greece call'd
Rum.

Rum mention'd in these two Places, is not *Rome*, which the *Abyssines* always call *Romea*, as well in their Vulgar Tongue as in the learned of their Books, but *Greece*, *Thrace* and *Constantinople*; because *Constantin* removing the Seat of his Empire thither, and designing in all Respects to make it equal to *Rome*, would have it so in Name also, calling it *New Rome*, as we read in several Imperial Laws, Councils, and *Greek* Historians; and with the Emperor and his Court all the Prime Nobility of *Rome* came thither, and the *Turks* afterwards making themselves Masters of *Constantinople*, it may well be suppos'd, from *Romans* they came to be call'd *Rumes*. That Emperor dividing the adjacent Lands of *Thrace* among his Pretorian Bands, that so they might forget their Possessions in *Italy*, they all settled there; whence *Thrace* came to change its first Name, being from the New *Roman* Inhabitants call'd *Romania*, which Name it still retains throughout all the East: And as all the Western People are call'd *Frangues*, from the *Franks* or *French*, who went to Conquer the Holy Land, so all the *Greeks*, and any other *Europeans* thereabout Subject to the *Turks*, are call'd *Rumes*, because many of their Ancestors were *Romans*; and so *Constantinople* and *Greece*, *Rum* for the same Reason. Hence came that which we find in our Histories of *India*, as *John de Barros*, *Conto*, *Maphans*, &c. that the *Portuguezes* always

ways forbid any *Romes* coming thither, and they often fought with and overthrew them, they being *Turks*, *Greeks* and *Europeans*, for none then came from *Rome*.

Thus, when those Histories tell us, that those Nine Monks came from *Rum*, we must understand from *Greece* and *Constantinople*; and from the Name of one of them, in which all agree there was no Alteration, that is *Pantaleon*, being doubtless a *Greek* Name, we may conclude that the rest were also *Greeks* and *Egyptians*, and not *Latins*.

We farther suppose, that they were all of the Order of *St. Antony*, which at that Time flourish'd not only in *Egypt*, that *Saint's* Native Country, but was then spread through all *Greece*. For not to speak of the rest, they speak these very Words of *Abba Aragavi*, the Eldest of them, in the Life of *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, viz. That *Abba Aragavi* took the Habit of a Monk of *S. Pachomius*, *S. Pachomius* of *S. Macarius*, *S. Macarius* of *S. Antony*, (which Words we shall relate more at large in the 26th Chapter, when we speak of *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, who was descended from *Abba Aragavi*. Now if he being the Eldest and their Superior, was of the Order of *S. Antony*, how could the rest chuse but be of the same? Let us now take particular Notice of the two Names of *Abba Pantaleon* and *Abba Aragavi*; for by them we shall discover the true Year those Nine Monks came into *Ethiopia*, and the Time that *Tecla Haymanot* liv'd in.

In order to prove that those 9 Monks enter'd *Ethiopia* between the Years 470, and 480, it must be allow'd, as an undoubted Truth, that in the Year 522 *Elesbaan*, whom they call *baan*, or *Kaleb*, the Son of *Tacena*, and Grandson to *Alamida*, of both *Kaleb*, whom we have spoken, was Emperor of *Ethiopia*. This King *Elesbaan*, or *Kaleb*, was a Saint of great Renown, and as such honour'd by the Church; and inserted in its Martyrology, on the 27th of *October*. *Simeon Metaphrastes* writ his Life, as also the glorious Martyrdom of *S. Aretas*, whom the *Abyssines* call *Eruck*, and of 340 of his Companions, put to Death by *Dunaan*, the Jewish King of the *Homerites*, which Life is in the 5th Volume of *Surius*, on the 24th of *October*; and Cardinal *Baronius* in his Annals, in the Year of our Lord, 522.

The same Story translated literally from *Simeon Metaphrastes* is in the *Ethiopian Sanguazar*, which is their *Flos Sanctorum*, or Lives of Saints; and King *Kaleb's* Life is also by it self, and agrees in all points with that of the Holy Martyrs, without any other difference, save only in the Names of the Kings, for they call him *Kaleb*, whom we Name *Elesbaan*, and him we call *Dunaan*, they

they Name *Phineas*, or *Phinees*; but all we write of *Elesbaan* and *Dunaan* they say of *Kaleb* and *Phineas*.

Several
Names given
to one Person.

Nor is this to be look'd upon as an Objection, because, among the *Abyssines*, there is a great diversity and multitude of Names, especially among their Emperors, who have two at least the one given in Baptism, the other at their Coronation. And not to mention the Queen of *Sheba's* Son, who we have already show'd had three Names; that King who sent the first Embassy to the *Portugueses*, when he heard of their being come into *Inde* was first call'd *David*, afterwards *Lebna Danguil*, signifying, the Virgin's Incense, and lastly *Onag Segued*. His Eldest Son was nam'd *Claudius* and *Asnaf Segued*; his Son *Sarza Danguil*, and *Malac Segued*, the Emperor who sent for the Fathers of the Society, and receiv'd them with great Honour, *Socinius* and *Sultan Segued*; his Son, who cruelly persecuted and expell'd them *Faciladas*, or *Basilides*, and *Sultan Segued*.

Ethiopian
and Eutopean
Histories.
agree.

Hereof there are also many Examples in Scripture, as *Jacob* and *Israel*; *Jesus* and *Josuah*; *Raguel* and *Jethro*; *Heber* and *Cin*, and many more. In all other Respects there is a wonderful Agreement, between our Books and those of *Ethiopia*, which I compar'd together, with all possible Care and Exactness; and theirs begin precisely as ours do with these Words, which may be seen in *Sirius*, Tom. 5. Octob. 24. and in *Baronius*, Tom. 7. An. 522. lit. 12. *It was now near the 5th Year since Jultin wielded the Scepter of the Roman Empire, at which time Elesbaan was Emperor of the Ethiopian* (they call him *Kaleb*). *A Man, who universally obtain'd a great Name for his Piety and Justice. He had built a Palace in the City Auxume, &c.* The 5th Year of the Emperor *Justin*, is of CHRIST 522; for he began his Reign in 518, according to the Calculation of the Cardinals *Baronius*, and *Bellarmin*. Now the Emperor *Kaleb* living in the Year 522, it follows, that then also liv'd *Abba Pantaleon*, one of the 9 Monks, which is prov'd by the same History, as clear as the Light of the Sun.

340 Mar-
tyrs.

For towards the end of it we find, both in the *Latin* and *Ethiopic* Copies, that the wicked *Dunaan*, or *Phineas*, having put to Death *S. Aretas*, or *Eruth* and his 340 Companions, in the City of *Nagran*, and the most Pious Emperor *Justin* being acquainted with it, he full of Holy Zeal writ to *Asterius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to exhort by Letter King *Elesbaan* to take upon him the Revenge of the Blood of the Innocent Martyrs, and the chastizing of the Perfidious Jew. The Patriarch, whom *Simeon Metaphrastes* calls *Asterius*, is in the *Ethiopian* History nam'd *Timothy*. And the Truth is, there were both these Patriarchs

Patriarchs in *Alexandria*, at that Time; but *Asterius* was the Catholick, and *Timothy* the Heretick; which continu'd, for the most part, after the Schism of *Dioscorus*, as we prove by many Examples in a considerable Volume, we have compos'd, Entitled *Branhaymanot*, signifying, the light of the Faith, or an *Ethiopian* Catechise, divided into 12 Books, where we confute all the Errors of *Ethiopia* and the Eastern Church; lib. 7. cap. 24. and it is likely, that he who translated that Story into the *Ethiopic*, was a Heretick, and for the Honour of *Timothy*, a mischievous Heretick, and condemn'd in the 6th General Council, seigns that the Emperor *Justin* recommended to him this Affair, whereas he committed it to *Asterius*, the Catholick, as *Simeon Metaphrastes*, an Author renowned for Sincerity and Sanctity, writes.

The Holy King *Kaleb* having receiv'd the Patriarch's Letters and Recommendations from the Emperor *Justin*, was so inflam'd with the just Desire of Revenge, that he rais'd an Army of 120000 Men, and gather'd a Fleet on the Red Sea of 133 Sail, to attack the Tyrant by Sea and Land. But he would not set out, before he had advis'd with, and receiv'd the Blessing of a Holy Old Man, to whom God reveal'd many Things that were to come; and who had been 45 Years shut up in a little Tower, doing extraordinary Penance and conversing only with God. The King laying aside all his Royal Robes, and putting on a mean Habit, went to the Holy Monk, carrying him a little Basket full of Frankincense, with several Pieces of Gold hid among it: The Old Man perceiving the Fraud, and rejecting the Present, said to him, *God be with you, and with your Queen; go to the War with Confidence, arm'd with the Sacrifice of the Martyrs, which God has receiv'd as a sweet Odour; and with the Prayers of the Patriarch of Alexandria, and the Tears of the Emperor Justin.* *Elesbaan* hearing these Words, went away well satisfy'd, and fell upon the Tyrant, whom he slew, burning his Royal City, and restoring *Nagran* to the Christians. Then returning in Triumph to *Auxum*, he sent his Crown to *Jernusalem*, and going out of his Palace at Night, cloath'd in Hair-Cloth, went up to the top of a Mountain, where he shut himself up in a little Room; and liv'd a long time, like a Monk; having nothing of his own, but a Mat, and a Cup to drink Water out of.

This is in short what is more largely related, both in ours and the *Ethiopian* Histories; but in these and all their Books, and in the Mouths of them all it is agreed; that the Holy Old Man, King *Kaleb* went to advise with, and who had confin'd himself 45 Years to a Tower, was *Abba Pantaleon*, one of the

King Kaleb
Victorious,
becomes a
Monk.

Remarkable
Caves.

‘ Nine Monks, no Man being able, or daring to contradict i
 ‘ for besides that all the Books of *Ethiopia* unanimously deliver i
 ‘ the very Place, which we have seen several times confirms i
 ‘ for two Miles East of *Auxum* stand the Church and Monaster
 ‘ built by *Abba Pantaleon*, and call’d *Beth Pantaleon*, that
 ‘ *Pantaleon*’s House; and about a Musket-shot from it is st
 ‘ standing the little Tower, in which he was shut up, and whe
 ‘ he was visited by the Emperor; and in the mid way, betwe
 ‘ *Auxum* and *Beth Pantaleon*, there are three Caves, within o
 ‘ another and hew’d out by Hand in the Rock, one of which
 ‘ the Entrance, and has the Door to the West, being 15 Cub
 ‘ long and 4 in Breadth; and at the end of it are two oth
 ‘ little Rooms, in the nature of a Cross, to the Entrance, ea
 ‘ of which is 10 Cubits long, and that on the Right Hand,
 ‘ to the Southward is 4 Cubits wide, and that opposite to it
 ‘ All the Ground lying under these Caves has a square W
 ‘ about it.

‘ This is the Place, whither King *Kaleb* withdrew, and it
 ‘ honour’d as such. His Tomb and that of the Abbot *Pantale*
 ‘ are in the Church of *Beth Pantaleon*, which being laid open
 ‘ a great Earthquake that hapn’d in the Year 1630, we reco
 ‘ mended it to the Monks to have them speedily made up. A
 ‘ these Places we visited devoutly, and caus’d them to be exact
 ‘ measur’d.

‘ Since thus it appears, that *Abba Pantaleon* was shut up in th
 ‘ little Tower, in the 5th Year of *Justin*, and in 522 of CHRIST
 ‘ it follows, that he went into it in the 477; and since of cour
 ‘ he must have been some Years before in *Ethiopia*, we may con
 ‘ clude he came thither, with his Companions, between 470 and
 ‘ 480, and liv’d in it, during the Reigns of *Amsamid*, *Tacema* and
 ‘ *Kaleb*. Thus it must be allow’d, that those Nine Monks, s
 ‘ famous in *Ethiopia* were *Greeks* and not *Latins*, and went thi
 ‘ ther in the 5th Century. Thus far the Patriarch *Don Alphon*
 ‘ *Mendez*.

C H A P

C H A P. XVII.

At what time Tecla Haymanot flourish'd, who much dilated the Monastical Life in Ethiopia; of the manner of living of these Ethiopian Religious Men, and particularly of the Habit they wear; and an Account of some Monasteries.

THE most remarkable Thing in this *Ethiopia*, relating to these Religious Men of theirs, is the Life of *Tecla Haymanot*, who, according to their Relations, was a great Saint: and Worker of Miracles, and very much dilated, and by his Example and Doctrine reform'd the Monastical Profession in *Ethiopia*; and in regard that some Modern Authors will needs make *Tecla Haymanot* to be of other Orders, I will here let down, what the aforementioned Patriarch of *Ethiopia* writes of him.

Altho' those Fathers, says he, who enter'd *Ethiopia*, about the Year of our Lord 470, in the Days of King *Amilamid*, much increas'd the Monastical Discipline; yet it extended not beyond the Kingdom of *Tigre*; where each of them founded but one Monastery, which retains their Names till this Day. But *Abba Enstasios*, and *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, who descended from them, were Heads of great Companies of Monks, and erected many Monasteries, throughout all the Provinces. Of these *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, which signifies, Plant of the Faith, has a more numerous and renowned Family. The Head of them was formerly *Debra Libanos*, which signifies, Mount *Libanus*, in the Province of *Xaosa*, where their General resided, whom they call *Ichegue*, and he afterwards remov'd it to the Kingdom of *Begameder*, on Account of certain Barbarians call'd *Gallas*, possessing themselves of all thole Lands.

Tecla Haymanot, a Holy Monk.

It is no difficult matter to discover the time, when *Tecla Haymanot* flourish'd, as well by what has been said, as by the rest we find writ in his Life, which we have in our Custody, faithfully translated out of the *Amara* Language into *Portuguese*, wherein is said as follows. The Pedegree and Genealogy of our Fathers is this which ensues. The Angel S. Michael gave the Succession of Habit of a Monk to S. Antony; S. Antony to S. Macarius; he

' to S. Pachomius, and he to Abba Arogavy, who was one of the *Nim*
 ' that came in o Ethiopia. He gave the Habit to Abba Christo
 ' Bezana, and he to Abba Mascalmoa; he to Abba Joanni; &
 ' to Abba Jesus; he to Abba Tecla Haymanot; and then Abba
 ' Tecla Haymanot gave the Atqueima to Abba Jesus, as has been
 ' said, &c. Thus far the Book of the Life of *Tecla Haymanot*
 ' *Asquema* is a sort of Scapular; and it seems those Monks, be
 ' ing Greeks, call'd it *Asquema*, because it was as much as th
 ' *Schema Monachismi*, or the Badge of a Monk; for most of th
 ' Monks of Ethiopia are clad as every one can, or fancies, but i
 ' they wear that Scapular, which is made of soft well dress'd
 ' Thongs of Leather, they are reckon'd as Holy as *Pachomius*, c
 ' *Macarius*. It plainly appears, that in this Tree, or Genealogy
 ' there are but 3 Lives between *Abba Arogavy*, (who came wit
 ' *Abba Pantaleon*) and *Abba Tecla Haymanot*, which are those
 ' *Christos Bezana*, *Mascalmoa* and *Joanni*; for tho' it mention
 ' *Abba Jesus*, yet *Tecla Haymanot* took the Habit from *Abb*
 ' *Joanni*.

' Now *Abba Arogavy* being very Old, when he came into E
 ' thiopia, about the Year 470, let us suppose he might live til
 ' 500, and let us allow 120 Years to the other three that suc
 ' ceeded, and it will follow that *Tecla Haymanot* was born about
 ' 515, or 520, little over or under, which is prov'd by an un
 ' deniable Argument drawn from his Life, in which it is written,
 ' that he being 15 Years of Age, was carry'd by his Parents to
 ' the *Abuna Kirilos*, who was Patriarch in Ethiopia, when *Abba*
 ' *Benjamin* was to at *Alexandria*.

' This *Benjamin* was an *Entychian* Heretick and *Monothelite*
 ' as appears by an Epistle of his, which is in the *Haymanot Abban*
 ' being their Book, of the Faith of the Fathers, wherein he im
 ' pugn's the Belief of the two Natures of CHRIST, our Saviour
 ' and the Council of *Chalcedon*, and he liv'd about the Year of our
 ' Lord 630, being the same when S. *Sophronius*, Patriarch of Je
 ' rusalem liv'd, as may be seen in Cardinal *Baronius*, Vol. 8. An. 634.
 ' and in *Bellarmin de Script. Eccles. an. 634*. For S. *Sophronius* in
 ' that excellent Epistle he writ to *Sergius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*
 ' which is all preserv'd at length in the 6th General Council
 ' *Action 11*. after having excommunicated all the ancient Here
 ' ticks by their Names, towards the end adds, *With them also he*
 ' *cover'd and cloath'd with Anathema and Cathema Benjamin of*
 ' *Alexandria, and John and Sergius, and Thomas, and the Ser*
 ' *vant of the Syrian, who still lead an execrable Life, and cruelly*
 ' *oppose Piety*. If *Benjamin* liv'd in the Days of S. *Sophronius*.
 ' and

and so returns, when he thinks fit. Those who go more religiously clad, wear Black Cloth, which is like a Mantle, and under it, one they call a Shirt, but it is like a Cassock, or a Habit girt with a Thong. Others wear a black Habit, and like our Clergy-Men, especially if they use Caps, and not Hats. Both Clergy-Men and Monks carry in their Hand a Cross of Wood or Iron, or Brass; and if they are Masters, so they call the Prior or Abbots of Monasteries, their Crosses being large, and having a Foot, tho' well shap'd, is carry'd by a little sort of Brother, is like a Knight's Squire to carry his Spear; and the Cross Token, not only of their Profession, but the Dignity they enjoy.

Their Rules.

They were all oblig'd to fast all the Year, till Three in the Afternoon. They had their Canonical Hours, to say and sing which they met at Mid-Night, and several times in the Day, and generally speaking, the People of Ethiopia are much inclin'd to Penance, wherein these Religious Men signaliz'd themselves going into Water in cold Weather, and continuing in it several Hours. It is said of some of them, that they shut themselves in very large Trees, cutting open a place in them, which would contain their Body, till the Wood growing on both sides, press'd them in it self, which seems incredible; but so *F. Emmanuel de Almeyda* relates it. In fasting particularly they are very constant, many of them did never eat but once in two Days; this some still observe in Lent; others would only eat on Sunday and many spent all the Holy Week, without eating or drinking.

Fasting.

Monasteries.

I will now say something of those they call Monasteries, such Habits as we have here mention'd, deserve such built Monasteries as we shall describe, they being very different from those of Europe. Perhaps when they were under their Primitive Simplicity, they might have some more Form of a Community, what is known to have been practis'd almost Time out of mind, that there was no sort of Enclosure among them, so as every monastery should be within it self, under Locks and Keys, and surrounded with Walls; but each of them is like a Village, or little Town near a Church, and every one of those Monks has his little Cell or Cells of Timber, or Stone, and Clay, Thatch'd, Inclosed with a Hedge in, with its Land, and all other Necessaries, like a Country Farmer; and at present they have all of them Heads and Families, unworthy their Profession, and the most reform'd of them are Marry'd; but the Masters, or Chiefs must not be Marry'd, and live somewhat more reserv'd.

So that a Monastery is like a Country Parish, and as the Lands of a Parish belong to several Farmers, so it has always been the Custom to divide among them the Lands of such a Monastery; always leaving the Master a good Lot, which is like the Allowance for the Abbots Table; and every Man maintains himself on his Share of Land, and some other Gifts or Charity of Kindred and Friends; and when any of these Monks dy'd, if he had any thing acquir'd by his own Industry, and not belonging to the Monastery, he could leave it to whom he pleased; but his Lands return'd to the Monastery.

But if any of them be very Young, and the Master cannot or will not give them Lands, he maintains them, and they Eat in his House; but not at the same Table, for he always Eats by himself, and there is a Curtain drawn between his Table and theirs, that they may not see him Eat.

Such a Community deserves such Obedience as they pay to their Superiors. Every one of those Religious Men, or rather Peasants, goes whither he pleases, when he pleases, and does what he lists, following the Dictates of their own Will, without Submission to General of anothers. Those of *Tecla Haymanot* have a sort of General, whom they call *Icbegue*, who makes a sort of Visitation among them, either in Person or by his Deputy, whom he empowers to that purpose; and such as he finds faulty, which he seldom misses of, have some Penalty inflicted on them, which is generally the Payment of some Goods by way of Fine.

Those who follow the Rule of *Abba Enstaneus*, have no Supreme Head, but every Master is Chief in his own Monastery, and the Reason they give which pleases them, is because the said *Abba Enstaneus* went away into *Armenia* and dy'd there, without appointing any one to succeed him. The Master of each Monastery is chosen by Plurality of Votes. It is to be observ'd, that the Superiors of the Monasteries of the Order of *S. Antony* in *Portugal*, had the Title of Masters.

There were many of these Monasteries formerly in *Ethiopia*, whereof there are still great Remains. They were extraordinary great, not so much for their Structure as for the Lands they possess'd, and the multitude of Monks living on and tilling them. Some of the Churches were large, even those thatch'd; but all well lin'd with good Timber, with Cedar Beams very close to one another, supported by many Columns of the same Wood, very beautiful and costly. Almost all these Churches of theirs were round, but had in the middle a square Chappel; and this in the chief Monasteries was of square Stone, and had four Gates, whose Portals and Windows were of curious Wood; the Roof within

was

was in the Nature of a Cupula, always very dark, as having no first Light. Without this Square, between it and the round Wall was the Body of the Church, which look'd more like a Cloister and the Columns were in this Space, helping to support the Roof and the Beams, which came down from the Top of the Chappel and fell upon the round Wall; for there being a considerable distance betwixt it and the Wall of the Chappel, the Roof could not be supported without the Assistance of the said Columns.

The greatest Monasteries in *Ethiopia* were that of *Bisan*, which is a Days Journey from *Mazua*, among vast high Mountains, and belonging to the Monks of *Abba Eufatens*; but there are others yet more famous, as is that of *Debra Libanos*, signifying the Monastery or Mount *Libanus*; for *Debra* signifies both a Monastery and Mountain, and their Monasteries being generally founded on Mountains, the *Abyssines* gave them both the same Name. They call'd that Mountain *Libanus*, because it is very usual among them to give their Mountains Names of *Palestine*, and so there are others they call *Debra Sinay*, *Debra Tabor*, *Debra Zeyte*, so they Name Mount *Olivet*.

Famous Monasteries.
Debra Libanos Monastery.

Debra Libanos is in the Province or Kingdom of *Xaosa*, and because the Bones of *Tecla Haymanot*, who among the *Abyssines* is look'd upon as a Saint, were in it, the Emperors bestow'd abundance of Lands on it. The Buildings of this Monastery neither are nor ever were any better than those above mention'd. It had a Church like the rest, and on the same Mountain a sort of Village or Country Town, of thatch'd Houses, in which the Religious Men liv'd. The *Gallas* have taken away most of the Lands belonging to this Monastery, as being possess'd of the greatest part of the Province; only some few Christians live on those stony Mountains they call *Ambas*, and in the said Monastery there remain'd under 40 Monks. The Number of them formerly, all Men say, was very great, and that including the Churches and little Monasteries there were in the Country about, all of them subject to *Debra Libanos*, they might be about 10000.

Debra Allelo.

There is another Monastery very much celebrated by some Authors, call'd *Debra Allelo*, or *Allelujah*, belonging to the Monks of *Abba Eufatens*, seated in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, a Days Journey from *Auxum* on a Mountain, amidst great Woods. The Ruins of the ancient Church show it has been one of the best in *Ethiopia*. It was 99 Foot in length, and 78 and a half in breadth, and about it are to be seen the Remains of abundance of round Cells. The Fathers of the Society often ask'd the Eldest Monks of that Monastery, what number there was of them formerly in that Place, some of them answer'd 12000, others 40000, and it may be supposed

pos'd the first of them spoke of those who dwelt near the Church, and the others meant all that were subject to the Monastery in the Country about, in which it is confidently affirm'd, there were formerly 90 Suffragan Churches, and that when the Master or General went to Court upon any earnest Business, he was attended by 150 Reverend Monks on good Mules, and wearing a sort of loose Coats close before, with only a Hole to put their Heads through over their Habit, without Sleeves.

Of all this former Grandeur, nothing now remains but some Ruins, and inconsiderable Footsteps, not of what it was, but what it seems to have been; for in the midst of that fallen Church, there stands now a very little one, near which and about the Suffragan Churches, there are only 10 or 12 Monks left, who seem rather to continue there to keep up the Memory of what is lost, than to imitate their Perfection of Life. The Founder of that Monastery, they say, was a Monk, reputed a Saint, and call'd *Samuel*, so great a Penitent, that he is reported to have spent some Nights in a Well, where the Water came up to his middle, and with a great Stone on his Back, which was a very uneasy Bed.

C H A P. XVIII.

At what Time the first Innovation in Religion happen'd in Ethiopia, and of the many Errors and great Schism of the Abyssines.

THE Holy Fathers call'd *Egypt* the Forge of Idols, and Sink of Abominations, on Account of the multitude of Deities that Nation ador'd, and their many Errors in Relation to the True God. Their Neighbours, the *Abyssines*, are not at all unlike them in this sort of Deliriums, concerning the True Catholick Religion, for among them there was an Inundation of Errors, of Schisms, of Heresies, and of deprav'd Customs, without any more than imperfect Shaddows, not to call it downright Darknels of Christianity.

F. Emanuel d'Almeyda fills up the greatest part of a Book, in laying open very learnedly, many of the Hellish Abuses and Diabolical Superstitions of the *Abyssines*; but the most Reverend Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*, for whose sake I undertook this Work, writing to me from *India* in the Year 1654, tells me he is of Opinion, that all those Chapters, wherein the said Father sets down and confutes those Errors, may be reduc'd to less than one, and therefore I will contract them the most I can.

O

In

Schism of
Ethiopia.

In the first Place it must be allow'd to be no less certain, that the *Abyssines* have been Schismatics for many Ages, than it is now that the *Nile* has its Source in *Ethiopia*, in the Kingdom of *Gojan*. But notwithstanding that in the Days of the wicked *Dioscorus* who liv'd about the Year 444, there were presently Errors introduced into *Ethiopia*, which came from *Alexandria*; yet, as long as the Catholick Party prevail'd in *Alexandria*, which we find was till the Year 610 or 620, when the Holy Men *S. Elogius* and *John* the Almsgiver, were Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, we suppose that the greatest part of *Ethiopia* was subject to the See of *Rome* always following the Doctrine of the Teachers sent into it. good Proof hereof is, that *S. Gregory* the Great, who flourish'd about the Year 600, is highly honour'd in *Ethiopia*; as is also *Ildefonsus*, whom they call *Decius*, and who liv'd about 650, and was Disciple to *S. Isidorus*, Archbishop of *Sevil*, contemporary with *S. Gregory* the Great. A farther Proof hereof is, that when *Justin* was Emperor in *Europe*, about the Year 523, *Kaleb* or *Elesbae* reign'd in *Ethiopia*, who we know was a Saint, and Obedient to the Catholick Patriarch the Emperor *Justin* had plac'd in *Alexandria*. *Baronius* treats of these matters, *Tom. 7. anno 523.*

How long it
continu'd Or-
thodox.

But when Heresy had prevail'd in *Alexandria*, and throughout all *Egypt*, the *Abunas* coming from thence, the Water could not but run very foul, since the Spring it proceeded from was infected. This appears by many ancient Books there are in *Ethiopia*, writ on Parchment, for they have no printing; besides, other evident Tokens there are of Schism and Heresy; for at this very Time the Hereticks call the wicked Apostate *Dioscorus* a Saint, who being Patriarch of *Alexandria*, with the Assistance of the vile Abbot *Eutyches*, in the Year 444. infected *Greece* with that Heresy, of there being but one Nature and one Will in *CHRIST* our Lord. For this Reason the *Abyssines* do not reckon Pope *Leo* the First as a Saint but rather abhor his Name, worthy of eternal Veneration; because he approv'd the Council of *Chalcedon*, wherein 630 Bishops met, and condemn'd the two Hereticks *Dioscorus* and *Eutyches*.

First Reunion
of theirs to
Rome.

True it is, that in the Days of Pope *Eugenius* the IV. who held the Council of *Florence* about the Year 1439, some thought the Schism of *Ethiopia* was at an end, because about the conclusion of that Council, there came to *Rome*, together with the *Armenians* some *Ethiopians* or *Abyssines*, sent by the Emperor *Zara Jacob*, who made Profession of the *Roman* Faith, and receiv'd and carry'd with them Letters of Union with the *Roman* Church, as may be seen in Cardinal *Baronius* in that Year, and in *Illecas. p. 2. lib. 6. cap. 23. anno 1438*, and the Life of Pope *Eugenius* the IV. on which

Total

Tomb there is an Epitaph, and among the rest one Distich alluding to the Conversion of these *Abyssines*, which runs thus.

Quo Duce & *Armenij*, *Graiorum* Exempla secuti,
Romanam agnorunt, *Ethiopesque* Fidem.

Besides, the Emperor *David* writ two Letters to the Pope, in the Year 1526, which were carry'd by *F. Francis Alvarez*, Chaplain to King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, and deliver'd to Pope *Clement* the VII. at *Bologna*, and are now publish'd in *Latin* by *Paulus Jo- The second.*
vius. In them the said Emperor *David* said, he would pay Obedience to the Pope of *Rome*; and he also sent *Don John Bermudes* to *Rome*, desiring of the Pope, that he would confirm him Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, as we shall see hereafter. All this that Emperor did, without the Approbation of his People, and when *Don John Bermudes* return'd, the Emperor *David* was Dead, and his Son *Claudius* receiv'd him with an ill Will, and seem'd to comply with the Promise made by his Father, only as long as he had some dependance on the *Portuguezes*, who assisted him against the *Moor Granbe*; but as soon as that Infidel was kill'd, he sent for the *Abuna Joseph* from *Alexandria*, and from that Time we shall see how they treated the Patriarchs of the Society sent thither.

If therefore we date the Errors and Schism of the *Abyssines* from the Days of the wicked *Dioscorus*, till the Reign of the Emperor *Salsan Segued*, when he and his People for some time embrac'd the *Catholick* Faith, in the Year 1626, they had been Schismatics above 1200 Years: But if we say the *Catholick* Faith held out in *Ethiopia* as long as they in some measure were subject to the *Catholick* Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, which was till the Year 610 or 620, then must we say, that the Schism of *Ethiopia* lasted 1000 Years, little more or less, and God knows when it will cease; for we shall see hereafter, how short a time that Country continu'd in its Reunion. *How long the Schism lasted.*

Besides the Antiquity of their Errors, there is a profound Ignorance in *Ethiopia*; for having no Schools, no Knowledge of *Philosophy* and *Divinity*, nor any more than some imperfect Books, with pieces of *Homilies* and *Councils* very full of mistakes, and their *Bible* very much deprav'd, they are so very unlearned, tho' they have good Wits, that they can neither argue in *Form* nor defend their wrong *Notions* *Syllogistically*; but blindly cleave to what their Forefathers taught them, and so, tho' they believe in *CHRIST* our Lord, it is after their own manner, and with a Thousand Follies as to the *Mysterics* of his Holy Life. *Ignorance of Ethiopians.*

*Errors as to
Baptism.*

They have no manner of Knowledge of the Sacraments of Confirmation and Extream Unction: The other five they admit, but very ignorantly as to the Matter and Form; for in the Sacrament of Baptism some said, *I Baptize thee in the Name of the Holy Ghost*; others, *I Baptize thee in the Water of Jordan*; others, *God Baptize thee*; and others, *May the Baptism reach thee*. Besides this, there was a notable Abuse of Rebaptizing themselves several Times, upon any Occasion, and many Men and Women baptiz'd themselves most indecently many times in the Morning, by some Monk they kept for this purpose in the House, besides the general Baptism they celebrated every Year on the Day of the Epiphany, with abominable Superstitions, and such Ceremonies as rather seem'd to be invented by Sensuality itself, than to be the effects of true Christianity. Yet all this Baptizing and Rebaptizing did not amount to a real Baptism, and therefore the Fathers of the Society and the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* were of Opinion, that it was requisite conditionally to Baptize all those who were converted to the Faith, because in *Ethiopia*, either they knew not the Form of Baptism, or at least did not use it.

*As to Pe-
nance.*

As to the Sacrament of Penance, tho' they knew, that in order to obtain Pardon of Sins committed after Baptism, it was requisite to confess them to a Priest, and receive Penance at his Hands; yet they had very gross Errors, both as to the Form, and in other Respects; for no Man went to Confession till about 25 Years of Age, little more or less, believing themselves to be Innocents till then, and calling all such Children; and hence it is that when any one Dies between 17 and 20 Years of Age, they say, *My Soul be with that Innocent's*. They confess their Sins in General Terms, and by the gross, saying, *I have sinn'd, I beseech you to absolve me*. And if the Confessor happens to bid them express their Sins, they do so, if they be guilty of any of those three, which they only look upon as Sins, which are taking another Man's Wife, Murder and Theft. And the worst is, that the Confessors do not absolve in the Catholick Form; but only utter some Words, and touch their Backs with Rods of Olive-Tree, which therefore they always use to have ready at the Church Gates, that there may be no want of Absolutions, for want of Rods.

*They believe
the Real Pre-
sence.*

The *Abyssines* believe and confess, that CHRIST our Saviour is in the Consecrated Host, and they receive this Sacrament in both Kinds; yet we are of Opinion, that there is no true Consecration among them through the Defect of the Ministers because they are no true Priests; and there is an Essential Error as to the matter, because they generally do not Consecrate in Wine, but in Water, for they only take Four, or Six Raisins, which are

very,

very like those among us of the Reddest Grapes, and those they squeeze into a Cup of Water, and as soon as 'tis discolour'd, they say Mass with it. They also commit abundance of Irregularities in the Sacrament of Holy Order, for in conferring it they do not use those Ceremonies, which the Canons have declar'd Essential.

It would be tedious to run through all the Errors of the *Abyssines*, relating to the Sacraments and the Commandments; and tho' they had so many absurdities brought them from *Alexandria*, yet they fetch'd others as far as *Jury*; for they precisely keep to Circumcision, and many other *Judaical* Superstitions, like true Descendants of *Solomon's* Son, and the other *Israelites* *Circumcision* that came with him, who also taught them to keep the *Jewish* and *Sabbath* Sabbath, or Saturday, and many other of their Ceremonies, *observ'd*. making a mixture of the Law of CHRIST and that of *Moses*, which is joining Light and Darkness, or God and *Belial*. And amidst so many Errors they easily admitted those which best suit with deprav'd Nature, and are most repugnant to Catholick Purity. But when the way of Truth is once lost, there follow of Course the most dreadful Precipices, till Men come to fall into the worst Abyss of Wickedness. However the *Abyssines* generally pay great Devotion to the Virgin *Mary*, and so we will forbear telling any more of their Errors, all which came from *Dioscorus* and *Enryches*, and therefore they are call'd *Enrychians* and *Nestorians*.

CHAP. XIX.

An Account of the Abuna, who is the Ethiopian Bishop. Of what sort of Clergymen they have; and of their Vestments, and Ceremonies of the Mass.

THE Ethiopians never had any more than one Bishop of all *Only one Abyssinia*, since they receiv'd the Faith of CHRIST, and him Abuna, or they call Abuna, which signifies, Our Father. The first of them *Bishop in Ethiopia* was *S. Frumentius*, of whom we have spoken above, and as this Saint was sent from *Alexandria*, by *S. Athanasius*; so ever after all the other Bishops, or Abunas, were sent into *Ethiopia* from the same

same Patriarchal Chair of *Alexandria*, till our Days, when *Rome* sent some Patriarchs, as we shall see hereafter. So as long as *Alexandria* had Catholick Patriarchs, the *Abyssines* had Catholick Bishops; but when *Greece* and *Egypt* separated from *Rome*, they sent Heretick Bishops, or *Abunas* into *Ethiopia*, who are generally most ignorant Persons, whereas it is so proper for Bishops to be Learned, that *S. Paul*, *Ephes.* 4. 11. calls them both, *Pastors* and *Teachers*.

His Ignorance, and Function.

Hence it is that several Fathers of the Society affirm, they knew, three, or four *Abunas*, none of whom they ever heard Preach, or Teach, and they seem to be of the number of those of whom the Prophet *Isaiah*, 56. 10. says, *They are all dumb Dogs, they cannot Bark.* *F. Francis Alvarez*, who was Six Years in *Ethiopia*, and relates very minute matters relating to it, does not mention, that ever he heard the *Abuna Marc* Preach; but only affirms, that when he conferr'd Holy Orders, he bid those not receive them, who had been twice marry'd, with a few other Instructions, wherein it is likely he declar'd some other Causes of Irregularity, passing by other matters very obvious. He farther says, he gave Priestly Orders, to the Blind, Lame, and Halt, and herein consisted all the Office of the *Abuna*. Accordingly the Orders are like him that Administers them; for they give them only by Imposition of Hands, with some Words, without delivering to those ordain'd the matter of Bread and Wine; whence it was always dubious, whether the Orders they gave were valid; besides the aforesaid doubt as to Baptism, which was common to all.

His manner of giving Absolution.

The better to show the great Ignorance of these Pastors of the *Abyssine* Souls, I will relate one particular, that by it we may come to the Knowledge of others like it. It is customary for the *Abunas* to appear sometimes in publick, sitting on their Chair, and, the *Abssines* being naturally addicted to Piety, many of them presently flock together, encompassing their Pastor, to gain the Indulgences he uses to bestow among them. Thither repair'd such as would confess their Sins in publick, believing they that way obtain'd fuller Absolution. Then coming before the *Abuna*, they discover'd one or two Sins, being generally of those three, said above, they look upon as the most heinous. This done, the *Abuna* stood up, and with his Staff began to give the Penitent disagreeable Absolution, of three, or four good strokes, saying to him, at the same time, in a great Passion; *Have you done so? Do not you fear God? Well go thither; give him 30, or 40 Lashes.* Then the *Mazares*, who are a sort of Officers attending the *Abuna*, the Emperor, and the Viceroy, being like our Yeomen of the Guard begin to Lash the poor Penitent, with a sort of Thongs the

carry in their Hands, to keep off the People, and being long, gird about the Body. This whipping is generally very severe and the *Abuna* for the most part order'd 30, or 40 Lashes; but as soon as the Penitent has receiv'd 6, or 7, the Company intercedes for him and interposes; and after this unfavoury Absolution, the Penitent withdraws, glad with all his Heart, that he is deliver'd from the *Abunas* Staff and the Thongs of the *Mazares*.

Now to come to our Story, it happen'd, not many Years since, that the *Abuna* being busie hearing these publick Confessions, one of those who came for Absolution drew near, and being unwilling to declare his Sin in publick, as fearing perhaps that which afterwards hapned, he stepp'd up to the *Abuna*, and desir'd, he would hear the Sin in private, for which he begg'd Absolution, he answer'd, *How so? Will not that Sin be made known before all the World at the Day of Judgment? Then declare it here in publick immediately.* The poor Penitent had no way to come off, after that Answer, and, tho' much against his Will, at length spoke it out in publick, and it was that he had Stolen a certain number of Cows. It was the Penitents Misfortune, that the Owner of the Cows hapned to be present, who went that Moment and accus'd him before the Judge, and there being so many Witnesses, who had heard him Confess the Fact, he was immediately order'd to restore the Cows, and they laid a farther great Penalty on him, which was more grievous, than the Lashes the *Mazares* gave him. Thus, if the poor Penitent was absolv'd from the Guilt by his Confession; yet he escap'd not the Punishment, which the Judge laid on him to his Cost, that he might be free from all Satisfaction in another Life.

It is here fit to be observ'd, that unless some of the many Thefts committed in *Ethiopia* is not thus made good, there is never any Restitution; for neither the *Abuna*, nor any of the other Confessors oblige the Penitent to it, this being a Point never taught, nor practis'd in *Ethiopia*.

Answerable to their Ignorance was the ill Life of these *Abunas*, who never remember'd the Advice *S. Paul* gave to *Titus*, bidding him in all Respects be a living Example of Virtuous Actions. It is said of many of them, that they liv'd publicly in a scandalous manner. Neither did they visit their Churches in Person; but now and then sent a sort of Visitors, who were more like Shearers of their Flock, than Censors of ill Lives.

It is very much doubted, whether any of these *Abunas* be real Bishops, or only plain Priests, or rather not so much as Priests, but bare Lay Monks. When the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* was in *Ethiopia*, a Monk of *Alexandria* liv'd there, who came to succeed

An instance of Confessing to him.

Restitution not enjoin'd in Confession.

Abunas ill Livers.

No Bishops.

succeed the *Abuna Simon*, of whom we shall speak hereafter, and as such was immediately receiv'd by many and complemented; but the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, having at that time the Catholick Faith in his Heart, which he soon after profess'd, he caus'd that Monk to be depos'd from the Office of *Abuna*, and he conversing with the Fathers of the Society, soon embrac'd the Catholick Faith, and confess'd he was no Bishop, but only a Lay Monk. He afterwards Marry'd, and liv'd upon making of Mills, and we believe he understood that Trade better than the Duty of an *Abuna*.

Their Revenues.

The Revenue belonging to this their sort of Patriarchs consists in some Lands in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, which yield about 40, or 50 *Oqueas* a Year, worth 4, or 500 Pieces of Eight. They have other Lands in *Dambea*, which afford a great Quantity of Provisions, and serve for their Table; others in *Gojam* of less Value, and they themselves use to be their own Farmers. Besides this they have an Understanding with those they ordain, for all of them carry their Offerings, which I will not now go about to condemn as Simony.

It is here-to be observ'd, that there neither is, nor ever was, any other Bishop, Patriarch, or as they call him *Abuna*, in all *Ethiopia* but this one; this is most certain, and testify'd by all the Fathers of the Society, who liv'd so many Years in *Abyssinia*, by which we see how much that great Historian *Illefcas* was misinform'd, when in the second part of his Pontifical History, lib. 6. *in Vna* pag. 3. fol. 257. he says, *Ethiopia* is divided into great Patriarchships, each of which has, at least, two Bishops; and the same Author, in the aforesaid Place, assigning to *Ethiopia* 60 very rich Kingdoms, it is no wonder, he should also allow them such a numerous parcel of Bishopricks; but what we have deliver'd is most certain; and it is generally very requisite to keep a strict Eye upon what has been writ concerning this *Ethiopia*, because it has been represented very great, and is found in reality to be but inconsiderable. And I wonder that the said *Illefcas* should deliver such things, whereas he says he read *F. Francis Alvarez's* Book, tho' he there sometimes also calls him *Francis Fernandez*, and I could better excuse changing the Name of *Alvarez* into *Fernandez*, than making so many Patriarchs of one single *Abuna*.

They have no particular See.

The *Abunas* have no particular See, or Cathedral in *Ethiopia*, because, as has been said, there is no City there, nor settled Court, only the Portuguese Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* was building a stately Church of Lime and Stone, at *Dancas*, for a Cathedral. The Churches of the Camp are under the Direction of the *Debaroa Goyta*, so they call the Chief, or Superior of the *Depteras*, who

who are the Chanters and Prebends of the principal Churches, and they take their Name from the Tabernacle *Moses* order'd to be made, which in the Language of their Book they call *Deptera*; and these are in *Ethiopia*, the Persons who pretend to be best read in what Books they have, and yet they are not oblig'd to be Clergymen nor Monks, but seem to be equivalent to the *Levites*.

The proper Duty of these Men is to sing, and to beat a sort of Drums or little Tabors, during the Divine Office, and at the same time to Dance and Skip, with such terrible Noise as if the Church were falling; so that our maddest Antick Dancers could not outdo them. This noisy and tiresome Solemnity, begins on their greatest Festivals, long before Day, and they hold it on till near Noon, without ever giving over their joyful and unharmonious Exercise. This they value themselves so much upon, that the Emperors own Brother *Raz Sela Christos*, of whom we shall have much to say, was very proud of keeping Time for them, tho' the Dancers would have sav'd him the Labour. His own Cousin *Melca Christos*, Lord Steward to the Emperor, was very glad when he had the good Fortune to play upon the Tabor: Nay, they rattle and shake it or many Hours, and herein they say they imitate King *David*, when he went dancing before the Ark of the Covenant, and that they observe what he recommended, *Psalms 150. v. 4: Praise him with the Timbrel and Dance; Praise him with string'd Instruments and Organs; Praise him upon the high sounding Cymbals.*

*Depteras
their Mad
Ceremonies.*

Besides these their *Levites*, they have Clergymen, who in *Ethiopia* were always marry'd, and marry'd after they had receiv'd Deacons Orders; for as to those of Sub-Deacon their *Abunas* do not use to give them, but the Degree of Deacon they bestow on very small Children, and sometimes on sucking Infants, especially if they be the Sons of great Men, that they may have the Priviledge of going into the Chappel to receive the Sacrament with the Clergy, and not without it, or at the Church Gate, as those do who are not in Orders. And these are the Orders so much talk'd of the pretended *Prefter John* had, being only those of Deacon, as has been said.

*Priests and
Deacons.*

The Clergy in *Ethiopia* marrying, they have for the most part considerable Families, and tho' the Sons succeed their Fathers in their Churches and Benefices, yet they are generally Poor, and live upon the Labour of their Hands, tilling the Land as Lay-Farmers do. They wear no Clergymans Habit, nor are they Shorn, or have any other Mark of Distinction, but only a little Cross in their Hand, and a small Cap of any Colour, and accordingly are very little respected; and there being no Priviledges of the Church among them, their Ordination does not free them from being punish'd by the Lay-Magistrate, like other Secular Persons.

*Clergy
marry'd and
Poor.*

Vestments at Mass. Such as the Ministers of the Altar, such are their Vestments, and other Necessaries for celebrating their Mass. Every time they are to say Mass, they say some Prayers over and bless the Sacramental Vestments, and indeed they need a daily Blessing, being so indecent for that use, that all their Benedictions are little enough to sanctify them; for instead of an Alb they generally use an old Tunick bought of the *Turks*, well worn, which they put on without any other Fashioning or Alteration, only relying on their Blessings. That which answers to the Chasuble is very narrow, but behind it drags about half a Yard, and this they call *Mosa*. As for the Amice, Girdle, Stole and Maniple, they use none, and much less might serve, considering how easily they content themselves as to this their Mass, which consists of many Prayers, the Priests and Deacon say each apart, several whereof are in themselves devout and well worded.

Manner and Hours of saying it. There is no Image on the Altar, only some one they place when they are to say Mass. Behind the East end of the Church there is always a small Room, which is for the Hosts, and in it all Necessaries for making of them, and the Host is a leaven'd Cake, which is not kept till the next Day, and they wonder we do not make Hosts every Day. They go from thence praying to say their Mass, and only one is said, with this variety as to the Hours, that on *Sundays* and other Days which are not Fasts, it is said in the Morning. On Fasting Days they say it, at the time they are to Eat, that is, at Three in the Afternoon, on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, and at Sun-setting in Lent.

Wine and Communion. The Wine they prepare for Mass is thus made; they bring 4 or 5 Raisins, as has been hinted before, which they keep on purpose, and squeeze to pieces with their Fingers in a Cup of Water, bigger or less, according to the number of People that are to Communicate; for they all receive under both kinds, or to say the Truth under neither, it being most certain that the Matter here is not Wine but Water, since a Cup of Water cannot be converted into Wine by 5 or 6 Raisins. I also question their Form of Consecration, for their Words for the Body of CHRIST are these: *This Bread is my Body*; and for the Blood, *This Cup is my Blood*; which Words seem to make an essential Alteration in the Sense, as *F. Layman* expressly declares in *Theolog. mor. lib. 3.* and may be seen in the Learned *F. Francis Suarez, Tom. 3. in 3 par. disput. 58. Sect. 7. and disp. 59. Sect. 5.*

Hallelujas always us'd. In the Mass they say all by Heart, only reading the Gospel in the Book the Priest carries on his Left Shoulder, and going without the Chappel Door, there reads the Gospel of the Day. They do not vary the Gospels as we do, according to the several Festi-

vals; but they read one Evangelist one whole Year, and the next Year another, and so in four Years run through them all. They always say *Hallelujas*, even in the Masses for the Dead, as we shall see in the second Book.

The Priest gives the Sacrament at the Chapel Door to Men and Women, saying, *The Holy Flesh of Emmanuel our God of Truth, which he took of the Lady of us all*; and the Communicant says, *Amen, Amen*. Then the Deacon gives the Blood with a Spoon, saying, *This is the Blood of JESUS CHRIST, for the Life of the Flesh and Soul, and for Life everlasting*. Then one who represents our Sub-Deacon, pours a little Water into the Palm of the Communicants Hand, with which he rinses his Mouth and Drinks it. All the Communicants stand, and this may suffice as to the Ceremonies of the *Abyssine* Mass. *The Sacrament how given.*

Thus we have given a brief Account of the Affairs of this *Ethiopia* or *Abyssinia*, which may improperly be call'd the Empire of *Praester John*. We have seen the Original of the Catholick Religion there; we have discover'd who were the first Religious Men that enter'd into it; we have related the Occasion they had to leave the true Faith; and we have writ what is most requisite to be known of their Customs and Errors, and of their *Abunnas*, who ever since their first Revolt, always came to them from *Alexandria*, till the Days of their Emperor *Zara Jacob*, before spoken of, who was Ten Years without any *Abuna*, endeavouring to get one from *Rome*, and after his Death continued so 13 Years longer, till perceiving the Impossibility of having one from *Rome*, they brought one from *Alexandria*, which was the *Abuna Marc*, who was living in *Ethiopia* at the time when *F. Francis Alvarez* came thither, sent by King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, with his Ambassador, as we shall see; with many other remarkable Accidents, in the ensuing Book.

The End of the first Book.

THE
TRAVELS
OF THE
JESUITS
IN
ETHIOPIA

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Discoveries of Ethiopia by Land and Sea, of the Empress Helen, and a Magnificent Church she built; Embassies between Ethiopia and Portugal, and some other Particulars.

PRINCE Henry, Son to King John the first of Portugal, having before any other sent out Ships to make new Discoveries along the Coast of *Africk*, and they successfully passing beyond any that had been before them, the King his Nephews prosecuted what he had so happily begun, till their Adventurers pass'd that, ever since so famous Promontory call'd the *Cape of Good Hope*. So far had King John the II. proceeded, when he pitch'd upon two of his Subjects well skill'd in the *Arabic* and other

other Languages, to travel by Land into *India*, and there endeavour to find out a Christian King, vulgarly call'd *Prefter John*, and enquire whether the Spices and other Commodities brought from those Eastern Parts up the *Red Sea*, and thence by Land to *Grand Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and so to *Venice* by the *Mediterranean*, might not at once be convey'd to *Portugal* upon the Ocean. These two Men were *Peter de Covilham* and *Alfonso de Payva*. Both of whom after long Travels went into *India* and *Ethiopia*, but neither return'd into *Portugal*; for *Payva* in his Return dy'd at *Grand Cairo*, and *Covilham* was not permitted to depart *Ethiopia*. *Covilham* by the Emperor then reigning: But before he went into that Empire, he writ to King *John* from *Grand Cairo*, by means of two *Jews* sent after them by the same King *John*, giving him a particular Account of his Travels, how he had been in *India*, and found that the *Portuguese* Ships might by the way of the Ocean sail thither, and that his Companion had been in an Empire call'd *Ethiopia*, and at the Court of that Monarch, who was a Christian, and in all likelihood the famous *Prefter John*, his Highness was so desirous to find out; and for as much as his Highness order'd a Letter to be deliver'd to the said *Prefter John*, since his Companion was Dead, he was going to carry it himself. This was the Substance of *Covilham's* Letter, and his Account was extraordinary pleasing to King *John*, and it was generally concluded throughout all *Portugal*, that the so much sought for *Prefter John* was now found out; whereas the real Prince of that Name must be in *Asia*, and this here was in *Africk*; for the *Prefter John* they were sent to find out, was a Christian Prince reigning in the Inland of *Asia*, at the time when *Marcus Paulus Venetus* travell'd through *Asia*, as he affirms, and the extraordinary Account he gave of that Monarch having fill'd all *Asia* with his Fame, the greatest Christian Princes conceiv'd an ardent desire of finding him out. This Discovery of *Covilham* and *Payva* happen'd in the 1490, and was follow'd by *Vasco de Gama's* sailing round into the East in 1497. In 1505 *Alfonso d' Albuquerque* was the first European that enter'd the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, and by that means the *Ethiopians* came to hear of the great Exploits of the *Portuguese* in *India*, confirming the mighty Things they had been told of that Nation by *Peter de Covilham*, who was still living among them. The great Empress *Helen*, Dowager to the Emperor *Beda Mariam*, at that time governing *Ethiopia*, during the Minority of her Son *David*, and desiring to settle a Correspondence with the King of *Portugal*, writ to him, and sent a sort of Embassy by one *Matthew an Armenian*; and with him, as a Token of the Faith she profess'd, a Piece of the Holy Cross. This Messenger was nobly entertain'd by *Alfonso*

Helen, Empress of Ethiopia.

fonso d' Albuquerque, who order'd a Gold Box to be made to carry the Holy Wood, with the greater Honour. *Matibem* coming to *Lisbon*, found an honourable Reception from King *Emanuel*, who sent him back well satisfy'd into *Ethiopia*, as shall be mention'd more fully hereafter. This was the beginning of the following Friendship between the *Portuguezes* and the *Abyssines*, and hence ensu'd all those strange Accidents, which we shall speak of hereafter.

Alexander
Nahod and
David, Em-
perors.

When *Peter de Covilham* enter'd *Ethiopia*, which was in the Year 1490, as was said above, the Emperor *Scander* or *Alexander*, being the only one of that Name reign'd there, who the Natives affirm was a true *Alexander* in Generosity, as well as by Name. *Nahod* succeeding him in the Throne, would never give *Covilham* leave to depart, both because he had a great value for him, and in Regard it was the Custom of the Nation to detain all Strangers that came into it. *Nahod* reign'd 13 Years, and left the Crown to his Son *Lebna Danguil*, otherwise call'd *David*, then an Infant; and during his Minority the Empire was govern'd by his Mother *Magueza*, and the Empreiss *Helen*, who had been Wife to the Emperor *Beda Mariam*, much respected by all Men, for her singular Gravity and Wisdom.

A Church
built.

This Lady had neither Son nor Daughter, but enjoy'd many Lands left her in the Kingdom of *Gojam* by her Husband, was very Rich, and perform'd extraordinary Works. The most famous of them all was the building the stately and magnificent Church, that had been till then in *Ethiopia*, whereof some considerable Remains were afterwards to be seen. In order to raise this Structure, she caus'd the ablest Architects to be brought out of *Egypt*. This Pile was erected in the middle of the Kingdom of *Gojam*, in a Territory call'd *Nebeffe*, water'd by the River *Nile*: There at the Foot of a Hill was an Enclosure made of Stone and Clay square, and each side of it about 200 Fathom long, the Wall about 2 Yards thick, and above 5 in Height; the whole Work as was said of Clay and Stone, but so strong, that *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* testifies it requir'd much Strength to break off any Stone.

Within this Enclosure the Church was built, all of it square, not only in the inner Part, which is like a Chappel, but in the outward Walls, contrary to the manner of all other *Ethiopian* Churches, which are round, as has been said before. *F. Emanuel d' Almeyda* saw a considerable part of these Walls still standing, and says they were about 104 Feet in length, and tho' much of it was fill'd up with the Stones that had fallen, he says the Chapel might be about 60 Foot long, and all the Stones, as well those standing as the others, fallen down large, smooth,

smooth, and most artificially polish'd, and on each of them were carved Roses, Pinks, Lilies and several other Flowers, one upon each Stone; and tho' very many had every one a different Flower on it, which was wonderful to see, what variety of several Flowers the Artitt could fanfie, and all of them so curiously cut, that it was impossible to outdo them in Gold, Silver or Wax, or even with a Pencil. And the People told the Fathers, that several of these Roses were cover'd with Gold and Silver, the Workmanship exceeding the value of the Metals, many of them still to be seen.

It was not only the Structure of this Church that cost so much, for it was nobly endow'd and adorn'd, as having most precious Vestments, and Gold Chalice and Patens of extraordinary value. *Its Wealth and Beauty.*

F. Emanuel d' Almeyda assures us, that even in the Days of the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, he saw two Altar Stones belonging to it all of Solid Gold, the one weighing 800 and the other 500 *Oqueas*. However, there was one great defect in this noble Structure, which was want of light; but perhaps not the Fault of the Architect, who might likely comply with the Custom of the Country, where, as has been said, all the Churches are very dark. Now there being no other covering in *Ethiopia* but Thatch, and nothing to be done in this Church, either by Day or Night, but by Candle-light, we may easily guess how much it was expos'd to danger of Fire; and before this stately Work had stood 20 Years, the *Mahometan Granbe*, invited by the Fame of the Wealth it contain'd, came, and after plundering set Fire to it, so that all was reduc'd to Ashes but the Stones. Out of these Ruins a *Roman Jesuit*, with the Assistance of the Emperor *Sultan-Segued*, undertook to raise a more lasting Pile, which was call'd *Meriola Mariam*, that is, the Lodging of *Mary*; and *F. Jerome Lobo*, who was then present, says, that when they came to dig up the Foundation of the Chapel to build the new one, they found four Gold Plates about the bigness of the Palm of a Man's Hand, with the Name of one of the Evangelists cut on each of them, as if the Chapel were founded on the four Evangelists.

During the Reign of the afore said Emperor *Lebna Danguil, David*, or *Sultan Segued*, for he had all these Names, King *Emanuel's* Ambassador arriv'd in *Ethiopia*, which was in Return for the above mention'd *Matthew the Armenian*, sent into *Portugal*, at which Time the Affairs of *Abyssinia* being in a better Posture than they prov'd afterwards, that Emperor's Letter bore several magnificent Titles, as *David, the beloved of God, Pillar of the Faith, The Emperor's Tislet, Kinsman to the Race of Juda, Son of David, Son of Solomon, Son of the Pillar of Sion, Emperor of the Great and High Ethiopia, and of*

its great Kingdoms and Provinces, &c. Hereupon King *Emanuel* immediately order'd a Solemn Embassy in answer to this, and chose for it *Edward Galvam*, a Person of singular Capacity, who had been Secretary to the Kings *Alfonso* the V. and *John* the II. and Ambassador at *Rome*, in *Germany* and *France*, with whom he sent one of his Chaplains call'd *Francis Alvarez*, a Virtuous and Discreet Man. By them he sent costly Presents to the Emperor *David*, and his Protectress the Empress *Helen*. But the Ambassador *Edward Galvam* being above 70 Years of Age, dy'd in the Island of *Camarane*, which is within the *Red Sea*; so that the Embassy was disappointed at that time. Afterwards *Lope Vaz de Sequeira* entering upon the Government of *India*, and sailing into the *Red Sea* against the *Turks*, happen'd to put into the Port of *Mazua* in *April* 1520, which Island was then subject to the *Abyssinian* Emperor, and being there visited by the Christians of the Country the *Babar Nagays*, who is Governor of the Sea Coast, and the Monks of *Bizam*, and observing how joyfully they all receiv'd *Matthew* the *Armenian*, whom he brought back from *Portugal*, he resolved to put his Prince's Commands in execution.

Portuguese
Embassy.

Ethiopian
Embassy.

To this purpose he made Choice of *Don Roderick de Lima* to be Ambassador, and with him went *F. Francis Alvarez*, and some other *Portuguezes*, and tho' they suffer'd much by the way, they all came safe to the Emperor's Court, who receiv'd them with great Pomp, and Expressions of Affection, signifying his Satisfaction for that Embassy, and entertaining them with all the Magnificence *Ethiopia* could afford, dismissing them at last after many delays, either because it is the Custom of the Country, or for the more State. But the main Thing that kept them there 6 Years was the want of Shipping; for if any happen'd to come from *India*, it was at a time when they were very far from the Sea. At length they departed *Ethiopia* in the Year 1526, and the News of the Death of King *Emanuel*, and King *John* the III's Accession to the Crown being brought before they were gone, the Emperor *David* sent him a Letter, which may be seen at large in *F. Francis's* History, Chap. 135, and with it his Crown of Gold and Silver, and as an Ambassador a Monk of his call'd *Zagaza Ab*, a Man in great Authority among them, and well read in their Books; by whom he also sent a Letter to Pope *Clement* the VII. earnestly intreating *F. Alvarez* that he would go with his Ambassador to *Rome*. Those Letters are elegantly translated into *Latin* by *Paulus Jovius*, and in them the said Emperor acknowledges the Pope to be CHRIST's Vicar upon Earth, and Supream Head of the Church. The Ambassador was honourably receiv'd at *Rome*, and all this may be seen at large in *James de Conto*, Dec. 4. lib. 1. cap. 10. *John de Barros*, Dec. 4 cap. 4. and

and in the said *F. Francis Alvarez's* History of *Ethiopia*. This History of *F. Alvarez*, has been translated into *Spanish* and *Italian*, and may very safely be credited, as *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda* observes, in all things he says, he saw, because besides his being a Man of undoubted Reputation, there has been nothing since found in *Ethiopia* to contradict what he affirms. However great Caution is to be us'd as to all those Affairs he took upon hearsay, because the *Abyssines* are very much given to magnifying of all that belongs to them to Strangers, whom they delight to impose upon, as the said *F. Alvarez* found by Experience, in the difficulty they had of obtaining Audiences from the Emperor, whose Treasures, tho' much greater at that time than since, were nothing like what they pretended; and may much more easily be set down in Paper, than found in his Country.

The Ceremonies he tells us were us'd in conducting them leisurely through the Doors, and the stops they made in the Chambers of the Palace, were all Tricks they put upon the *Portugueses*, as being Strangers. The Stage, or Throne, he says, they saw the Emperor on, the first time, was doubtless made only for that occasion, his Throne being no other than a Couch after their Fashion, but now he has one made in *China*, which the *Portugueses* presented him; and this, or those they had before, are generally well adorn'd, as has been already signify'd.

Zagaza Ab, the *Abyssine* Ambassador, who came into *Portugal*, Declaration with *F. Francis Alvarez*, compos'd a Treatise there, whergin he of the *Ethi-* declares the Faith of the *Ethiopians*, which was translated into *opian Faith*. *Latin* by *Damian de Goes*, and is to be seen in *Hispania Illustrata*, among the Affairs of *Portugal*; but we are to be very cautious in reading this Book, because that *Abyssine* being in a strange Country, so remote from *Ethiopia*, where no body could contradict him; said many things that were groundless, and spoke not so truly as he ought to have done concerning their Errors, saying there were none among them, whereas we are convinc'd there are very many.

C H A P. II.

The great Havock made in Ethiopia by the Moor Granhe; the Emperor David craves Aid of the King of Portugal; David dies, and is succeeded by Claudius; Don Christopher de Gama comes to his Assistance with 400 Men, and twice defeats the Infidels.

Granhe the
Moor In-
vades Ethi-
opia.

TH E Emperor *David* above mention'd, who at the beginning of his Reign had been extraordinary successful against his Enemies the *Moors*, suffer'd very much in his latter Days, from an Irruption made into his Dominions by *Abamed*, the *Moor*, who had the bye-Name of *Granhe*, signifying, Left-handed, because he was so. This Infidel being assisted by the King of *Adel*, in Revenge for the Havock the Emperor *David* had made in his Country, enter'd *Ethiopia*, with a mighty Army, over-ran the Kingdom of *Fategar*, destroy'd many Towns, burnt Villages, took abundance of People, and had Thoughts of conquering all *Ethiopia*, encourag'd by his first successes.

The Emperor having such an Enemy within his own Dominions, gather'd all his Forces, consisting of 3000 Horse, and a great multitude of Foot, and meeting *Granhe*, who had then but 300 Horse, and a much smaller number of Foot, was overthrown, and abundance of his Men taken. Two Years after, the Emperor led on a greater Army, and tho' he obtain'd a considerable Victory over the *Moor*; yet from the Year 1528 till 1540, when *David* dy'd, the *Moors* of *Adel*, commanded by their General *Granhe*, for he was neither King of *Zeila*, nor of *Adel*, nor is *Zeila* any more than a Sea-Port of *Adel*, over-ran the best part of the *Abyssine* Empire, routing all the best Commanders that offer'd to oppose them, destroying all they met with, and plundering the Churches, which were then very rich.

Abyssines
easily re-
nounce their
Faith.

Among the other Prisoners taken by the *Moors*, was one of the Emperor's own Sons, call'd *Minas*, who succeeded *Claudius*, his Elder Brother, in the Empire; besides many great Men of the *Abyssines* went over and took part with *Granhe*, and what is worse,
immediately

Immediately became *Mahometans*; but as *F. Francis Alvarez* observes they make no difficulty of changing their Religion; for as soon as it goes ill with *Mahomet*, they again turn Christians, and being rebaptiz'd, say they are as Innocent as new born *Babes*; nor do they afterwards look upon it as any shame, that they re-
 aounc'd their Faith.

The unfortunate Emperor perceiving the Ruin of his Empire, and that the *Moorish* General bore down all before him, like an impetuous Torrent, thought of sending to *India* to crave Succour of the *Portugueses*, and at the same to *Portugal* to King *John* the 3d, and even to *Rome* to submit himself to the Pope again, so the more to oblige him. To this purpose he pitched upon one *Matter John*, a *Portuguese* of the Embassador *Don Roderick de Lima's* Re-
 A Portu-
 tinue, who had stay'd behind, to go as his Envoy to crave Succour, guese Pa-
 and the more to oblige him, order'd he should be created *Abuna*, triarch.
 or Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, because he was a Catholick, by this good beginning to show his Resolution of submitting to the See of *Rome*. The *Abuna Marc*, was still living at that time, and enjoy'd that Dignity in *Ethiopia*, being as *F. Francis Alvarez* writes, very well affected towards the Catholick Faith, and readily comply'd with the Emperor's Desires, naming the said *Matter John* for his Successor, who from that time forwards was call'd *Don John Bermudes*, and receiv'd Holy Orders there, for he was a Lay-Man before, which Dignity the said *Don John* tells us in his History of *Ethiopia* he receiv'd upon Condition that he was to go to *Rome* for the Pope to confirm it.

Having receiv'd the Emperors Letters, and taken Orders from the *Abuna*, he set out by Land, and after many Hardships arriv'd at *Rome*, in the Year 1538, *Paul* the 3d being Pope, who
 Confirm'd at
 Rome, and
 sent back.
 receiv'd him with his usual Courtesie, and having dispatch'd him with Bulls not only to be Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, but of *Alexandria* he came to *Portugal*, and was as well receiv'd by King *John* the 3d, who honour'd him both as the Emperor's Embassador, and Patriarch of *Alexandria*. He dismiss'd him with Orders to be furnish'd with 450 Musquetiers in *India*, whither he sail'd in the Year 1539, was honourably treated at *Goa*, by the Viceroy *Don Garcia de Noronha*, who dying before he could put the Kings Orders in Execution, was succeeded by *Don Stephen de Gama*, who, as we shall see, convey'd the aforesaid supply into *Ethiopia*, together with the above mention'd Patriarch *Don John Bermudes*.

Whilst the Succours were preparing in *Portugal* and *India*, the Emperor *David* declin'd daily, and at last retir'd to an inaccessible Mountain, call'd *Damo*, most of the others being already subdu'd,

Ethiopia
distress'd.

where he defended himself, with some brave Men that stuck to him, barely supporting the Name, tho' not the Majesty of an Emperor; but in this invincible Fortress he was conquer'd by Death, for there he ended his Days, at 42 Years of Age, whereof he reign'd 33, the first 20 prosperous, the last 13 full of Adversity. His Son *Glandios*, or *Claudius* succeeded him, at 18 Years of Age, under the Direction of his Mother *Cabelo Oanguel*. The first Action of his Reign was successful, for having gather'd some Forces, he overthrew the Moor *Amirozman*; but was soon after defeated by him, and forc'd to retire to *Xaosa*, with only 60, or 80 Men, with whom he winter'd there. How the Emperor was reliev'd by the *Portugueses* in this Distress, we will now deliver out of *F. Peter Pays* his Account of the Affairs of *Ethiopia*, he having liv'd 19 Years in that Country, and known many of the *Portugueses* themselves, or the Sons of those, who were concern'd in those Actions, which is thus.

400 Portu-
gueses sent to
succour Ethi-
opia.

In the Year 1541. *Don Stephen de Gama*, then Governor of *India*, enter'd the Red Sea with a considerable Fleet, and having done much Harm to the Infidels on the Coast of *Arabia*, came to an Anchor at the Island of *Mazua*, whence he sent his Brother *Don Christopher de Gama*, with 400 Men to the Assistance of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*. These Men met with extraordinary Difficulties in passing the uncouth Mountains, over which it was almost impossible to draw their Canon, but having overcome them, and being met every where by the Country People, who look'd upon them as their Deliverers, they brought down the Emperess *Cabelo Oanguel* from the Mountain *Damo*, to which she was retir'd for Safety, there being no way to get up it, but being hoisted in Baskets. In December they departed from *Debaroa*, where they had receiv'd the Emperess, and with her march'd to join the Emperor, who was in another Place naturally impregnable. On the first of February 1542. they came to a very strong Mountain, which the Moor *Granhe* had made himself Master of by Treachery, and posted on it an Officer with 1500 Men. This Mountain is but Three Days Journey from *Debaroa* the right way, but they spent so much time because they took a great Compass about to reduce other Parts. *Don Christopher* resolv'd to attack the Mountain; because should he leave the Moors possess'd of it, all that Country he had recover'd must submit to them again, and they might cut off his Provisions. The Emperess would have dissuaded him, representing the Impracticableness of the Attempt, but his Resolution prevail'd.

On the Top of the Mountain is a Plain about a League over, *Impregnable* with Water enough to serve Abundance of People, and tho' there *Mountain.* are Three Ascents, they are so strong, that it appear'd impossible to force them, had they been guarded but by a very small number. The chief of these Ascents is call'd *Amba Zanet*, which Name is given to all the Mountain. At the Foot of this Ascent was a strong Stone-Wall, with a Gate in it, whence the way up was very streight and steep, and at the top another Gate in the Rock it self. The 2d Ascent they call *Amba Xembut*, not so difficult, tho' bad enough. The 3d is *Amba Gadabut*, stronger than both the others, being all hew'd out of the Rock, and may be easily kept with Stones from above. They are about a Musquet-shot from one another, and each of them defended by 500 Men with Bows, Arrows, Lances, and Bucklers. *Don Christopher* having observ'd all this, order'd three false Attacks to be made that the *Moors* might spend their Arrows, and having perform'd it, without coming too near, upon a Signal given all his Men drew off, the *Moors* giving great Shouts for Joy. The next Morning, by break of Day, he attack'd the three Passes in Earnest, and forc'd them all, the Infidels flying to the top, where being pursued by the *Portugueses*, they were every Man of them kill'd. Of *Gain'd by* the *Portugueses* Eight were Slain, and 40 wounded. The Place *the Portu-* was deliver'd up to the *Ethiopians*, who plentifully supply'd the *guese.* *Portugueses* with Provisions, during all the Month of *February* they stay'd there, admiring that Action, which they had thought *Impracticable.*

Intelligence being brought that Five *Portuguese* Vessels were arriv'd at *Mazua*, *Don Christopher* sent a Captain of his own, with 40 Men to get some supply of Ammunition, and carry Letters for the Viceroy of *India*, and set forward himself, with his Forces towards a Country, where a Christian *Abyssine* had been compell'd to submit to the *Moors*, and now sent to inform him, that if he would come to him, he would find no opposition. He had not gone far before he receiv'd an Express from the Emperor, desiring he would make haste to join him, because the *Moor Granke* was advancing towards them, and each apart would be too weak to withstand him. Being come to those Lands, whither the *E-* *thiopian* Commander above mention'd, had invited him, he was met and presented by him with Eight fine Horses, and inform'd the Enemy was so near, that he could not advance without meeting them. It troubled *Don Christopher* that he could neither join the Emperor, nor stay for those Men he had sent to *Mazua*, however he resolv'd to Fight, and encouraging his Men, they all approv'd of his Resolution. The next Day the Enemy being at hand.

*Their first
Victory.*

hand he incamp'd on a Rising Ground, where *Granbe* having taken a View of his small Forces, enclos'd him with 15000 Foot, arm'd with Bows, and Arrows, Darts, and Bucklers, besides 1500 Horse, and 200 *Turkish* Mulquetiers, thinking to starve him out. *Don Christopher* understanding his Design, after some small Skirmishes drew out all his Men with the Empress in the Center, on the 4th of *April*, 1542. The Canon and Muskets made the Infidels keep off, but the *Turks* advanc'd and did some harm with their Shot, and *Granbe* himself coming on with 500 Horse, the *Portugueses* began to be hard press'd, but that the Canon being well play'd kill'd many of the Horse and made the rest slacken. Many of the *Portugueses* were now wounded, and *Don Christopher* shot through a Leg, yet left not the Battle, but encourag'd his Men. *Granbe* on the other side thinking his Men gave way, came up so close, that he was also shot through the Leg, and his Horse kill'd under him, whereupon his Men struck their Colours, and carry'd him off, the *Portugueses* pursuing them till they were all so spent that it was thought a rashness to go any farther, and therefore they return'd victorious to their Camp, where they found the Empress and her Women, dressing the wounded Men and binding their Hurts with their own Linnea, for want of other. Of the *Portugueses* Eleven were kill'd, among the Infidels slain the *Abyssines* knew four of *Granbe's* Commanders of Note, and 30 *Turks*, *Don Christopher* sent that very Night, to acquaint the *Portugueses*, who were gone to *Massa*, with his Success and hasten them back.

The second.

Twelve Days after the Defeat of *Granbe*, the *Portugueses*, who had been wounded, being pretty well recover'd, and the Infidels recruited and grown strong by several Parties, that join'd them, *Don Christopher* resolv'd to give Battel again, and marching towards them was receiv'd with great Shouts and Cries of those *Barbarians*, much encourag'd by their fresh Accession of Forces, and particularly that of a famous Commander call'd *Garac Ama*, who had brought them 500 Horse and 3000 Foot. This Man took the van, and charg'd the *Portugueses* with such Fury, that had all his Men been like him, he must doubtless have over-run them, but the damage the Canon did prevailing with them to keep very open, he and Four or Five others, who follow'd him close breaking into the *Portugueses* Battel, were kill'd fighting bravely. *Granbe*, who was carry'd on Mens Shoulders, because of his Wound, order'd all the rest of his Horse to Charge on all sides, which made the Fight very hot. Only Eight *Portugueses* had Horses, and did wonders, but being so few durst not go far from their Foot, who made a great Slaughter of the Enemy.

In the Heat of the Action the Powder of the *Portugueses* unfortunately took Fire and blew up, killing two of them and hurting several others; yet had this good Effect, that the noise so terrify'd the Infidels Horses that they ran away in spight of their Riders, and the *Portugueses* improving that Advantage, charg'd the Foot so vigorously that they were put to flight, and pursu'd about half a League, which was the farthest the Victors were able to follow for mere weariness. The Enemies Tents were all taken standing with much Booty. Of the *Portugueses* 14 were kill'd, and 60 wounded, whereof 4 dy'd of their Wounds. That ground being unfit to encamp, they march'd thence to a pleasant River side, where they saw many *Moors* with their General *Granbe*, who perceiving they were discover'd, fled with all speed, for Eight Days together to a strong Mountain, many of them perishing by the way.

Don Christopher having lain in that Place two Days to cure the Wounded Men, was there join'd by the *Portugueses*, who had been sent to *Mazna*, and by the *Bahar Nagays* with 30 Horse, and 500 Foot. Being thus reinforced, he resolv'd to pursue *Granbe* immediately, and therefore leaving 14 of his Men, that were most Wounded on a strong Mountain, under the Care of the Governor of the Country, who was extraordinary Kind to them, he march'd on Ten Days, till he came to the Mountain *Granbe* had fled to, which was very large, and strong. The Winter now beginning with much Rain, *Don Christopher* was perswaded to take up Quarters during it, at the Foot of another Mountain opposite to that where *Granbe* lay, convenient for cutting off his Provisions. The Country People built the Men Huts, and brought them plenty of Provisions with great readines and good will.

In this Place a *Jew* inform'd *Don Christopher*, that he might easily make himself Master of a strong Mountain, call'd *Oary*, in the Province of *Cemen*, which was near, and where there were many Horses; besides that the Emperor, who had but small Forces, could not come to join him any other way. He set out at Mid-Night with 100 *Portugueses*, and coming to the Mountain went up it the way the *Jew* led, but on the top found 3000 *Muslim* Foot and 400 Horse, whom after a sharp Dispute he routed with much Slaughter, and of those that fled many were kill'd by the *Jews*, who inhabited that Mountain. Not one *Portuguese* was kill'd in this Action, which amaz'd the *Jews* of the Mountain, and particularly him that guided them, who thereupon became a Christian, and having been always Loyal to the Emperor was left Governor of the Mountain, as he had been always before the *Moors* took it. The Booty was very considerable,

Don Christopher de Gama blocks up Granbe.

Gains a strong Mountain.

siderable, and among the rest 300 Mules, and 80 choice Horses, which *Don Christopher* valu'd most, and return'd to the Camp with all speed, for Fear the Infidels knowing of his Absence, should attack it; leaving 30 *Portugueses* to follow with the Horses because the way being very bad, they travell'd slowly.

Granbe re-
lax'd.

During the time the *Portugueses* winter'd, the *Adoor Granbe* labour'd to gather new Forces, and especially to get some *Turks*, and sending a considerable Present to the Basla of *Zebid*, in *Arabia*, was by him supply'd with 700 Musquetiers, 30 of them Harte, and 10 Field Pieces; besides a number of *Arabs*, to whom a considerable number join'd themselves out of *Ethiopia*. The *Turks* arriv'd the same Night that *Don Christopher* return'd to his Camp, and the next Day *Granbe* came down from the Mountain, covering the Plain with his Men, and encamp'd so near the *Portugueses*, that their Field-Pieces reach'd their Intrenchments. *Don Christopher* seeing what a strong supply *Granbe* had receiv'd, consulted with his Officers, among whom it was resolv'd, that it was impossible to retire, and therefore they must Fight; but would make the best Defence they could in their Camp, till the other *Portugueses* came up with their Horses. They therefore sent to hasten them, and spent the Day in preparing to receive the Enemy, yet could not hold out till the Horses came, as we shall see in the next Chapter.

CHAR.

C H A P. III.

The last Battel, in which Don Christopher was defeated; his Death; the Portugueses, who escap'd the Slaughter, join the Emperor Claudius, and rout some of Granhe's Commanders; how that Infidel was routed, and kill'd; what happ'ned after this Victory, and how the Emperor slighted the Portugueses.

THE Moor Granhe finding himself so strong, resolv'd to lose no Time, and therefore the next Morning, being the 28th *August* 1542, by break of Day he advanc'd towards the *Portuguese* Camp with all his Men, the *Turks* leading the Van, with 10 Pieces of Cannon. *Don Christopher* on the other side, assign'd his Men their Posts, with Orders only to make them good, without falling upon the Enemy, till the Horses were come up. When they were within Musquet-shot, both sides began to play their Cannon and small Arms with great Fury, which lasted some Hours, the Infidels still advancing; so that *Don Christopher* perceiving his Intrenchments were not strong enough to oppose such a Power, fall'd out with 50 *Portuguese* Musquetiers, and falling on 100 *Turks*, and a number of *Moors* drove them for a considerable space, with much slaughter, but a greater multitude coming upon him, he retir'd again, with the loss of four of his Men kill'd, and most of the rest wounded, as was he himself with a Musquet-Ball in his Leg. The other *Portuguese* Commanders, in their turns made Sallies, and drove the Enemy a considerable space, but in the Retreat, they still lost Men, and had many wounded. Thus they held on till Noon, when the Empress's House was so full of wounded Men, that it could hold no more, and the Enemy drew so near, that two of her Women were hurt within it. Captain *Francis de Abren* falling with his Men, and having beat back the *Turks*, in his Retreat was shot Dead, and his Brother *Humphrey*, who sustain'd him with another Body, underwent the same Fate. *Don Christopher* having lost so many brave Men, and seeing the rest either wounded, or much tir'd, fall'd out himself

R

with

Distress'd.

Routed.

Barbarously
w'd and
beheaded.

with the Royal Standard so furiously, that he drove the Infidels before him with great Slaughter; and it is thought would have certainly got the Day, had the Horses been come up, but there were only Eight with him, which fought all the Day. Yet he pursu'd the *Moors* a considerable way, and then his Men being spent retir'd. The *Turks* then rally'd, firing after the *Portugueses*, some of whom they kill'd, and broke *Don Christopher's* Right Arm. Captain *Emanuel de Acunha* came in at this time, with his Men, and brought them off, but many wounded, and the rest so spent, that they were not able to make use of their Arms. However they twice repuls'd the *Turks*, who had broke into their Trenches, and the Day being far watted, compell'd *Don Christopher* by main Force to retire towards the Mountain, the Patriarch, and the Empress going before. Many of those who could not keep up, because of their Wounds, were kill'd in the Pursuit; but Night coming on, and the Mountain being very woody, the greatest part escap'd, especially those who follow'd the Patriarch and the Empress. The *Turks* enter'd the Camp, and butcher'd Forty *Portugueses* they found so desperately wounded, that they were not able to stir.

Don Christopher escap'd that Night, with 14 wounded Men; the next Day they were all but one taken by a Party of Infidels, who carry'd them to their General *Granbe*, before whom lay 170 Heads of the *Portuguese* slain, which he had gather'd, giving a Reward for every one. The Barbarian caus'd *Don Christopher* to be cruelly Scourg'd in his Presence, and buffeted, with his Slaves Slippers, and after leading him about the Camp with much Cruelty, he was return'd to *Granbe*, who twisted his Beard with Wax, set Fire to it, pull'd off his Eye-Brows, and Eye-Lashes with Nippers, and after many more Inhumanities struck off his Head, with his own Hand. The *Turks* hearing of his Death, were in a great Rage, for they design'd to have sent him to *Constantinople*, and therefore after upbraiding the *Moor* for presuming to kill him without their Knowledge, they went away, to return to *Zebid*, with *Don Christopher's* Head, and the *Portugues* Prisoners, yet left him 200 *Turks*, as they had been order'd, in Consideration for the Tribute he paid them. A *Portuguese* who made his Escape from them gave this Account.

The *Portugueses* during that dismal Night after their overthrow wander'd about the Mountain, not knowing whither they went, only those who follow'd the Empress had the better, because there were *Ethiopians* to lead them, who knew the Country. She had sent People every way to conduct such as were astray. The next Day, those who had been left with the Horses join'd her
but

But knew nothing before of the Defeat. Soon after came the *Portuguese*, who escaped, when *Don Christopher* was taken, and then *Scattered* the other that fled from the *Turks*, and having told the manner of *Portuguese* *His Death*, it renew'd their Sorrow. The Empress with all the *assemble.* Women lamented him for 8 Days, as if he had been her own Son. On this Mountain they continu'd some Days to rest themselves, and cure the wounded, as also to pick up those that were scatter'd till about 120 came together, and they receiv'd Intelligence, that the Captain *Emanuel D. Acunha*, with 50 *Portuguese* had got safe into the Country of the *Babar Nagays*, without knowing which way they went, and where there very lovingly entertain'd. Some time after, the Empress with the *Portuguese*, and all that follow'd her, went to the *Jews* Mountain, which *Don Christopher* had gain'd, because besides its being almost impregnable, there are large Corn Fields on it, Abundance of Grass for Cattel, and Plenty of Water, which never fails. They were well receiv'd by the Commander *Don Christopher* left there, who supply'd them with all they wanted, or could ask of him.

Ten or twenty Days after their coming to this Mountain, the Emperor arriv'd at the Foot of it, with very few and those sorry Men, *The Emperor* whom the *Portuguese* went down to receive, and he, tho' highly *joins them.* concern'd for their Loss and the Death of *Don Christopher*, did them much Honour, bidding them not to think they were in a strange Country, since it should be as their own, and immediately furnish'd them all bountifully with Cloaths, Tents, Mules, Servants, and all other Necessaries. He stay'd on the Mountain some Months, till his Forces came together, and he had assembled 500 Horse, and 8000 Foot, when the *Portuguese*, thinking they were strong enough to fight the *Moors*, begg'd of him, that he would assist them to revenge *Don Christopher's* Death. He question'd the doing of it with so small a Number; but understanding that the *Turks* were gone home, and only 200 of them left, he consented. He sent to the 50 *Portuguese*, that were gon to the Land of *Babar-Nagays* to come to him with all possible Speed, and to bring with them the spare Arms *Don Christopher* had left on the Mountain *Damo*, where he found the Empress, that being a Place of Safety. When the Emperor's Messengers came they found not the *Portuguese*, who believing that all the Rest of their Countrymen were cut off, and it was impossible for them to come to the Emperor, were gon towards *Mazna*, to expect some Vessels, to carry them back to *India*. The Emperor's, Servants return'd with the Arms, which were of great use, because those who had escap'd from the Battel were very ill provided.

Defeats a
Party of
Moors.

The Emperor perceiving it was in vain to expect those *Portuguese* who were too far off, set out from that Place on the 6th of February 1543, with 120, or 130 *Portuguese*, who refus'd to be commanded by any Man, but the Emperor himself. With these his own 500 Horse and 8000 Foot, he mov'd towards the *Granbe*, leaving the Empress his Mother on that Mountain. In the Province of *Ogara* he found a *Moorish* Commander, with Horse, and 2000 Foot, whom he attacked by break of Day. *Portuguese* Horse leading the Van and slew the Commander, most of his Men, taking some Prisoners, who inform'd him *Granbe* was not far off in the Kingdom of *Dambee*, at a Place *Darasquea*, near the Lake the Nile crosses, with his Wife and Children, who having been long from him, came thither so that he overthrew *Don Christopher*.

Granbe
defeated and
kill'd.

Granbe understanding that the Emperor was advancing to him, muster'd his Forces, and found 13000 Horses and Foot sides 200 *Turks*. The Emperor came and incamped in Sight of Infidels, at a Place call'd *Oinadaga*, where there were several mishes, before they came to a Battel; in one of which 70 *Portuguese* Horse charg'd 200 of the Enemy, killing their Commander, 12 of his Men, and putting the Rest to flight. The *Abyssine* was a notable Soldier, and did the Enemy much Harm, who fore drew him out treacherously, on Pretence of a Conference shot him dead, which much discourag'd his Men, and the Emperor resolv'd to fight immediately for Fear they should suffer him. At Break of Day the Army drew out, the *Portuguese* leading the Van, with 250 *Ethiopian* Horse, and 350 Foot. The Emperor brought up the Rear with 250 Horse more, and 7000 Foot. In this Posture they advanc'd towards the Enemy, mov'd in two Lines also, *Granbe* leading the first, with 2000 *Moorish* Musqueters, 600 *Moorish* Horse, and 7000 Foot, the second was commanded by another General, and consisted of 6000 Horse and 6000 Foot. Both Armies charg'd with great Fury, and *Turks* began to drive the *Ethiopians* before them, which they perceived perceiving they turn'd that way and made them retire. The Main Body of the *Moors*, whither they pursu'd them with many of the bravest *Abyssines*, and oblig'd them to turn their Backs. *Granbe* perceiving their Disorder came up in Person, but the *Portuguese* knowing him he was soon shot through the Body, and dropt his Horses Neck. His Men seeing it, Made no longer Resist but fled immediately. Only the Commander of the *Turks* would condescend to save himself by Flight, but attack'd 5 *Abissinians*, wrested a Spear out of one of their Hands, and he cut his Horse, cut a *Portuguese* over the Knee, and laid hold

Lance, but was kill'd by him with his Sword. The Emperor's Men pursu'd the flying Moors with great Slaughter, but the Portuguese apply'd themselves so entirely to the Turks, That of 200 only 14 escap'd, to Granbe's Wife, who hearing of the Rout, got away with 350 Horse, that guarded her, and all the Treasure her Husband had scrap'd together; the Conquerors being all busy destroying their Enemies, and taking the Plunder of the Camp, where they found a considerable Number of Captives, to their great Joy, some meeting with their own Children, others their Wives, and others their Brothers, or Sisters. They all acknowledg'd the great Assistance receiv'd from the Portuguese, and the Emperor did them extraordinary Honour, and it was very remarkable, that, tho' they fought with such Bravery, not one of them was kill'd.

Thus far F. Peter Pays, who had the whole Account, from creditable Persons, who were Eye-witnesses. The Emperor after returning Thanks to God, for so great a Victory, coming down from the high Grounds of Oinadaga, incamp'd near the great Lake they call the Sea of Dambea, before describ'd. Being still dubious, whether Granbe, was dead of his Wounds, an Ethiopian Commander brought him that Infidels Head, pretending he had kill'd him; but a Portuguese Soldier producing an Ear he had cut off, when he fell prov'd the Fact was his own. The Head was first shown to the Empress, and afterwards sent to all Parts of the Empire, to be seen by the People, who made great Rejoycings, for being deliver'd from so barbarous an Enemy. The 50 Portuguese, who we said went for Mazu, after the Defeat of Don Christopher, in order to embark for India, hearing the News, turn'd back immediately, and taking the Empress along with them, came to his Dominions. Camp, and join'd the others, that were there before. The Emperor continu'd in that Place two Months, during which time the Fame of the Victory spread it self all over Ethiopia, confirm'd by the Sight of Granbe's Head, the Moors, who were in several Garrisons flying, and whole Kingdoms and Provinces returning to the Emperors Obedience, as did most of the great Men, who had rebell'd and join'd the Moors, renouncing their Faith, all whom the Emperor admitted to Grace, it being no new Thing with those People to change their Party and their Religion, according to Success. Among these was Raz Adeguna, Father to Isaac the Bahar Nagays, who, tho' a great Offender was pardon'd for the Sake of his Son, that had continu'd Loyal, and brought in the Portuguese. Another came and submitted himself, who was said to have been the Cause of Don Christopher's Death; whom also the Emperor forgave at the Request of many great Men, which the Portuguese remonstrating against, he answer'd, That having given his word, he could not de-

part

part from it. Hereupon two *Portugueses* went into that *Ethiopia* Tent, and stabb'd him in many Places with their Daggers. [It was certainly a great Piece of Insolence in those Men; tho' it went a punish'd, in regard of their late Merit, and was doubtless an Incongruement to them to commit other Villanies, for which it is likely they were afterwards so hardly us'd as they complain of.]

Funeral Obsequies.

The Month of August coming on, towards the End when was the Anniversary of *Don Christopher's* Death, which the Emperor resolv'd to commemorate, after their Manner, he sent to all the Country about, for the Clergy, and Poor to repair to his Court. The Number of the latter amounted to above 6000, to all which he gave bountifull Alms, and a noble Entertainment to about 600 Monks, and a great number of Clergy-men; this Treat being the Principal Invitation to the Funeral Obsequies, which they perform their Way, saying over all *David's* Psalter entire, without any Lessons, Antiphons, or Verses, or any other Distinction, but only Abundance of *Hellalujahs*, so often repeated, that they make sufficient Amends for the want of Lessons, for they are no less sensible of them upon sorrowfull Occasions, than upon the Joyful.

Ethiopians exasperated by the Portuguese Demands.

The *Ethiopians* had promis'd, under their Distress, to submit themselves to the See of *Rome*, as appears by the Embassies above mention'd, the Emperor *David* sent to that City, and to *Portugal*. They also engag'd to give the *Portugueses* the third Part of the Empire, in Case it was recover'd by their means from the *Moslems*; but when deliver'd they perform'd neither. The Patriarch *I. John Bermudez* seeing the success of the *Portuguese* Arms, put in the Emperor *Claudius* in Mind of his Father's Promise to submit himself to the See of *Rome*, and requir'd his Performances to which the Emperor return'd a very haughty Answer; whereupon, the Patriarch after several Admonitions, excommunicated the said Emperor, and threatned to do the same by the *Portugueses* if they serv'd him any longer. The Emperor valu'd not the Excommunication, but perceiving the *Portugueses*, of whom he still stood in need design'd to return to *India*, he alter'd his Temper, pretended to repent, honour'd the Patriarch, renounc'd his Errors, and solemnly swore to embrace the Catholick-Faith, commanding all Persons by sound of Kettle-Drums to own the Pope as Head of the Church; but all this was counterfeit, and happen'd before the Death of the *Moor Granke*. As soon as he saw that Infidels Head he discover'd himself, despising the Patriarch, sending to *Alexandria* for another *Abuna*, and misusing the *Portuguese*. Not so satisfy'd, he commanded his Army to destroy them all, yet they standing together, made their Party good against 20000 *Ethiopians*, killing many, and obliging the Rest to desist.

The Emperor thus disappointed of his Aim, the better to bring it about, fell again to his Dissimulation, pretending to repent, that he might with less Danger take them in the Snare; yet could not but show his Deceitfulness; for being inform'd, that the new *Abuna Joseph* was come from *Alexandria*, he went away to receive him at *Debaroa* with great Solemnity. The Patriarch *Don John Bermudez* immediately follow'd and the Emperor hearing of it, order'd him to be secur'd, and put into one of those natural Fortresses we have spoken of call'd *Ambas*. As soon as the Portuguese were inform'd of it, they forc'd that Place, and rescu'd him. The Patriarch perceiving how little good he was like to make of that Dignity, resolv'd to withdraw himself into *India*, before the Emperor brought him into some greater Inconveniency. Accordingly he privately retir'd into the Kingdom of *Tigre*, and to *Debaroa*, where he lay conceal'd about two Years, and in the Year 1556 went over to *Goa*, and thence to *Portugal*, where King *Sebastian*, who had succeeded King *John* the 3d, allow'd him an Honourable Maintenance.

The Portuguese Patriarch with draws.

CHAP. IV.

How the Portugueses liv'd in Ethiopia, after what has been said above; King John the 3d is for sending a Patriarch thither, some Jesuits set out for that Mission; an Embassy sent into Ethiopia proves unsuccessful.

OF *Don Christopher de Gama's* Men, about 170 remain'd, to whom the Emperor *Claudius* gave considerable Lands, on which they liv'd plentifully, after the Country Fashion, most of them having Horses, Mules and Servants to attend them both in Peace, and War, as all the Fathers who were in *Ethiopia* about that Time do testify. But under the succeeding Emperor *Adamas Segued*, they suffer'd very much; and in the Reign of his Son *Malac Segued*, who rul'd 34 Years, tho' they were not altogether so hardly us'd yet they found not the Kindness they deserv'd; for the *Abissines* never truly affected them. I do not deny, but that they gave them some

Portuguese well rewarded.

some Occasion at first, as undervaluing the *Ethiopi*ans, and taking too great Liberty, as is us'd among Soldiers, in strange Countries. [We see here, as was observ'd before, that the *Abyssines* were not altogether so blame, being much provok'd by the Pride, and insupportable Crimes of those, who pretended to defend them, so that perhaps they knew not whether the *Moors* were worse Enemies, than these *Auxiliaries*.]

It is usual in *Ethiopia* for the Emperors to take away, and change the Lands of their Officers and Soldiers; which they after practis'd upon the *Portugueses*, always allotting them such as were on the Frontiers, where they must be continually upon their Guard, and obtain'd signal Victories, under their Commander *George Nagueyra*, who was succeeded by *Francis Jacome*; and the Lands they gave them being the worst and most expos'd, which they took away when improv'd, and better secur'd, the Soldiers suffer'd much Want, especially the old Men, Widows, and Children, who had no Allowance, and therefore the others Charitably shar'd what they had with them, whether little or much. The *Portugueses* labouring under these Difficulties, wrote often to the Kings of *Portugal*, and Viceroy of *India*, begging Relief, some of which Letters I have seen, writ on Pieces of Parchment, and Slip of Paper, by their Captain *Francis Jacome*, and *Gaspard de Mexiquia* and others whose Names are not now legible. However they were never brought away, but that they might not seem to be wholly neglected, it was order'd, that they should have every Year 1200 *Pardaos* of *Mamudes*, being so many Pieces of Eight, return'd them, out of the Custom-House at *Din*, which has been accordingly practis'd, but is a very small Support, considering the Number of those descended from the *Portuguese*. The Kings of *Portugal* also ordain'd, that *Jesuits* should be sent into *Ethiopia* to confirm the *Portugueses* in the Faith, and convert the *Abyssines*; and as long as those Fathers had any Interest with the Emperor, they always favour'd the *Portugueses*; especially, when the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* was there, in the Reign of the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, who assign'd many Lands for the Residences of the Fathers, and the Maintenance of the *Portugueses*. Besides *Rax Sela Christos*, that Emperor's Brother, call'd many of them to his Army, and gave them good Lands, so that no *Ethiopi*ans made a better show at Court, or in the Camp, yet afterwards when Things alter'd, as shall be shown they came to want Necessaries, and endur'd great Hardships, having only the Comfort of wishing, or hoping to be carry'd away into *Portugal*; but there they still remain in Servitude, wholly forsaken, and abandon'd.

This was the Posture of Affairs in *Ethiopia*, when at *Lisbon* they imagin'd it was wholly reduc'd to the Obedience of the See of *Rome*, and

and that for perfecting its Conversion there only wanted the King *A. Patriarch of Portugal's* sending a Patriarch, and Missioners, which the King *and Bishops* presently resolv'd to do after having sent the 400 Soldiers, above *chosen for* mention'd. If any rightly remark that the Patriarch *Don John* *Ethiopia.* *Bermudez* being still living, it looks unlikely that another should be sent, without taking notice of him, we shall satisfy them by declaring that the Pope consecratd him Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and *Don John Nunez Barreto*, was now sent as Patriarch of *Ethiopia*. King *John the 3d of Portugal* having propos'd his Design to Pope *Julius*, the 3d, and to *S. Ignacius*, they pitch'd upon *F. Nunez Barreto* to be Patriarch of *Ethiopia*, *F. Andrew de Oviedo* for Bishop of *Hierapolis* and *F. Melchior Carneyro* of *Nice*.

Whilst all Things were disposing for their Consecration, and Departure, 12 Religious Men were immediately sent for *Ethiopia* by the Founder of the Society, and these were *F. Antony de Quadros*, *F. Emanuel Fernandez*, *Micer John a Fleming*, *Michael Calamayud*, 12 Jesuits. a *Catalonian*, and *Jerome de Cuenca*, with the Brothers *John Gonzalez*, *Bartholomew Carrilo*, *Francis Lopez*, *Gonzalo Cordero*, *Antony Fernandez*, and *John de Bustamante*; besides three other Religious Men of the Province of *Castile*, call'd *F. Andrew Gonzales*, born at *Medina del Campo*; *F. Pascual*, a *Catalonian*, and Brother *Alfonso Lopez*. These sail'd from *Lisbon* aboard the *India Ships*, on the first of April 1555, but one of the Ships, in which were the 3 last Fathers above mention'd was cast away 500 Leagues from *Goa*, on the Flats call'd of *Pero dos Banhos*. The others arriv'd safe in *India*. At *Lisbon* the Patriarch and Bishops were soon after consecrated, and the King generously furnish'd them with Veltments, Plate for the Service of the Altar, Books, and all other Necessaries. It is to be observ'd, that the two Bishops were appointed Coadjutors to the Patriarch, and to succeed him, one after another in the said Dignity, with full Power to Consecrate other Bishops, ordain Priests, and use all Patriarchal, and Episcopal Jurisdiction.

Considering the great Distance betwixt *Portugal*, and *Ethiopia*, and the Instability of human Affairs, King *John* had order'd *Don Peter Mascarnhas*, the new Viceroy of *India* to found the Minds of the *Ethiopians* touching their receiving the new Patriarch, for Fear of any Change in them. The Viceroy accordingly made Choice of one *James Diaz*, a Priest, to go in the Quality of Envoy, or Embassador, into *Ethiopia*, and with him sent a very able and religious Father of the Society, call'd *Gonzalo Rodriguez*, with the Lay-Brother *Felipe de Ferra*, who had serv'd the King well in *India*, and afterwards led a very pious Life in the Society. These had the King of *Portugal's*, and the Viceroy's, Credentials,

F. Gonzalo Rodriguez in Ethiopia.

and sail'd from Goa with a good Convoy of Men of War and Vessels on the 7th of February 1555, and in 30 Days came Anchor at *Arquico*, a Port then belonging to the *Abissine* Em. Having rested a few Days, they continu'd their Journey by Land and being come to the Place where the *Babar Nagays*, or Countour of the maritime Provinces, was, were by him favourably receiv'd, with Expressions of Affection. Thence they proceeded to the Place where the Emperor was. We will now deliver the account of their Journey and Proceedings from a Letter written by the aforesaid Father *Gonzalo Rodriguez* out of *Ethiopia* to the Father of the Society in *Portugal*, and dated the 13th of September where we shall find many Particulars concerning that Empire of unquestionable Truth, and well worth our Knowledge. He writes to this Effect.

*His Account
of Affairs
there.*

' On the 17th of *May* we arriv'd where the Emperor of *E*
' was, whom we found incamp'd, with Abundance of Troop
' about him; he order'd us to be receiv'd, and the next Day
' had Audience of him. He sat on a Couch, with Curtains
' about it, and all the Tent adorn'd with Silk Hangings, and Cardinal
' *James Diaz* deliver'd him his Letters, which he order'd
' to be read, in the presence of all the *Portugueses*. In them our
' inform'd him, that, the next year, he would send one of his
' Household, with a Number of religious Men of holy Life
' and singular Learning. He look'd much out of Countenance
' was so disorder'd, that when we spoke to him, he answer'd
' nothing to the Purpose, and so we took our Leave, and 3
' Days after he went away to visit a Grand-mother of his, 8,
' Days Journey off, leaving us in an open Field wholly unprotec
' ted, without any Body so much as to compliment us with a
' Name. An honest *Portuguese* made amends, carrying us to a
' House, which was 2, or 3 Leagues off, where we were entertained,
' and he return'd to the Emperor. Here we continu'd 3 Months,
' the Emperor spent in his Journey, and I composed a
' Treatise of the *Ethiopian* Errors, and the Infallibility of our
' Faith, to present it to the Emperor; and was at the same time
' inform'd by a *Portuguese*, who was much in his Favour,
' he said, he had no Occasion for the Fathers, and would not
' admit to the See of *Rome*; and others assur'd me, that several
' Men declar'd, they would rather be subject to the *Moo*
' leave their ancient Customs for ours. This confirm'd
' the Resolution of giving him all in Writing, that I might
' spoken by word of Mouth, had I known the Language, and
' his Answers, I might fully know his Designs, which he

long Disguis'd. I therefore desir'd the Emperor would assign me two learned Monks to translate what I had writ, and also let me see a Book, which they call, the *Adultery of the Franks*, compos'd by the Schismatics of *Alexandria*, from whom they receive their *Abuna*, and therefore Pay Tribute to the *Turks*; and the said Book rejects the Council of *Chalcedon*, pretending that it made four Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and charging us with many more Errors.

He refus'd the Book, and was very angry that we knew the Contents of it; but appointed the Monks, yet they would not put their Hand to translating, either for Fear of the Emperor, or because he had so order'd. However with the Assistance of the Captain of the *Portugueses* I got it done, an honest *Portuguese*, who understood the Language well, being my Interpreter. Then having ask'd a Monk to write it out fair, the Emperor after appointing one, sent us Word, we might show it him as it was, or else talk no more of that Business. That he might have no Excuse we did so, on the Day he appointed, being the 20th of August, when we went to him, attended by the Captain of the *Portugueses*, and 7, or 8 others. Being come into his Presence, I began to make a short Speech, declaring what I came about, but he cut me off short, and talk'd of something else, as being prepar'd against all I design'd to say. He look'd upon the Treatise I gave him, defended his Opinions, and made Slight of all I could say, till I asking him positively, whether he would submit himself to the See of *Rome*, and receive those learned Men the King of *Portugal* was sending. He said he had learned Men enough of his own, and would never obey any but the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, as he had always done. Finding him positive, I withdrew, and then he commended me very much to the Captain of the *Portugueses*, read the Treatise I left him very often, and show'd it to his Mother, Brothers, and great Men, whereupon the *Abuna* excommunicated any that should read it, and the Emperor asking his Leave so to do he deny'd him, for which Reason the said Emperor call'd him *Moor* and Heretick, who would read the *Alcoran*, and forbid the reading of so excellent a Christian Writing; and therefore since he was Prelate and *Abuna* bid him answer, what a plain Clergyman propos'd.

Controversy
about Religi-
on.

This affair being now the only Talk at Court, and Parties divided about it, the Emperor resolv'd to consult certain Monks, look'd upon as holy Men concerning it, and order'd my Treatise to be fair copy'd, tho' I fear'd he might cause some Passages of it to be left out. When the Emperor was to give me his positive Answer, he put me off with Delays, whereupon I went to take my

‘ Leave of him, in Order to return into *India*, when he desir’d I
 ‘ would give him a Month longer. A few Days after he decamp’d
 ‘ and remov’d two Days Journey from that Place. We follow’d
 ‘ him, and in this new Camp came to me three Monks, one of them
 ‘ a learned Man who had a mind to discourse me upon Matters of
 ‘ Faith. He told me he approv’d of all our Doctrine, except only
 ‘ not keeping the Saturday, and eating Swines Flesh, and Hare;
 ‘ but proceeding discover’d many of their Errors; *viz.* That the
 ‘ Souls of Men, departing this Life, could not immediately see the
 ‘ Face of God, but went to the Terrestrial Paradise; that the Holy
 ‘ Ghost did not proceed from the Son, but only from the Father;
 ‘ that the Son, as Man, was equal to the Father; that only the
 ‘ *Moors* and Infidels were to be in Hell forever. I satisfy’d
 ‘ him so well, as to all these Points, that whispering me in
 ‘ the Ear, left the other Monks, who were ignorant, might hear, he
 ‘ said, that was the Truth, and he would preserve it in his Heart.

F. Rodrigu-
 es returns to
 India.

‘ The Time appointed being come; I took leave of the Emperor
 ‘ who gave me free Liberty, and said he had sent a Man to receive
 ‘ the Fathers the King of *Portugal* was to send him, and design’d to
 ‘ hear them. In my way I administer’d the Sacraments to the *Por-
 tugueses* and Marry’d several of them, who liv’d with *Abyssine* Wo-
 ‘ men. At one of their Mansions I receiv’d a Compliment from
 ‘ the Superior of the greatest Monastery of Monks; and another of
 ‘ Nuns call’d *Dibra Libanos*, and therefore went to visit him, ac-
 ‘ company’d by all the *Portugueses*. We found not the Superior
 ‘ at home; but saw the Monasteries, which are not like ours in
 ‘ *Europe*, for every Monk lives in a House by himself, and works
 ‘ for himself, so that the Monastery is like a Village of thatch’d
 ‘ Houses, the Monks on the one Side, and the Nuns on the other
 ‘ and they say, they get many Children among them. These are
 ‘ not *Franciscans*, nor *Augustinians*, but of *Tecla Haimanot*, which
 ‘ in their Language signifies, Plant of the Faith, and he was of
 ‘ the Order of *S. Anthony*. This Man the *Abyssines* reckon a great
 ‘ Saint, and say, the notablest Miracle he wrought was the killing
 ‘ of a great Serpent, ador’d as a God by the Heathens, whom he
 ‘ converted to the Faith they now hold in *Ethiopia*.

Politick
 Fear of the
 Abissines.

Thus far *F. Gonzalo Rodriguez*’s Letter, who resolv’d to get a-
 way into *India*, before the Emperor chang’d his Mind and stop’d
 him, some Persons having perswaded him, that the King of *Por-
 tugal* intended to make himself Sovereign of *Ethiopia*, and him
 Tributary, as he had done by several Kings in *India*; adding, that
 the King of *Portugal* already stil’d himself Lord of the Conquest,
 and Commerce of *Ethiopia* and *Arabia*, and therefore since so few
Portugueses as came with *Don Christopher de Gama* had done such
 great

great Feats, what must they expect if a greater Number should come and joyn those who were there and knew the Country; for which Reason they might justly suspect, that the Father, and the rest that came with him were no better than Spies, under pretence of Religion. These Considerations render'd the Emperor averse to the Portuguese, and therefore F. Gonzalo Rodriguez went away to Baroa, there to expect Shipping, where he found Don John Bermudez, who, as has been said, was also withdrawn out of Ethiopia. John Peixoto coming to Mazua with two small Vessels, the Patriarch and his Fathers went aboard him, and arriv'd safe at Goa.

C H A P. V.

Don John Nunez Barreto, the new Patriarch, arrives at Goa, and the Bishop Don Andrew de Oviedo goes into Ethiopia; how he was receiv'd by the Emperor Claudius; the Death of that Monarch; Adamas Segued succeeds, his Tyrannical Government, and Overthrow.

THEY little thought in Portugal, that the Affairs of Ethiopia were in the Posture we have here represented, and therefore for the more Grandeur the King appointed Ferdinand de Sousa de Castello Branco to go along with the Patriarch as his Portuguese Ambassador and Bishop. They sail'd from Lisbon, with the Bishop Don Andrew de Oviedo, F. Gonzalo de Sylveira, and others, on the 15th of March 1556, and arriv'd at Goa on the 13th of September that same Year, where they found F. Gonzalo Rodriguez, newly return'd from Ethiopia, who gave them a far different Account of that Country than they expected. However, the Patriarch and his Companions consulting together, resolv'd to proceed; but the Governor of India, Francis Barreto and his Council were of another Opinion, not thinking it fit to expose the Patriarch and the Ambassador to any Affront, and therefore only sent the Bishop Don Andrew de Oviedo, with some Companions, in Four small Vessels, who landed at Arquico about the latter end of Ethiopia.

of March 1557, and thence travell'd by Land to *Debaroa*, where the *Babar Nagays*, or Governor of the Coast resided. The second Days Journey they met Four of the *Portugueses* who liv'd in *Ethiopia*, and came to the Coast to see whether any Supply was sent them, according to what has been mention'd before. They were all overjoy'd to meet, and travell'd together to *Debaroa*, where that *Isaac* was still *Babar Nagays*, who brought *Don Christopher de Gama*, and the *Portugueses* into *Ethiopia*, in the Year 1541. He receiv'd the Bishop and his Company very courteously, and from thence the said Bishop immediately sent a Letter to the Emperor, acquainting him with his Arrival at *Debaroa*, the Patriarchs being ready in *India* to come over, and his own Design to repair to his Court. What happen'd to the said Bishop in this Place, on the way and at Court, shall be briefly deliver'd out of of a Letter written by *F. Emanuel Fernandez*, Superior of that Mission, to *F. James Laynez*, General of the Society, in the Year 1567; for there was no possibility of writing sooner, by reason of the *Turks* coming to conquer that Coast of *Tigre*; so that no Letter could be sent to *India*, much less into *Europe*, for Six Years. The aforesaid *F. Superior's* Account abttracted in short is as follows.

His Reception
at Debaroa.

' We came to *Debaroa* on the 25th of March 1557, where the
' Bishop was honourably receiv'd by the *Babar Nagays*, and the
' People all kiss'd his Hand with extraordinary Respect, which
' we look'd upon as a good Omen. There we stay'd 20 Days
' performing the Office of the Holy Week the best we could, and
' the People resort'd to our Church with great Devotion, the Bi-
' shop administering the Sacraments to the *Portugueses*, and re-
' ceiving Visits from the *Babar Nagays*, and other great Men.
' Winter coming on, and the *Turks* advancing up the Country,
' we set out for the Emperor's Camp, and came in 50 Days to
' him, as shall be said. Having mention'd the coming of the
' *Turks*, I must inform your Reverence, that when we came to
' *Maxua*, an Island on the Coast of *Ethiopia*, and the anchoring
' Place of all Ships trading hither from *India* and *Arabia*, we there
' found a *Turkish Bassa*, with 500 or more Men, design'd to con-
' quer *Ethiopia*, and expected the Arrival of our Ships; when see-
' ing those that came could do him no harm, he landed, and that
' oblig'd us to depart hastily from *Debaroa*, and tho we have been
' here above 5 Years, we do not know that any Letter of ours is
' past into *India*, notwithstanding we have try'd so many ways,
' that we fear three Men sent by us are kill'd. These *Turks* I
' speak of, tho' they have done much harm in the Country, and
' taken

taken abundance of Captives, have fail'd in their Enterprize, losing most of their Men and much Treasure, being beaten out, and could never have return'd, were it not for what shall be mention'd hereafter.

In our way to the Court, we administred the Sacraments to many *Portugueses*, which took us up several Days. About 8 Days Journey short of the Emperor's Camp, he sent a Nobleman to Compliment the Bishop, who brought many Mules to carry us and our Baggage. At the last Days Journey, he sent us an Order to stop till we heard from him. Two Days after he sent to call us, and when we were within a Musket-shot, another Messenger came with Orders for us to pitch our Tents, which now made a good Show, we being joynd by many *Portugueses*. There we continu'd that Night, and the next Day at Noon many of the Emperor's Kindred, and principal Officers well mounted and accouter'd, came to the Bishop's Tent, and two of the greatest going in, deliver'd their Message, that the Emperor sent for him. We went immediately, where he with his Mother and Brothers was looking out from a high Place, and tho' it was not usual, would have all Ride into the first Court, he seeing all from another within. After staying there a while, he commanded us to alight and go into the second Court, in which the Tent he liv'd in stood, and made us stand there a while again, whilst he look'd at us through Silk Hangings.

On both sides the Entrance of his Tent stood a great number of Old Men and Persons of Quality, with Truncheons in their Hands, very orderly. As we all stood thus silent, two of his Servants came out of the Tent, one whereof was the *Babar Nagays*, and making Obeysance to the Bishop, conducted us in to the Emperor, who receiv'd us very courteously and lovingly; and after some short Discourse, the Bishop deliver'd him the Letters from the Governor of *India*, our Patriarch, and others, which having receiv'd, he presently began to look displeas'd, being far from any Thoughts of a Reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*; yet being Noble, Discreet, and a Lover of the *Portugueses*, he endeavour'd to conceal it, tho' not so much but that double Dealing might be perceiv'd.

However, he always behav'd himself civilly towards the Bishop, and whilst he liv'd none durst shew him Disrespect; besides that he furnish'd us plentifully, because he was naturally Generous, especially where the King of *Portugal* was concern'd, as owing an Obligation to him. He was so good natur'd, and so much concern'd for the Sufferings he apprehended the Bishop might be expos'd to, that going to engage the *Moors*, by whom he

' he was kill'd, he said, *Alas, poor Bishop! What will become of him if I die?* This Emperor *Claudius* was so well qualify'd, bating his Obstinacy in Religion, that I am positively of Opinion there was not a wiser Man in the Empire, or so fit to Govern. He was very well instructed in the *Portuguese* Manners and Customs, and us'd so much Courtely towards the Bishop, that in the Height of his Obduracy, we still hop'd for some good of him.

Religious
Controversies.

Thus far the Fathers Letter, the remaining Part we shall insert below, after mentioning some Things that happen'd to make it more plain. After the first Interview, the Bishop began to Discourse the Emperor about the main Point of forsaking his Errors, and submitting to the Pope, who answer'd, That his Forefathers had always own'd the Chair of *S. Mark* at *Alexandria*, and he could see no Occasion to disquiet the People, who were peaceable and satisfy'd with their *Abuna*; yet since he came so far to *Ethiopia*, whither never any Person of such Quality came on the like Embassy, he would advise with his Council and learned Men in order to give him a final Answer. The Bishop perceiv'd this was only to delay Time, and excuse himself on the Opinions of others, who he knew were harden'd in their Errors, and therefore sent him a long Letter in their learned Language, to endeavour to move him to some better Disposition. At the Bishop's Request there were several Meetings of the learned Men, all whom the said Bishop easily confounded, and then the Emperor would take up the Argument, and manage it so dexterously, that sometimes let the Bishop handle: and tho he kill ran them all down yet they gave out, that they had got the better; so that all came to nothing. This put the Bishop upon Writing against all their Errors, and delivering it to the Emperor, who return'd an Answer in the same manner, resolving never to submit to the *S* of *Rome*. These Things happen'd about the latter end of *December* 1558. when the Bishop thought fit to withdraw himself from Court, as he did about the beginning of *February*, and publish'd a Circular Letter advising the *Portuguese*, and some other Catholics there, to be cautious in conversing with the Schismatics, and exhorting the *Abyssines* to forsake their Errors; and the same time condemning them as refractory, and obstinate against the Church.

Too hotly
purs'd.

Let us now see what became of the Emperor. After the Death of the *Moor Granbe*, another Infidel call'd *Nur*, Chief Governor of the Kingdom of *Adel*, burning with the Desire of revenge on his Father's Death, who had been kill'd with *Granbe* at *Ogara*, watch'd

watch'd all Opportunities, and sent Spies into *Ethiopia* to give him an Account of the Posture of Affairs there; by whom he was inform'd, that tho' the Emperor *Claudius's* Forces were numerous, yet they were undisciplin'd and unfit for Service. Upon this Intelligence he gather'd a great Army of Foot, and 1700 Horse, with which he enter'd *Abyssinia*, destroying all before him, and marching directly towards the Emperor, who boldly set forward to meet him, as they did in a spacious Plain, fit for their purpose. Both Parties being bent upon engaging, they presently fell on; but the *Abyssines* wanting Discipline, as soon as they felt the Fury of the Enemies Onset, threw away their Arms and turn'd their Backs, forsaking their Sovereign, who behav'd himself with the utmost Bravery, in the midst of the Infidels, killing several of them with his own Hand, assisted only by 18 *Portugueses*, who tho' they did all that Men could do, yet being encompass'd by a multitude of *Moors* were overpower'd, and fell all of them with the Emperor. The Victors pursuing their Advantage, slew many, took abundance of Prisoners, and made themselves Masters of the Camp, where they found a considerable Booty. The *Moor Nur* returning home Victorious, enter'd the City riding on a little Ass in humble manner, amidst the Acclamations of the People, giving for his Reason, That God alone had given the Victory, and therefore all the Glory ought to be his, since he fought and conquer'd for him. A wonderful Example of Moderation in an Infidel, fit to confound Christians, who are puff'd up with Vanity upon every little Success. Thus ended the unfortunate Emperor *Claudius*, or according to the *Abyssines* *Glandios*, which was his Christian Name, tho' often call'd *Asnaf Segued*, being the Name he took at his Accession to the Crown.

After the Death of *Claudius*, his Brother *Minas*, which signifies Faithful, succeeded him in the Throne, and at his Inauguration took the Name of *Adamas Segued*. He was of a perverse and cruel Disposition, whereof he had given some Instances in his Infancy; and having been Prisoner, and bred up among *Moors* and *Turks*, he had their Native Insolence instill'd into him, with their Falshood and Fierceness. In short, he behav'd himself so Tyrannically, not only towards the *Portugueses*, but his own People, that they had all Reason to lament the loss of his Brother *Claudius*. *F. Emanuel Fernandez* gives us an Account of his Barbarity towards the Bishop and other Catholics, in the same Letter we gave part of above, and he being an Eye-witness of undoubted Reputation, we will here abridge the rest of it.

Minas succeeds Claudius.

T

Claudius

*Persecutes
the Catholics.*

‘ *Claudius* dying without Issue, says this Father, was succed
‘ by a Brother, who at the Time when the *Portugueses* deliv
‘ those Kingdoms from the Oppression of the *Moors*, was *Pris*
‘ in *Arabia*; but when *Claudius* at the Expence of the Bloo
‘ our Men had recover’d his Dominions, he ransom’d him
‘ that he might be said to have been bought with the Blood of
‘ *Portugueses*, rather than Gold: Yet all the Gratitude he sho
‘ was, that being come to the Crown, he seem’d to aim at
‘ thing more than the utter Destruction of those few Catho
‘ that remain’d in his Kingdom. The Emperor *Claudius* ha
‘ ven free leave to all *Ethiopian* Women that marry’d *Portu*
‘ *gueses*, to embrace, if they thought fit, the Doctrine of *J*
‘ and the same to all their Slaves and Families: But the
‘ Thing *Adamas Segued* did, was forbidding all Native *Ethio*
‘ whatsoever, repairing to the *Portuguese* Churches, upon
‘ Penalties, alledging, that his Brother came to that unti
‘ End, for permitting the Exercise of the Catholick Relig
‘ his Dominions. This was so vigorously executed, that a
‘ man was publickly whipp’d only for being a Catholick,
‘ Wives of *Portugueses* were imprison’d on the same Account,
‘ many of their Children taken from them, which made se
‘ renounce their Religion, for fear of his Threats. Nor di
‘ stop there, but because two *Armenians* had been convert
‘ banish’d the one and beheaded the other; besides that, he
‘ continually took from the *Portugueses* those Lands they had rec
‘ from his Brother *Claudius*, as a Reward for their Faithfu
‘ vices. He kept the Bishop Prisoner six Months, and threat
‘ to burn the other Fathers; besides many other Wrongs too
‘ ous to relate. But God making use of him only to chastis
‘ Intolencies some *Portugueses* committed in *Ethiopia*, he
‘ not himself unpunish’d; for he being inhuman toward
‘ own Subjects, about the latter end of the Year 1560, m
‘ the Nobility of *Ethiopia* rebell’d against him, and gav
‘ Crown to a Youth call’d *Habitu Tascaro*, Bastard Son
‘ Elder Brother of his, deceased. This Prince was joyn’d
‘ only by the Prime Men of the Kingdom, but by the Capt
‘ the *Portugueses* with 30 of his Men, the rest being at that
‘ too far off. The Emperor hearing of this Conspiracy, ma
‘ first against the *Babar Nagays Isaac*, a Man noted for M
‘ Affairs, and who had deliver’d the Empire from great M
‘ tunes. He was then towards the Sea Coast, executing
‘ Orders he had receiv’d from *Tascaro*. At the first Enco
‘ *Isaac* had the better, but in the second was forc’d to fly.
‘ done, *Adamas* turn’d back against *Tascaro*, and on the

*His Subjects
Rebel,*

July 1561. routed and took him Prisoner. In the mean while, the *Babar Nagays*, who had escap'd out of the Battel, and waited about the Sea, in hopes of some *Portuguese* Supplies that were expected from *India*; failing of them, and fearing to be surpriz'd by the Emperor, concluded a League with the *Turks* above spoken of, and being joyn'd by them, proclaim'd another Brother of that *Tascharo*, who had been put to Death. The Emperor *Adamas* march'd against *Isaac* and the *Turks* to *Tigre* with numerous Forces, and on the 20th of April 1562, was routed without fighting; for both he and his Men being terrify'd with the Cannon fled, and left their Camp to the Enemy. All this while we had been in the Emperor's Camp, so hardly us'd, that we durst not pitch our Tents without his Directions.

Upon this Defeat we were made Prisoners by *Turks* and *Abyssines*, who fought against the Emperor, and God sav'd our Lives by means of the *Portugueses* that were there. We had been before robb'd four times, and were now reduc'd to Extremity, only the *Babar Nagays* gave us our Chalice and some small Things, the rest we ransom'd the best we could. Your Reverence may guess what a miserable Condition we are in, being Forty in Family, and forc'd to relieve, when we are able, the *Portuguese* Widows and Orphans, and no body to ask an Alms of; for the *Portugueses* have more occasion to beg than give, and the Natives are more inclin'd to take and steal than to part with any thing. For our Table, we have scarce a Belly full of parch'd Barley. The Bishop is not fit to be seen. We beg your Blessing, and the Prayers of all the Society, and having no way left to write, your Reverence may take this, if it comes to your Hands, for the last. *Ethiopia*, July the 29th, 1562.

Emanuel Fernandez,
Antony Fernandez,

Francis Lopez,
Gonzalo Cardozo.

C H A P. VI.

Persecution under the Emperor Adamas Segued; Brother Fulgentius Freyre sent from India, taken by the Turks; F. Andrew Gualdames attempting to go to Ethiopia kill'd by those Infidels; the Death and Character of the Patriarch and his Companions.

*He insults
the Bishop.*

F. Emanuel Fernandez was very brief in relating the Sufferings of the Catholics in Ethiopia, under the cruel Emperor Adamas Segued, their mortal Enemy, whereof a particular Information was afterwards taken in Ethiopia from the Depositions of Eye-witnesses. Among the rest of his Extravagancies, he once sent for the Bishop, and bidding him never more to presume to teach his Doctrine in that Empire: That Prelate answer'd, he could never forbear Preaching the Word of God. At this the Emperor was so enrag'd, that he drew his Sword, and ran at him; but the Sword dropping out of his Hand, he fell upon him with his Hands, striking and tearing his Cloaths, and laying hold of the Sword again, like a raving Mad-man, would have kill'd him, had not the Empress and several Noblemen interpos'd. After this he banish'd the Bishop, and his Companion F. Francis Lopez to a barren Mountain, where they suffer'd very much, this being the 3d time he had been banish'd.

*Br. Freyre
sent to Ethi-
opia.*

It was no small Addition to the rest of their Afflictions, that they could receive no News from India or Portugal, for in the Year 1557, the Turks possessing themselves of all the Sea Ports, cut off all Communication betwixt India and Ethiopia. This very much perplex'd the Patriarch Don John Nunez Barreto at Goa, who never gave over importuning the Vice-Roys of India, either to set him ashore on the Coast of Abyssinia, or to send some Ships that might bring him News of the Bishop, and how Affairs stood in that Country. At length, in the Year 1560, the Vice-Roy Don Constantine de Braganza fitted out three Ships, in which the Provincial of the Jesuits, at the Request of the Patriarch, sent Brother Fulgentius Freyre, who had before been in Ethiopia, and return'd thence with F. Gonzalo Rodriguez, as has been said. These Ships

Ships set sail in February 1565, but the *Turks* being Masters of *Mazua*, the Commander would not suffer Brother *Fulgentius* to be set a shore; yet he found Means to give Letters to a *Moor*, who going away to the Port of *Arquico* deliver'd them to the Servants of the *Portugueses*, that were come thither to hear News from *India*, and they carry'd them to the Bishop.

As the Commander was making off he was pursu'd by four *Turkish* Gallies, well mann'd, which falling upon his Vessels, took it, whilst the two others that attended him fled, and made their Escape to *Goa*. Brother *Fulgentius Freyre* was taken on Board this Vessel, very much wounded, and sent to *Gran Cairo*, where he continu'd in Slavery two Years, under very great Hardships. The Brother was theretill Pope *Paul* the 4th sent two Fathers, of the Society to, *Egypt*, to reduce the *Coptis* into the Bosom, of the Church, who finding him there writ over immediately to *Rome*; by Order from whence, he was ransom'd and sent thither, thence to *Portugal* and venturing back again to *India*, in his old Age, dy'd at Sea.

The Bishop, and Fathers in *Ethiopia* were no less desirous to hear News from *India*, than the Patriarch, and others there to know how matters stood with them. Besides that they would fain persuade King *John* to send 5, or 600 *Portugueses*, who might easily make themselves Masters of the Sea Ports, rescue the other *Portugueses*, and compel the *Ethiopians* to submit to the See of *Rome*, as they had promis'd. To this Purpose it was thought absolutely necessary that one of the Fathers should attempt to get over into *Ethiopia* and *F. Andrew Gualdames* was pitch'd upon. He being come in Sight of *Mazua*, with a *Portuguese* that offer'd to bear him Company, and understanding there was a Ship of *Banaens* there bound to *India*, for want of a better Messenger, entrusted a *Moor*, upon promise of Reward to go to the Captain of the *Banean* Ship, and agree with him to take them in privately, for a considerable Sum to be paid in *India*. The Perfidious Infidel, instead of treating with the *Banean*, betray'd them to the *Bassa* of *Mazua* by whom they were taken that Night, and immediately cut in Pieces. This Good Father was a *Spaniard*, born in the Town of *Xeres de la Frontiera*, and is said, to have learnt the *Abissine* Tongue in six Months.

Don John Nunez Barreto, the Patriarch, having been six Years at *Goa*, without any News from *Ethiopia*, or possibility of going thither in Person, dyed there on the 20th of December 1562. By his death the Bishop *Don Andrew de Oviedo* came to succeed in the Patriarchship, as had been appointed by the Pope. We said before how the Emperor *Adamas Segued* was routed by the *Bahar Nagays Isaac*, and the *Turks*, but his early Flight avail'd him not, for he was kill'd in the Pursuit, and in his Stead, his Son *Sorfa Danguil*

Taken by the
Turks. and
ansome'd.

Another Je-
suit taken,
and murder-

Malac Se-
gu'd Emperor.

was set upon the Throne, and took the Name of *Melchi*, or *Malac Segued*, whose Life was continually aim'd at by treacherous Contrivances, and he obtain'd many Victories. He was crown'd and anointed at *Aurum*, with great Solemnity, according to the ancient Custom, which had been quite out of Use, for many Years, by Reason of the Wars. This Emperor was generally fortunate in his Wars, for he drove the *Turks* out of the Kingdom of *Tigre*, and attack'd their Fortres at *Arquico*; he was zealous for Christianity in his way, and neither encourag'd, nor persecuted the Fathers, nor the Catholics, being wholly taken up with his Wars, without ever admitting any Discourse of leaving his Errors. He reign'd almost 33 Years, and tho' he seem'd to respect the Father's looking upon them as holy Men, yet he made no Account of their Doctrine.

All this Emperor's Reign being infested with Wars, and he not caring to hearken to religious Matters, the Fathers stay'd in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, with *Isaac* the *Babar Nagays*, with whom also kept most of the *Portugueses*, and settled on a Mountain they call *Maegoga*, at a Town nam'd *Fremona*, often mention'd by us. Some Knowledge they had in *India*, in *Portugal*, and at *Rome* of the Difficulties the Patriarch, and his Companions labour'd under in *Ethiopia*, how little good they were able to do, and how far the Emperor *Clandius* had been from performing what he promis'd. Nor were they Ignorant that the Emperor *Adamas Segued* had persecuted the Fathers, and oppress'd the *Portugueses*, who deliver'd him from the Captivity of the *Moors*. These Things mov'd Prince *Henry*, who govern'd *Portugal* during the Minority of King *Sebastian* to ask leave of Pope *Pius* the 5th for the Patriarch to leave *Ethiopia*, which his Holiness readily granted, by his Bull, sign'd the 1st of *February* 1566, and directed to the said Patriarch. He receiv'd a Copy of this Bull in the Year 1567, and after declaring his Readiness to comply with it, and depart for *Japan*, or *China*, acquainted the Pope, that there might be still Hopes of converting *Ethiopia*, were the Preachers supported by 5, or 600 *Portugueses*, alledging the good disposition of many of the People to embrace the Catholick Religion, who were withheld from it by Fear of Punishment. Besides he added, there were Multitudes of Infidels easy to be brought into the Church, being well meaning People, and not much addicted to Idolatry. He further alledg'd, he was inform'd there were many of those in some Parts of the Empire, who had desir'd of the Emperor to be made Christians, which he had refus'd for Worldly Interest, because they made many of them Slaves, which they thought they might not do with Christians. The People who made this Request, inhabit the Kingdom of *Damut*, which is

Preaching
propos'd with
Force of
Arms.

A very large Country. The Gentiles of another Country call'd *Sinari*, where there is much Gold, about three Years since intreated a Kinsman of the Emperor's, who made War on them, to desist and they would pay him Tribute, and become Christians, which he would not grant them. Of these Pagans, especially those of *Damut*, the *Moorish* Merchants, whereof there are great Numbers among the Christians, buy Multitudes, whom they carry down to the Sea, and sell them to the *Turks*, and *Moors*, and I am of Opinion there are above 100000 of them thus sold to those Infidels. Who afterwards become *Mahometans*, and good Soldiers, doing much harm to the Christians, &c.

It cannot but be observ'd here, that the Insolencies of the Portugueses above hinted at, and now these demands of Men to convert Ethiopia by Force, together with the Demand of one third Part of the Abissine Empire for the Assistance given against the Moors; these Things, with many other Circumstances of the same Nature must of Necessity give the Ethiopians an Aversion to the Portugueses, and a dislike to all they propose; as concluding that under the Colour of Religion they came to subdue them, and to take that Crown from the Infidels for themselves; especially since as the Ethiopians observ'd, the King of Portugal already took upon him the Title of Lord of the Commerce of Ethiopia and Arabia. Those Religious Men who endur'd so many Hardships, may be allow'd to have acted out of a true Religious Zeal, but perhaps they had done more good, had all those dissolute Portuguese Soldiers been carry'd away, and only they left to preach, and Teach, which yet ought to be done with much Mildness, and Patience without expecting to compel all the Nation at once to a Compliance, of which we shall see more hereafter, and therefore thus much may suffice in this Place.

There is another Letter of *Emanuel Fernandez*, wherein he gives a particular Account of all that befel him, and his Companions, but being more full of Religious than other Matters, I shall only pick out of it some few Remarks worth knowing. He says. The *Turks* enter'd Ethiopia in the Year 1572, which was the 4th Time, after the Fathers were there. They took many Captives, and went as far as a Town where the *Portugueses* resided, who made their escape but the Town was burnt, whence they return'd to *Debaroa* nearer the Sea, built a Fort, and continu'd making Excursions. This oblig'd the Catholics to abandon those Places, and withdraw into the Kingdom of *Damboa*, and other Parts. Only the Patriarch, and some few with him, continu'd amidst those Dangers to endeavour to send Advice over to *India*, and in Hopes of Succours from thence. With the Catholics that went away, the Patriarch sent *F. Gonzalo Cardazo*; and *F. Francis Lopez*, the first of which was murder'd on the way by Robbers, and the latter wounded in the Arm,

The Patri-
arch's Life.

Arm, yet went on with his Company, and settled with them at *Dambia*. In the rest *F. Fernandez* declares the good Disposition there is among many of the Natives, and especially the Gentiles embrace the Catholick Religion, could they be protected in it, says, several Persons of Note were privately converted, but kept themselves for fear of suffering Persecution. In another Letter dated December the 20th, 1557, the same Father complains the 5, or 600 Men so often desir'd, are not sent, bewailing the Loss of so many Souls, for want of them, and alledging, to justify the making Use of that Force, that even in Christian Countries the Prelates would have no Authority were they not supported by the Lay-Magistrates. He urges, that God punishes the Obduracy of the *Ethiopian*s, as he did the Egyptians, with Flies, for such he calls the Barbarous *Galas*, as being a naked unarm'd People; and yet the *Abyssines* well arm'd and mounted, are not able to withstand them, which indeed looks more like a Judgment, than any thing natural.

The Patriarch continu'd several Years at *Fremona*, without receiving any Succours from *Portugal*, or *India*, or any Fleet coming to carry him off. All this while his Life was so holy, and exemplar, that one of the greatest Men in the Kingdom of *Tigre*, himself a Schismatick, was wont to say; That none of the ancient Saints in the Desert attain'd to more Perfections than the said Patriarch did in *Fremona*. His Palace was a thatch'd Cottage, his Food a thin Cake of *Tef*, a Grain before mention'd, his other Dainties were Cabbage, or Linseed, without any other seasoning, but Salt and Water; and even these he was to sow, and bring up him. His Poverty was such, that he was reduc'd to tear the first written Page out of his Breviary to write a Letter on. Another time he afterwards writ to the Pope, and wanting even such a Leaf, he cut the Margents of the Breviary, and sow'd them together, to write on. In the midst of his Sufferings he spar'd no Labour, attending the Poor of all Sorts, which was the Occasion of converting many Schismaticks. At length it pleas'd God to take him out of this World, in the Year 1577, when he had been above 20 in *Ethiopia*, and was not only Lamented by the *Portugueses*, but by all that knew him, and the Viceroy of *Tigre*, when he receiv'd the News beat his Face with both Hands, as is usual among the People in extraordinary Afflictions, often crying in a dismal Tone, *The Patriarch is Dead, the Patriarch is Dead, we are all undone*. This great Man was a Spaniard, born at *Illescas*, a Town between *Madrid* and *Toledo* in the Kingdom of *Castile*, his Sanctity of Life wonderful, and to pass by many other prodigious Passages well attested, all *Ethiopia* still own that the Town of *Fremona* was particularly protected by Heaven for his Sake, against all Enemies, tho' the Barbarous *Gallas* ravag'd all the Country about it, yet

never did the least Harm in that Place, notwithstanding many of them came into it, and it had no human Defence.

Five other Fathers came into *Ethiopia* with the Patriarch, two whereof we have already declar'd dy'd by the Sword; the first *F. Andrew Gualdames*, kill'd by the *Turks*, near *Arquiso*; the other *Gonzalo Cardezo*, by the Robbers, on the way to *Dambee*. There remain'd three, the first of these that dy'd was *F. Emanuel Fernan* *lea Superior* of the Mission, who after enduring infinite Hardships for his Flock, at length departed this Life, spent with overmuch labour. *F. Antony Fernandez*, born at *Braga* living till the Year 1593, labouring indefatigably for the good of Souls, and travelling in his old Age an hundred Leagues, only to assist one wounded *Portuguese* at his Death, had scarce Strength enough left him to return to *Fremona*, where he soon after departed this World. Only *F. Francis Lopes* remain'd to take Care of all the Catholics, which was an immense Labour, and he quite spent with Age and Fatigues. He foretold he should dye within 15 Days, but within a Year another Father would come from *India*, and others after him; all which hapened as he had said. He dy'd at 60 Years of Age. The Bodies of the Patriarch, and his Companions, were all bury'd in the thatch'd Church at *Fremona*, and afterwards translated to *Goa* by Order of the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez*. Thus ended that Mission of *Ethiopia* which had lasted 40 Years, viz, from 1557 till 1597, when *F. Francis Lopes* dy'd.

*Death of the
other Jesuits*

The Fathers Antony de Monserrate, and Peter Pays appointed at Goa to go into Ethiopia; they are taken at Dhofar and sent Prisoners to the King of Xael then to the Bassa of Yemen, in Arabia Felix. An Account of what they saw in that Country, and their Captivity.

WHILST those Things we have spoken of in the last Chapter happened in *Ethiopia*, King *John* the 3d of *Portugal*, who encouraged that Mission, dy'd, in the Year 1557, King *Sebastian*, his Successor, being wholly bent upon the unfortunate Expedition into *Africk*, little regarded the Affairs of *Abyssinia*, and the Cardinal *Henry*, who reign'd after him liv'd not long enough to effect the good Intentions he had that Way. *Philip*, the 2d of *Spain* ascending the Throne after him, charg'd *Don Duarte de Meneses*, Earl of *Tarouca*, and Viceroy of *India*, to spare no Labour, or Cost, for the Promoting of the Conversion of *Ethiopia*. This Order came to *Goa* when that Viceroy was Dead, and the Government devolv'd upon *Emanuel de Sousa Continho*, who no sooner receiv'd it, but he acquainted the Provincial of the *Jesuits*, by whom he was offer'd as many Fathers as he should think fit. The Governour thought two sufficient for the present, and *F. Antony de Monserrate*, a *Catalonian*, and *F. Peter Pays*, a *Castilian*, were pitch'd upon, this being in the Year 1587. *Lewis de Mendoza*, who liv'd at *Dia*, undertook to send them in some Ship of *Indian Baneans*, that traded to *Mazua*. The two Fathersembark'd for *Dia* in *February* 1588. and being forc'd by a Storm into the Bay of *Babao*, sent thence to acquaint *Lewis de Mendoza*, who brought them into the City by Night, clad like *Armenians*, for Fear lest any *Moorish* Sailers, belonging to the Red Sea should know, and betray them to the *Turks*. They stay'd long at *Dia*, whilst *Lewis de Mendoza* endeavour'd to prevail with any *Banean*, or *Moorish* Merchants, to take them aboard, which none of them would venture, fearing their Ships and Goods might be seiz'd, for carrying white Men they could give no Account of. Being thus disapointed, the Fathers themselves never gave over, till they found an *Armenian* belonging to *Alep*

Revolutions.
in Portugal

F. Monserrate and F. Pays, design'd for Ethiopia.

pe, who undertook to carry them by the way of *Bazora*, to his own Country, and send them thence to *Grand Cairo*, where they would find Caravans, to carry them safe into *Ethiopia*. This was a tedious way about, yet their Earnestness made it appear easy, and therefore they embark'd on board the *Armenian's Ship*, putting into *Mascate* for Water, where *Belchior Calaza*, a Man well affected to the Society commanded, he show'd them the way they went was not likely, and undertook to send them aboard a *Moor*, who was his Friend to some Port of *Abyssinia*. Whilst the *Moor* made ready, they the Islands of went over to *Ormuz*, where they were charitably entertain'd in the *Curia Monastery* of the *Augustin Friars*, and forc'd to continue till the 26th of December, the aforesaid Year 1588, when the *Moor* took them aboard, designing they should land at *Zeyla*; but a violent Storm having much shatter'd the Ship, and broke off the Rudder, he was oblig'd to put into one of the Islands of *Curia Muria*, call'd *Suadie*, near to another they name *Asquie*, on the Coast of *Arabia Felix*.

All these Islands are small, and inhabited by a poor miserable People, covering their Houses with the Weeds the Sea casts upon the Shore, and feeding on Fish, whereof they have Plenty, but want Wood to dress it, and therefore eat it raw, only dry'd in the Wind. The Sea casts up much Amber Greefe there, for they offer'd the Fathers some at a very small Price, which they valu'd as little. Here they continu'd 7 or 8 Days, fitting out a small Vessel the *Moor* hir'd, because his Ship was disabled. After much struggling with contrary Winds they were spy'd from the Shore, tho' they endeavour'd to avoid it, and taken by two light Vessels well arm'd, which came out in Quest of them. The Reason of their being so watchfull upon the Coast, was because the *Moor*, who carry'd the Fathers, had intrusted another *Moor* with the Secret, that he was to carry *Portugueses* to *Zeyla*, and this other Infidel gave Advice at *Dhofar*, where they were provided to take that Vessel.

After a strict Examination, the Fathers being look'd upon as Spies, tho' telling the downright Truth of their being bound for *Ethiopia*, were stripp'd almost naked, and shut up in an old House of Mud Walls, where they had little to eat by Day, and abundance of Vermin to break their rest at Night. At last the Commander of *Dhofar* resolv'd to send them to his Master, the King of *Xael* in *Arabia Felix*. They were put aboard a small Vessel, which carried them 5 Days along the Coast, till they landed on an open Shore, and began to travel by Land, with much trouble afoot, being ill shod, but the *Moors* at length set them on their Camels, for the more Expedition. The third Days Journey they enter'd upon such a Sandy Desert, that there was no Track, but

Large Desert.

Tarim City.

Heynan City.

King of Xael described.

they travell'd by the Sun in the Day and by the Stars at Night. The Heat was excessive, the allowance of Bread to the Fathers very small, and that of Water less, because they had none but what the Camels carried. Ten Days they travell'd over that Desert, at the end whereof they reach'd *Tarim*, a large City, where the News was soon spread abroad, that there were *Portuguese* Prisoners, whom the People flock'd to see, at first gazing as if they were amaz'd. Then asking those who conducted them, whether they believ'd in *Mahomet*, and being told they did not, call'd them *Casares*, and after many Reproachful Words, spit on their Faces, and had they not been put into a House, would have ston'd them to Death. The next Morning they were conducted out of the City before Day, for fear of the Rabble, and travelling through a Country well inhabited, came the third Day to a Town where a Brother of the Kings call'd *Xafer* then was, who receiv'd them courteously, ask'd many Questions, and gave them *Caboa* to Drink. [*This I suppose is Coffee, which they were not acquainted with.*] Being dismiss'd by him, they travell'd all the Night, and by break of Day were near *Heynan*, the King of *Xael's* Court. They were carried to the Fort, where the King resided, which was lofty and strong, tho' of Clay, as are all the Buildings in that Country. There they put them into a small *Gueritte*, or Centinels Box on the Wall, where they had trouble enough from the many People that came to see them, and could never be satisfy'd with gazing.

Two Days after their Arrival, King *Humar*, for so he was call'd, order'd their Cloaths should be given them, they being in no Condition otherwise to be seen at Court. After Dinner they were brought before him, where he was in State on the Top of the Fortrefs, sitting upon a boarded Elevation rais'd a Yard from the Ground, and cover'd with rich Brocard. He was clad in very fine Green Cloth, and on his Head a Turbant Embroider'd with Gold. As to his Person it was comely, and he seem'd to be about 40 Years of Age. He receiv'd the Fathers courteously, made them sit down, and would not let the *Syrian* Boy that came with them serve for an Interpreter, but sent for a Renegado Woman that belong'd to the Queen, and knew the Language of the Country, and enough of the *Portuguese*. The King spoke to her in *Arabick*, and she, turning to the Fathers, said, *The King bids you not be troubled, because God has brought you hither; but I say your Sins have brought you hither, among such wicked People.* He ask'd, who they were, and whither they went. They answer'd, they were Fathers, and going to *Ethiopia* to live with the *Portugueses* that went thither formerly. Many more Questions he ask'd, and

and spent the Afternoon in Discourse; and to conclude, they begg'd he would order them their Books to pray by, out of their Baggage. He answer'd, *Offha Alal, Offha Alla*, which is their way of granting what is ask'd, and signifies, *It will please God, it will please God*; and so it prov'd, for the next Day they had their Breviaries, which was no small Comfort.

Some Time the Fathers continu'd there, without knowing what would become of them, till the Woman above mention'd coming to Visit them, said, The King was very willing to Ransom *Woman Cap-* them, but afraid of the *Turks*, whose Tributary he was, and therefore fore she believ'd they would stay long there. They ask'd her, how she came into that Country? She answer'd, That going from *Chaul* to *Ormuz* in a very small Vessel, which had only 8 Men; they were drove by Strels of Weather to *Xael*, where the *Moors* invited them ashore, pretending Friendship, and the *Portugueses* believing them, were taken, as was their Vessel, and she in it. They were all sent to that City, where *Sultan Humar's* Father then reign'd, who us'd all means to pervert them, but could never prevail, and they all dy'd, consum'd with Hardships. She added, that one of these Men, whose Surname was *Preto*, having contracted Friendship with a *Moor* that traded to *Melinde*, desir'd that he would carry a Letter for him; which the Infidel promis'd, but as soon as receiv'd, deliver'd it to the King, who having found one to interpret it, understood it gave Advice for a Vessel to come upon the Coast of *Xael*, where they might easily take some *Moors* to exchange for him, and other Christian Captives. The King in a Rage order'd *Preto* to be brought before him, and ask'd him, Whether that was his Letter. He answer'd, it was. Then said the King, you shall immediately turn *Mahometan*, or Dye. *Preto* gallantly reply'd, *I am no such Man to turn Mahometan*: Adding much more, with such Christian Fortitude, that the King caus'd his Head to be struck off in his Presence, and the Body to be thrown out at the Window. Thus he ended his Days gloriously in Defence of the Faith, and tho' his Christian Name be lost to us, we may with good Reason believe it is written in the Book of Life. The Fathers extoll'd the Bravery of that *Portuguese*, and blam'd the Old Woman, who was of the Kingdom of *Pegu*, for renouncing her Faith, encouraging her to return to it, and make a good End. She answer'd, she only honour'd CHRIST in her Heart, but had not Courage to confess him openly.

The Fathers continu'd four Months in Prison, where they suffer'd very much; for tho' that part of *Arabia* is call'd *The Happy*, *Arabia* it is to be suppos'd the Ancients gave it the Name by the Rule of *Felix*.
Con-

Hadramut
Province.

Contraries, or else through a mistake, for it has no other Happiness, but many Miseries, which consume poor Captives, and from which the Natives are not exempt. That Province of it is call'd *Hadarmot*, or *Hadramut*; the least part of it is till'd, and even that yields no great Crop. The Product is Wheat, Barley, and Millet, and this last is the main Sustainance of the People; but the quantity of every sort is so small, that there are frequent Famines. They have a few Palm-trees, whose Dates somewhat sweeten their Hunger. The Natives are of a Tawny Complexion, and the Cloaths they wear answerable to their Poverty and short Diet; yet they are careful to Dress their Hair, because it is of their own Growth, and costs no Money. They let it grow very long, and then curl it up with hot Irons, for they have learnt this piece of Vanity; but then instead of costly Essences, they grease it well with Butter that it may shine, which is a Decoration fit for those who use it, for the Dust sticking to the Hair, it cannot chuse but look as comely as it is sweet scented.

Women there.

When the Women go abroad, they cover their Heads with white Cloths, and their Faces with black Veils like Nuns. They have some *Jewish* Customs among them, and particularly that of lamenting their Dead. One of the King's Daughters happening to Dye whilst the Fathers were there, abundance of Women, with their Hair very full of Dust, and shrieking most unmercifully, conducted the Queen to a House that was near the Fort, where they continu'd a whole Month weeping and wailing. They went out twice every Day upon the flat Roof of the House, where placing themselves in two Ranks they beat their Breasts, and now and then threw their Arms about one another's Necks, with many doleful Expressions and dismal Cries, expressing Sorrow.

Yemen
Kingdom.

The Kingdom of *Yemen*, or *Yamen*, begins at the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, and runs along the Coast of *Mogha*, or *Mogha*, or *Muca*, *Camarane* and *Obida*, Sea Port Towns belonging to the said Kingdom, and many other Lands and Cities up the Inland, bordering on the Kingdom of *Xael*, whose King pays Tribute to the *Bassa* of *Yemen*, who as soon as he heard that the Fathers were taken, sent immediately to King *Humar* to have them convey'd to him; because all *Portuguese* Captives belong'd to the Great *Turk*, according to Articles agreed on betwixt them. The King readily comply'd, and sent 4 Horses with them as a Gift to the *Bassa*, not out of Love but Fear, being us'd to make him great Presents, to save greater Extortions. He also furnish'd the Fathers with Camels for the Journey, and order'd those that conducted them to use them.

well, and see they wanted for nothing, because these Fathers said he, ask nothing for themselves.

On the 27th of June they came to the last strong Place in the Kingdom of Xael, where they took Provision of Water for the Road, upon which they then enter'd, being all Sand, without Road, steering by the Sun and Stars, and for fear these Guides should be hid from them by Clouds, they travell'd four Days and Nights without resting, but at Noon and Nightfall, whilst the Guides sed, who never Drank all that while. The 5th Day they found a Spring, by which they rested till the Evening, and at Nightfall set forward again, to get out of the Desert, and escape Robbers those Solitudes are never without.

The next Day they came to a small Town call'd *Melquis*, where they saw the Ruins of stately Structures, and Stones with ancient Inscriptions, which the Natives themselves could not read; but there was formerly a very large City, and that the Queen *Sheba* had there mighty Flocks of Cattel, which, if true, verifieth what I said before, that the Queen of *Sheba* was not only in the reign of *Ethiopia*, but of a great part of *Arabia*. From *Melquis* they travell'd 12 Days, through a well Peopled Country, till they came to *Canaan*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Xiomen*, and the Residence of the *Bassa*, where they were receiv'd by the *Subashi*, the Governor, with abundance of Foot, and some Horse, ordering the Kettle Drums to beat, made the Fathers walk before his Horse, leading them as it were in Triumph, thro' the principal Streets of the City, to the Fortrefs and *Bassa's* Palace, as the *Romans* drove their Captives before them to the Capital. When they were at the Palace, down came the *Tefiadar*, his Steward, and ask'd them several Questions, for they carry'd as Spies, to all which they answer'd the downright Truth. After much Examination they were carry'd to Prison, put into the common Side, besides which *F. Pays* had Irons, *F. Monserrate* they exempted, because he was very Old.

The *Tefiadar* carry'd the Syrian Youth to his House, and being conversant with his Behaviour made him his Caterer, and he often giving him the overplus of his Money, the Master would sometimes give it him, which he carry'd to the Fathers, and was a Relief to them.

Soon after meeting a Turk of Note, who was his Countryman, and acquainting him with his Condition, he procur'd Liberty of the *Bassa* for him to return to his own Country. He took leave of the Fathers, promising to return to them, and to do them all the Service he could, which he faithfully perform'd; for within a few Months he made his way to

Ormuks,

Portuguese
Captives at
Variance.

Ormuz, and thence to Goa, where he gave an Account of what had befallen the Fathers, and the Condition they were in.

The Fathers found in the Prison 26 Portuguese and 5 Indian Christians, taken on the Coast of Melinde, who besides their Captivity, were at such variance among themselves, that they were ready to Murther one another. The Fathers by their good Instructions and Example, made them Friends, and wrought such Change, that the very Turks were astonish'd at it. For their Comfort God order'd it, that the Bassa, who had been one of the Great Turk's Gardiners, and still lov'd that Art, employ'd them all to work in his Garden; and the Goaler took them from the common Side below, and gave them such an Appartment above that the Fathers had a large Room to themselves, and they were all easie, making a sort of Chappel there, and endeavouring to serve God the best they could.

CHAP. VIII.

The remaining part of the Captivity of the Fathers, till they were ransom'd; some further Account of Arabia Felix; F. Abraham de Georgijs sent to Ethiopia, put to Death by the Turks; F. Belchior da Sylva sets safe into Abyssinia; a College of Jesuits founded for that Mission at Diu.

Turkish re-
puted Saint.

WHEN the Fathers had been two Years in Captivity, the Bassa's Wife prevail'd with him to order their Liberty; but a Banean Informing, that he might get 2000 Crowns for their Ransome, he recall'd his Word, and us'd them worse than before, demanding 10000 Crowns of them. An Algerine Turks, reputed a Saint, coming thither was a great Help to them in their want, for he would often send for, discourse with, and treat them very splendidly, commending them for good and learned Men. Another Man of Note, being a Spanish Renegado, us'd all his Endeavours to get them discharg'd, but all in Vain; for both these Friends at last departed the City, and left the Fathers to their Wants, and Sufferings, with only this Comfort, that they were usefull to the

the other Christian Captives, some of whom they got ransom'd, and perswaded 5 Renegadoes to make their Escape to *India* as they did, and were reconcil'd to the Church.

Six Years they continu'd in Captivity in the City of *Canaan*, most barbarously us'd, to extort from them the Sum of 2500 Crowns. *Canaan City and Connry.* This City had been formerly very great, as being the Capital of the Kingdom of *Yemen*, encompass'd with strong Walls, and mighty Bulwarks of Earth. When the Fathers were there it contain'd about 2000 Families, 500 of them *Jews*. The Country is pleasant, and full of Gardens, and Orchards, producing almost all the Sorts of Fruit we have in *Europe*, and is 60 Leagues from *Moca*. Thither the Fathers were sent, to see whether the *Indian* Merchants would purchase them. *F. Pays* went on a Camel, but *F. Monserrate* having had a Fall off one desir'd to ride an Ass, which being jostled by a Camel gave him such another Fall, that he could not stir, without being supported by *F. Pays*, and a *Brachman* who was Captive with them. Thus they came to *Tais*, a small City, but has a strong wall, then to *Mouza*, which is smaller, and lastly to *Moca*, where they were shut up in a Ground Room full of Spice, which with the Heat of the Day and want of Air had like to have stifled them, had not an *Abyssine* Youth, *Miserable Captivity.* who was over'em cooling his Master with water, told him, they must needs perish there with the Heat, who thereupon gave him Leave to remove them to a cooler Place.

After many Threats to extort a Ransom from them, they were put into a Galley, where they had a very small allowance of bitter Millet in Grain. When they had endur'd these Hardships three Months, the *Turk*, who we said had befriended them at *Canaan*, happened to come to *Moca*, and got them from aboard the Galley to his Houle, where he entertain'd them very plentifully for 20 Days. Being then oblig'd to depart, he recommended them *Charitable Turk.* to the Captain of the Galley, desiring he would not put them to the Oar, but 5 Days after he was gone, the Captain, contrary to his Promise, return'd them to all their former Miseries. *F. Monserrate*, who was very old, falling sick, the Captain order'd him ashore, and *F. Pays* to look after him, but gave them no Allowance. In this Distrets, a *Banean* furnish'd them with some Rice, and Butter, and a Crown in Money, with which and *F. Pays* his Care *F. Monserrate* recover'd.

They continu'd in this deplorable Condition a whole Year at *Moca* till Ships came from *Diu*, and in them Orders from *Matbias d' Albuquerque*, Viceroy of *India* that year 1595, to a *Banean*, with positive Orders to ransom the Fathers at any Rate, the King of *Spain* having directed the Price should be paid out of his Reve-

The Jesuits
ransom'd.

nue. The *Banean* pursuant to his Orders, tho the Fathers oppos'd it, alledging, that *Mony* might ransom many more, bought them for 500 Crowns. Besides this they were forc'd to give 50 Crowns to the Captain of the Galley, who exacted it, for the Time he had suffer'd them to be ashore. At length they embark'd for *Diu*, and arriv'd safe, after 29 Days Sail. There the Reverend Father Guardian of the *Capucines* carry'd them to his Monastery, where they had all the Entertainment that poor Order could afford; the *Jesuits* having no House at *Diu* as yet. Thence the *Dominicans* took, and entertain'd them many Days in their Monastery. Next they sail'd to *Chaul*, where the Brotherhood call'd a *Misericordia*, or of Mercy, not only treated them, but order'd the *Mony* they said was requisite for redeeming of the other Captives at *Canaan*. In fine, they return'd at last to their own Monastery at *Goa*, after 7 Years Captivity. *F. Monserrate* dy'd there in the Year 1600, he was a *Catalonian*, as has been said, and besides all his other Labours, had been two Years a Missioner in the Great *Mogol's* Country. Of *F. Pays* we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, when he again attempted to get into *Ethiopia*, where he liv'd many Years, as we shall see.

Maronites.

When the Superiors at *Goa* receiv'd the News of the aforesaid Father's Captivity in *Arabia*, they had also Intelligence, that only *F. Francis Lopez* remain'd alive in *Ethiopia*, and therefore resolv'd to hazard two other Fathers for the good of the Christians in that Country. To this purpose they pitch'd upon *F. Abraham de Georgijs*, a *Maronite* by Birth, very learned, and Master of the *Arabic*, *Chaldaick*, *Hebrew*, and *Syriack*, who had enter'd him'self into the Society at *Rome*, being there in the College of his Nation where many zealous Men are bred, who go over to instruct their Countrymen. The *Maronites* are the Inhabitants of Mount *Libanus*, and the Country about it, who tho' subject to the *Turk*, profess the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and some of them come over to be educated in the foresaid Seminary at *Rome*, founded by Pope *Paul* the 3d. They have a Catholick Patriarch, and 8, or 9 Bishops under him. *F. Abraham* being well vers'd in the *Chaldaick* was at this Time, on the Mountains of *Malabar*, instructing the Christians of *S. Thomas*, whose Priests, and learn'd Men have the Holy Scripture in *Chaldaick*, these People had been formerly *Nestorians*, who us'd to receive their Archbishop from *Babylon*. Upon the first call he repair'd to *Goa*, where being acquainted with what he was design'd for, he kept up close for a whole Year, letting his Beard grow, and keeping quite out of Sight, to the end that when he set out, he might not be known and discover'd by the *Moors*. When the Year was up he cloath'd him-

F. Abraham
design'd for
Ethiopia.

self in the habit of a *Turkish* Merchant, and tho' a Companion had been appointed him, it was thought better he should go alone, only attended by one *Abyssine* Youth.

On the 6th of *January* 1595, he set out for *Diu*, where he im-

Arrives at Mazua.

bark'd in a Ship of *Bancans*, bound for *Mazua*, arriv'd at that Place and was well receiv'd by *Xasar*, the *Turkish* Commander, believing him to be a *Turk*. He had his Leave to go over to the Continent, and being half Way on the Channel, that parts it from the Island, the *Bancan*, Captain of the Ship that brought him thither, said to the *Bassa*, who was at a Window looking that way, Do you let that Man go so, Sir? I must tell you I know not whether he is a Christian, or a *Mahometan*. The *Turk* immediately sent a Boat after, and brought him back where upon Examination, he readily own'd himself a Christian. The *Bassa* told him he must either turn *Mahometan*, or dye; to which he answer'd, He might do as he pleas'd, for he was not a Person that would renounce his Faith. The *Abyssine* Youth that attended him, being also taken, discover'd all the Secret, and turn'd *Turk*. The *Bassa* us'd all possible Means to perswade the Father to follow the Youths Example, but finding him not to be mov'd, caus'd his Head to be struck off.

Put to death for the Faith.

The News of his Death being brought to *Goa* in the Year 1595. and that of *Francis Lopez*, the last remaining in *Ethiopia* of the Missioners, in 1597 the Fathers were in great Concern for the distressed Catholics of that Country. Those People in the Letter wherein they gave an Account of the Decease of the Fathers, advis'd, that since it was impossible for any *European* to pass into *Ethiopia* by way of the Red Sea, by Reason the *Turks* kept such strict Guard, they might send them some Priest, that was a Native of *India*, who being like the *Bancans* in Colour, and speaking their Language, and those People freely trading up the Red Sea, would be in less Danger. The Project was approv'd of, and *F. Belchior da Sylva*, a Secular Priest, pitch'd upon, being a *Brachman* by Descent, then Vicar of the Church of *S. Anne*, one of the richest in *Goa*, and a Man of Learning, and Piety. The good Priest embark'd for *Diu*, and went thence to *Mazua*, in the Habit of a Seaman, in *March* 1596, where he found a Catholick of *Fremona*, come to look for Letters from *India*. By him he sent Word to the *Portugueses*, and setting out himself, for fear of the *Turks*, arriv'd in four Days at *Debaroa*, where he was receiv'd by several *Portugueses*, and Catholics of *Fremona*, who conducted him thither with great Joy.

F. Belchior da Sylva arrives in Ethiopia.

F. Belchior da Sylva continu'd six years in *Ethiopia*, five before the coming of *F. Peter Pays*, who went to relieve him, and

Another way
into Ethi-
opia contri-
ved.

one with him, expecting Shipping for *India*, all which Time he behav'd himself like an excellent Pastor, sparing no Pains to administer the Sacraments to the *Portugueses*, who were much dispers'd up the Country. He had Instructions, when he came from *India*, to endeavour to discover some way for the Fathers to get into *Ethiopia*. In the Year 1602 having consulted with the Principal *Portugueses* in the Kingdom of *Tygre*, they all came to this Resolution, that there was no Port like *Bailur*, which is just within the Mouth of the Red Sea, on the left Hand, opposite to *Moea*, 12 Leagues up the *Abyssine* Channel, and belongs to the Kingdom of *Daneali*; which tho' subject to a *Moor*, yet he so much depends upon the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, that by Virtue of a Letter from him, he would suffer them to pass. This Opinion all the *Portugueses* and *F. Belchior da Sylva* gave under their Hands, which has been here set down, tho' for the present the Fathers found a way through *Mazua*, yet because it may be of use another Time, and the Patriarch *Don Alfonso Mendez* pass'd that way, as we shall see hereafter.

House of the
Jesuits at
Diu to that
purpose.

Whatsoever way was found into *Ethiopia*, the Fathers perceiv'd it would be very necessary to have a House at *Diu*, that being the principal Port for the Trade of the Red Sea, because being there they could contract Friendship with the *Moors* and Gentiles sailing thither; for they might favour them with the Governour, and Custom-House, and those Traders, in Return, would carry them in their Ships, and procure them a safe Passage. The *Baneans* endeavour'd all they could to obstruct it, believing the Fathers would endeavour to convert the *Moors*, and Gentiles that came to trade thither, which would be a Hindrance to their Dealings, and lessen the Income of the Customs. However the Viceroy and King *Philip* the 2d positively resolving to favour the *Jesuits*, this Obstacle was remov'd, and those very *Baneans* perceiving what Kindness they receiv'd from the Fathers, grew so well affected towards them, that for several Years they gave them bountifull Alms, till their Church, and College were built.

C H A P. IX.

F. Peter Pays finds Means to get into Ethiopia.
*What Emperors succeeded in that Empire, after
 Malac Segued; the Emperor Za Danguil's Victo-
 ries.*

WE have already given an Account of the 7 Years Captivity of F. Peter Pays, who being well recover'd of the Hardships he endur'd in that time, set his Heart again upon attempting to get into Ethiopia, and in order to it went a way to *Diu*. King Philip the 2d had order'd six small Vessels to be fitted out to carry some Fathers into that Country, yet the Viceroy would provide but 2, and those meeting with a Storm, between *Goa*, and *Diu*, the one of them was forc'd into *Damam*, and the other reach'd its intended Port, much shatter'd and unmailed. F. Pays impatient of this Disappointment, set himself upon finding another way, and meeting some Servants of the *Bassa* of *Suaghem*, who came thither to trade and were returning home, he contracted Friendship with them, and particularly with their Chief, call'd *Razum Aga*. The Father spoke *Arabick* perfectly well, having learn'd it, during his 7 Years Captivity, and in Familiar Discourse with the *Turk*, who took him for an *Armenian*, pretended some Desire to Return into his own Country, but that the Fear of falling again into the Hands of the *Turks* restrain'd him. The *Aga* readily promis'd to carry him safe to *Suaghem*, and thence to *Grand Cairo*, whence he might go with the Caravan to *Jerusalem*, and so into his own Country. Father Pays return'd him Thanks, and ask'd, whether, when they came to *Mazua*, he might not with Safety go up a little way into the Country, to seek after some Goods belonging to certain Fathers who dy'd there. The *Turk* told him, it would be very easy, and offer'd to bear all his Charges. In fine their Friendship was so closely knit, and the *Turk* show'd so much Sincerity, that the the Father embark'd with him, and they sail'd from *Diu*, on the 22d of *March* 1603. The *Aga* treated the Father all the way, with extraordinary Kindness, and

and they arriv'd at *Mazua*, on the 26th of *April*. The *Bassa* being then absent, one *Mustadem*, a great Friend to *Raznam Aga* commanded in that Place, who was very civil to the Father for his Friends Sake, and gave him leave to go into *Ethiopia*, when he pleas'd to seek for those Goods he had told the *Aga* of.

He comes to
Fremona.

The same Day *F. Pays* arriv'd there, he met with a Christian come from *Fremona*, by whom he sent *F. Belchior da Sylva* the News of his being in that Place. Some Days he was oblig'd to stay at *Mazua* for Company, there being no travelling alone, because of the many Robbers. At length meeting with 6 Christians, who came from *Fremona*, to enquire for News from *India*, he took leave of his Friend *Raznam*, who promis'd to stay there for him two Months, and on the 5th of *May* 1603, began his Journey with the aforesaid 6 Christians, the *Shabander*, or Captain of the *Bancant*, attending him over to the Continent, and sending two *Moorish* Servants to wait on him some Days Journey farther. He travell'd all the way to *Debaroa*, which is 5 or 6 Days Journey, over very high and craggy Mountains, clad in an old *Moorish* loose Coat, with a Piece of Dimety instead of a Cloak, for fear of the Thieves. On the 10th of *May* they came safe to *Debaroa*, whither the next Day came the Portuguese Captain *John Gabriel*, a Man of Worth, with several Portuguese from *Fremona*, to receive the Father. They set out from thence, and on the 15th of *May* got to *Fremona*, where they were receiv'd with extraordinary Joy, by the Portuguese and other Catholicks, and they all repair'd to the Church to return Thanks to God. A few Days after *F. Belchior da Sylva* came to *Fremona*, having been 6 Months abroad administering the Sacraments to the Portuguese, who were dispers'd about the Empire, and was now overjoy'd to see *F. Pays*, which set him at Liberty to return to *India*. The Portuguese Captain, *John Gabriel*, was sent to Court, to acquaint the Emperor *Jacob*, then reigning, with the Arrival of the Father, which News that Monarch receiv'd with satisfaction, and order'd that as soon as the Winter was over he should repair to him. But now whilst *F. Pays* reposes himself, after his Fatigues by Sea and Land, let us take a view of the Affairs of *Ethiopia*.

Ethiopia.
Affairs of

It has been declar'd above, that at the time when the Patriarch Don *Andrew de Oviedo* dy'd, the Emperor reigning in *Ethiopia* was call'd *Malac Segued*. He by his Empress *Mariam* had several Daughters, but never a Son; by others he had two Bastard Sons, the one nam'd *Za Mariam*, the other *Jacob*. Thus having no lawful Issue Male, *Malac Segued* design'd a long time for his Successor, a Nephew call'd *Za Danguil*, Son to his Brother *Lessena Chrijfos*, and in order to it bred him up at Court, that the

Great

Great Men might respect and affect him. However, a little before his Death, his Son *Jacob*, whom he had never seen, because bred far off, being brought to Court, and Fatherly Affection prevailing, he chang'd his Mind, and resolv'd to leave the Empire to that Bastard. The Great Men perceiving his Inclination, soon comply'd with it, and as Flatterers are want to do in all their Discourses, promoted his Design. Death put a Stop to all these Practices, for the Emperor returning from his Wars with the *Galas of Baxilo* fell Sick, and perceiving his last Hour approach, that being a time of impartial Justice, he thought himself oblig'd to leave the Crown to his Nephew, and accordingly made it known to all the Great Men, charging them to enthrone *Za Danguil*, as his Nephew and lawful Heir, the other being but a Bastard.

Malac Se-
gued leaves
the Crown to
Za Danguil.

The Emperor was just dying when he gave these Commands, yet his Flattering Courtiers persisted, alledging, they would have no other Monarch but his Son. The true Reason of it was, because *Za Danguil* was then a Man grown, and *Jacob* the Bastard but a Child, under whose Name they thought they should have the whole Power in their own Hands, without any Regard to Justice. Having fix'd this Resolution among themselves, before they made known the Father's Death, or the Son's Election, they sent some Troops of arm'd Men to secure the Nephew *Za Danguil*, and others to do the same by *Socinius*, Great Grandson to the Emperor *David*, who they much fear'd might call them to Account, as being a very brave and hopeful Youth. Accordingly *Za Danguil* was seiz'd, and carry'd to a Lake call'd *Dek*, in the Kingdom of *Dambea*, where he was kept Prisoner a long time, and afterwards on several strong Mountains. *Socinius* getting Intelligence that they design'd to lay him up, had the good Fortune to make his escape to the Frontiers of the Empire, where he kept up in Arms, till God rais'd him to the Throne, as we shall see hereafter.

The Great
imprison him

Being rid of these powerful Competitors, they proclaim'd *Jacob* Emperor, at 7 Years of Age, and kept the Government in their own Hands, with the Empress *Mariam Sina*, who sided with the Confederates, she taking for her Associates two of her Sons in Law, call'd *Ras Athanatus* and *Casnade*, Viceroy of *Tigre*, the two Prime Contrivers of these Practices, the young Emperor *Jacob* having nothing but the specious Title of Emperor. This Triumvirate held above 7 Years, till *Jacob* being about 14 Years of Age, began to show he would have a Share in the Government himself. Many Months were not past since the young Emperor began to act of himself, before those Three who had set him

And set up
Jacob, a Ba-
stard.

him

*For sake him
and set up
Za Danguil.*

him up, viz. the Empress and her two Sons in Law, *Athanatus* and *Castuade*, at the Instigation of *Za Sebasse*, a turbulent Person, we shall soon speak of, agreed to depose him, pretending a Scruple of Conscience, for having wrong'd *Za Danguil*; whose Right it was. This was the Colour they took to palliate their wicked Ambition, believing since they had lost the Favour of *Jacob*, they should have the Power over *Za Danguil*, whom they prefer'd to the Empire. They sent to him to the uncouth Mountains, where he was Prisoner, little thinking of such Fortune, and being brought into the Camp, he was instantly declar'd and honour'd as Emperor, and, what is most remarkable, the other Emperor *Jacob* was still in the same Camp.

Jacob flies.

Jacob had barely time to escape by the Swiftneſs of his Horse, thinking it enough to save his Life, and as is usual for all Men to forsake the Unfortunate, only 8 Servants follow'd him. He took the way to *Cemen*, a strong Mountain Country, where many of his Mother's Kindred were, and had he got thither safe, it would have been impossible to take him. But there wanted not a Traitor among those few Friends, who, whilst the Poor Youth took a little Rest, being come near *Cemen*, went away to a Neighbouring Town, and inform'd the People, that *Za Danguil* was proclaim'd Emperor in the Camp, and *Jacob* was come thither flying, and therefore charg'd them to secure him, under Pain of the new Emperor's Displeasure. They all halted out in a Body, and surprizing the unhappy Youth, carry'd him Prisoner to *Za Danguil*. He, tho' well pleased to have his Competitor in Custody, was much displeased with the Baseness of the Treacherous Servant. The Council sitting, some were of Opinion, that *Jacob's* Nose and Ears should be cut off, so to render him incapable of governing; but *Za Danguil* being of a generous Temper, was satisfy'd with sending him to the Kingdom of *Narea*, the farthest of the Empire towards the South East, charging the *Xumo*, or Governor, to keep a strict Guard over him. There we will leave him for the present, and shall after a while see this same *Jacob* made Emperor again, and *Za Danguil* kill'd, and soon after *Jacob* slain by *Socinius*, who took the Name of *Sultan Segued*. Let us now see how *Za Danguil* behav'd himself towards *F. Peter Pays*, and in the Government.

*Is taken, and
committed to
Prison.*

*Children
taught their
Catechise.*

When *F. Pays* came to *Fremona*, the Emperor *Jacob* was on the Throne, but soon remov'd to make Place for *Za Danguil*, as we have seen. During that Time, the Father had the Catechism compos'd by Doctor *Mark George* of the Society, translated into the *Ethiopick* by such as were best acquainted with the Language, and made abundance of Children learn it by Heart. The *Ethiopians* were

were so highly pleas'd to hear those Children discourse, by way of Dialogue, of all the Mysteries of Religion, that many resorted from all Parts to partake of it, and others sent for them to their Houses. The Fame of it at last reach'd the Court, and the Schollars were so highly commended, that their Master could not but partake of those Praises.

The Emperor *Za Danguil* being very affable and curious, and naturally inclin'd to bear any Thing that was new to him, especially in what related to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome; and being also inform'd, that the Father at *Fremona* was very Learned, a great Traveller, and could give a notable Account of what he had seen, and of the *Roman* Faith, he was very desirous to see and converse with him, and to hear some of those young Lads he had instructed. He therefore sent for the Father, and writ him a Letter, which the said Father has left us, in the Title of the Affairs of *Ethiopia* till his Death, which we will here insert, to give the Reader some Idea of the Stile of that Country, and is as follows.

The Emperor sends for F. Pays.

A Letter from the Emperor *Za Danguil*, otherwise call'd *Asnaf Segued*, to *F. Peter Pays*.

MAY the Letter of the Emperor *Asnaf Segued* come to the Hands of the Worthy Father, who is Master of the Portugueses. How is your Health? Hear these Things; and the good News of what our Lord God has done for us. We were Seven Years in Prison, and endur'd innumerable Hardships; but our Lord God taking Compassion on our Misery, brought us out of Prison, and gave us the Empire, and has made us Head of all, even as David says, The Stone which the Builders refus'd, is become the Head Stone of the Corner. Now the same Lord end that well which he has began. Hear farther; We are very desirous, that you come hither speedily, and that you bring the Books of the Justice of the Kings of Portugal, if you have them, for we shall be glad to see them. Thus far the Emperor's Letter.

The next Day he dispatch'd an Express, with Orders for the Father to come with the Viceroy of *Tigre*, who was ready to repair to Court. The Father was immediately ready, but the Viceroy stay'd, because he receiv'd News, that the Emperor had decamp'd, to go and oppose the *Galas*, who understanding the Disorders that were in the Empire, had broke into the Country,

Irruption of the Galas.

Y

with

with a design to make themselves Matters or ^{be} being very numerous, had form'd 3 Armies, to the end that king so many several Incursions, they might oblige the *Ethiopians* also to separate, and so attack them the better dispers'd. The greatest Body enter'd the Kingdom of *Gojam*, whither the Emperor march'd, ordering the Viceroy of that Country to keep himself whole, without giving the Enemy Battel till he came: But Martial Rules being little observ'd in *Ethiopia*, the Viceroy seeing the Enemy at Hand, and thinking it a Discredit to lose Time, fought and was routed.

Bravery of The Emperor was concern'd at this loss, but not discourag'd, and therefore advanc'd speedily to meet the Enemy, who at first *Za Danguil*. fight offer'd him Battel, divided into three Bodies. The Imperialists being tir'd with their march, would have defer'd fighting; yet seeing it was unavoidable, both sides fell on, the *Galas* attacking the *Abissines* with such Fury, that the Emperor's Right and Left Wings both betook themselves to Flight, and only the main Battel stood, supported by his Valour. The Prime Officers told him it was time to retire, before the *Galas* enclos'd him. The undaunted Youth, instead of clapping Spurs to his Horse to fly, alighted to fight, and taking his Buckler upon one Arm and his Sword in the other Hand, cry'd out, *I am resolv'd to dye here, you may fly from the Galas, but can never escape the Infantry, if you this Day abandon the Emperor you proclaim'd but yesterday.*

He routs the Galas twice. Great is the Power of Example in a resolute Commander; they all stuck close together, and rush'd upon the *Galas* like so many ravenous Lyons. The Barbarians amaz'd at this fresh Vigour, turn'd their Backs, and fled full speed. The *Abissines* of the two Wings who had fled, were now upon a Neighbouring Hill looking on, and as soon as they saw the *Galas* run, fell into the Pursuit, and never gave over killing till Night oblig'd them to desist. The next Morning the Fields appear'd strew'd with Thousands of dead *Galas*. The Emperor lost no Time, but march'd his Victorious Army as it was embru'd in Blood, over high and craggy Mountains, to find out the second Body of the *Galas*, and being flush'd with one Victory, his Men charg'd so successfully, that they also overthrew them with the Slaughter of the greater part. Only the third remain'd, who thought it better to fly in Time than to stand the bloody Weapons of the *Abissines*. The Emperor understanding that 400 of them remain'd on an excessive high Mountain, to guard some Booty they had taken, he attack'd them, and his Men climbing or flying up those Rocks, the

Eyes large and bewtiful, his Nose sharp. His Lips thin, - Complexion was somewhat tawny; and were it not for that Colour, which in *Europe* is reckned unbecoming, he would not have been inferior to the finest Men among us. In short, his Person was worthy of the Empire he held, and the Majesty he represented. The Father was withdrawing, after kissing his Hand, but the Emperor commanded, and oblig'd him, to sit Down on the rais'd Step his Couch stood on, where he discours'd him for a considerable Time, without regarding the Rest. After some Time, the Emperor made a Sign for the Father to withdraw, and order'd he should be handsomly entertain'd.

F. Pays gains
Friends,

The next Day he sent for him again, and there was a long Disputation about the *Roman* and the *Ethiopian* Faith, in the Presence of many Persons of Note, and several Monks: The Children also come in for a part, the Viceroy of *Tyre* desiring the Emperor to hear the Schollars, as well as the Matter, with which the Emperor was so well pleas'd, that he ask'd the Father, whether he had all they said written in a Book, and being told, he had, order'd it to be sent him, and the next Sunday heard *F. Pays* say Mass and Preach.

The Emperor soon after by Proclamation forbid the keeping of the Saturday, and went on so fast in other Particulars, that the Father was oblig'd to advise him to proceed more gently. But the Emperor, then gave him the Letters he had already writ to the Pope, and the King of Portugal; which the Father receiv'd, and caus'd to be translated.

It is here to be observ'd, that in these Letters, the Emperor calls himself *Asnaſ Segued*, which was the Name he took at his Coronation, as the Popes do at their Exaltation, tho' his Christian Name was *Za Danguil*, as has been observ'd before. It is also to be noted, that he charg'd the Father, to write in a Letter of his own, That he then actually submitted himself to the Pope, and desir'd he would send him a Patriarch; and to acquaint him farther, that the Forces he ask'd, were to guard his own Person, against such as should oppose his settling the Faith in *Ethiopia*; for tho' he pretended they were to serve against the *Galas*, those People were entirely defeated, and would scarce return into his Dominions. But he took that Colour as not daring to trust his Secretary, nor so much as to write plain with his own Hand, for fear the Letter should be intercepted, and they might murder him. The Emperor's Letter to his Holiness, dated the 26 of June 1604, was as follows.

May

The LETTER.

MAY the Letter sent by the Emperor of Ethiopia Asnaf Segued, The Emperor come safe to the Honoured Father, the Humble, Victorious, and our's Letter to Holy Pastor Clement, Pope of the Noble City of Rome: Peace be unto the Pope. to your Holiness. The Peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who partook of Poverty with the Poor, and Honour with the Honourable, preserve your Holiness's Person, and Life, like the Apple of the Eye. Amen. How does your Holiness? Hear, Sir, what we write. We being in our Empire, there came hither a Father, on whose Neck is the yoke of the Law of Christ, by Name Peter Pays of the House of Jesus, and brought us particular News, of your Holinesses Labouring to take away Sin, even to the Effusion of your Blood. The Eternal God, who is the Head, carry you to the End. And having heard these News, that your Holiness always walks in the way of Truth, we rejoic'd, and were well pleas'd Prais'd be God, who has given us a good Shepard to keep the Flocks with Holiness, and judge the Poor in Truth. He also told us, that you assisted Christians in all that is necessary, giving them Strength, and fulfilling their Desires, following that of S. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, As we have therefore Opportunity, let us do good unto all Men, especially unto them, who are of the Household of Faith. And therefore your Holiness chiefly assists Christian Kings in all Things. Therefore since God has given us the Empire of our Forefathers, we desire to entertain Amity with your Holiness, and with our Brother. Don Phillip, King of Spain; and to the End it may be the more lasting, we desire him to send us his Daughter, to be marry'd to our Son, and with her some Forces, to assist us, because we have in our Country certain Heathen Enemies, call'd Galas. If we march against these, we can not find them, for they fly, and when we return, they fall in where we are not, like Robbers; and therefore to destroy them, we desire him to send us Forces, and all Sorts of Officers, and Fathers to instruct us, that we maybe all one Hart, and one Body, and establish the Faith of Christ which was lost among the Gentiles; so that Peace, and Love may remain among us.

My Forefathers desir'd this before, but it did not please God; they could not compass it, because the Turks were in the way, with Power. Now the Island, where they are, may be easily taken; we therefore intreat your Holiness to press our Brother to perform what we ask of him; and that immediately, without any Delay. We write this briefly to your Holiness, as knowing you will fulfil our Desires. Moreover let the Fathers that come be Virtuous, and Learned, that they may teach us what is requisite for our Souls. Few Words to the Wife.

This

This Letter has been inserted entire, as it is exactly translated to show the Stile of that Nation. The other Letter to King *Phillip* the 2d of *Spain*, was of the same Form, and the Purport of it was to ask Men, and his Daughter to Marry this Emperor's Son. The Father having receiv'd these Letters, withdrew immediately to find out a proper Person to send them by. Among the many Favours the Emperor did the Father, he order'd him 300 Ounces Gold, which he absolutely refus'd to accept of, and only desired Land to build a Church, which the Emperor granted.

CHAP. XI.

The great Men conspire against the Emperor Za Danguil, what Method he took; fights the Rebels, and is kill'd; four other Fathers arrive in Ethiopia, Soci-nios proclaim'd Emperor, takes the Name of Sultan Sugued; the Behaviour of the Traitor Za Selaſſe.

Za Selaſſe a
Traitor.

THERE was one *Za Selaſſe*, a mischievous Villian, who had been banish'd to *Narea*, the remotest Kingdom of *Ethiopia*, by the late Emperor *Jacob*, for conspiring, and taking up Arms against him; but Fortune changing, *Jacob* was banish'd to *Narea*, and *Za Selaſſe*, through the Intercession of Friends brought to Court, by the Emperor *Za Danguil*, who made him *Xumo*, or Governour of the Kingdom of *Dambea*, and Parts adjacent, For all which Favours he prov'd so ungrateful, that within a few Months he rebell'd against that Sovereign, who had so highly favour'd him. This base Wretch, took Occasion to rebel, because he saw others in greater Favour with the Emperor than himself, as also on account of his favouring the *Portugueses*, and the Catholick Religion. He therefore resolv'd to restore the Crown to the Emperor *Jacob*, finding those very People, who had before rejected, now well affected towards him, only through their own natural Levity and Inconstancy. He imparted his Design to *Ras Athanatus*, then the greatest Man in *Ethiopia*, next the Emperor, who had before taken the Crown of *Za Danguil*, to give it to *Jacob*, and then from *Jacob*, to restore it to *Za Danguil*, only for his own private Interest, as was said above. This *Athanatus* was envious of

Conspires
with others.

to Favour the Emperor shew'd to *Laca Mariam*, and therefore against the
 w'd of *Selasse's* Project. The Conspiracy having two such Emperor.
 s, one the wickedest, and the other the richest Man in *Ethi-*
 was soon espous'd by many others, offended at the Emperors
 wing the Catholick Religion, and *Selasse* taking that for a Pre-
 to his Villany.

ese Practicies could not be long unknown to the Emperor, who
 he fear'd *Raz Athanatus* durst not proceed to Extremities
 out fuller Proofs, and therefore dissimble'd till he found that
Selasse was the Prime Incendiary, who had already fir'd
 al great Men, and therefore it was necessary to apply speedy
 edy. To this Purpose he call'd together his Troops, and the
 among them the *Portugueses*, being then about 200 Men, able
 ar Arms, with their Captain *John Gabriel*; giving out that he *Who is for-*
 ld march against the *Galas*. The Danger pressing, he mov'd *Saken by*
 Camp, and march'd towards *Nanina*, in the Kingdom of *many*.
 w, thinking in that strong Country he might secure the Trai-
 that were about him, unless they stay'd behind, knowing it
 etter to have open Enemies, than Traitors in his Bosom. They
 rstood his Design, and therefore the 2d Day as the Emperor
 d a great River, *Raz Athanatus* stay'd behind, with 300
 ers of his usual Retinue. *Jonael*, another notable Person, and
 : Commander did the same, and the Infection had so far prevail'd,
 every Days Journey some great Men forsook him, and then
 Followers, for very few worship the setting Sun.

he Emperor having receiv'd a Reinforcement of about 200 Men *The Traitor*
 the Neighbouring Country, and being a Man of undaunted *Athanatus*
 rage, hasten'd back, in Hopes of taking *Raz Athanatus* before *escapes.*
 as'd the *Nile*; but he having still Friends in the Army, they
 him timely Notice, and he escap'd. The Emperor continu'd
 t the *Nile* till he had gather'd 10000 Men, and resolv'd with
 Force to go meet the Enemy, who had a much greater Army;
 rithstanding *John Gabriel*, the Captain of the *Portugueses*, a
 e, and experienc'd Man, labour'd all he could to perswade
 to delay Time, since his Forces daily increas'd.

a *Selasse* at this Time rang'd about like a Fury, stirring up the *The Abuna*
 ole to Rebellion, telling them *Jacob* was at Hand, with a *encourag s*
 erfull Army, and had the Right to the Empire, since he held *Rebellion.]*
 Years, and that *Za Danguil* did not deserve it, for having for-
 a the Faith of his Forefathers, and ought therefore to be shun'd
 n excommunicated Person, and to be kill'd as a *Moor*. To
 n the Work, he went to the *Abuna Peter*, and perswaded him
 bolve them from their Oath of Allegiance to *Za Danguil*,
 which

which he did, and then they all thought themselves sufficient^{ly} authoriz'd to wage War on their Sovereign.

*The Emperor
defeated and
kill'd.*

The Emperor in a few Days march came to *Varcha*, a large Plain, almost in the midst of the Kingdom of *Dambara*, near which the Rebels lay encamp'd, and presently the Noise of Kettle Drums and Shouts of the Soldiers were heard; the Traitor *Za Selsse* being sensible, that the best way was to fight immediately, as fearing that many of his Men would go over to the Emperor by Night. The Captain of the *Portugueses* for the same Reason advis'd to put off the Battel; but *Za Danguil* could not endure to be brav'd by the Rebels, and confided in the Justice of his Cause. In fine, he rang'd his Army, placing the *Portugueses* on the Right, with some of his own Men, because there were but 200 of them, and stay'd himself on the Left. It was the 13th of *October* 1604, when these two Armies engag'd, and the *Portugueses* falling on with the utmost Fury, the *Ethiopians* not able to stand the Shock fled, whom they pursu'd, killing great Numbers, till observing they were too far advanc'd they drew back. The Emperor was not so Fortunate on his Wing, tho' he behav'd himself like a Lyon, bearing down all before him; but 60 of his Horse deserting to the Enemy, others follow'd their Example, and many more quite daunted at that Treachery, withdrew themselves to see the Event of the Battel. Only some brave Men of Note, and faithful Servants stuck close by their Sovereign, and his Favourite *Laca Mariam* was slain by his Side. The Traitor *Za Selsse* seeing one of his Wings routed by the *Portugueses*, and fearing to be totally overthrow'n if they should return, charg'd the Imperialist with such Vigour, that he oblig'd those few who stood to retire. In this Confusion one *Humardin*, of a *Moorish* Race, who serv'd among the Rebels, coming up with the Emperor, gave him a stroke with his Launce on the Neck, that he fell down desperately wounded. He started up, and defended himself bravely with his Sword, and kept them all off that surrounded him till the Villain *Za Selsse* came up with his Launce couch'd, wounded him on the Face, and then all the rest falling on him. His Death put an end to the Strife, which was maintain'd only for his sake.

*His Burial
and Transla-
tion.*

The Dead Body was stripp'd by the Soldiers, and some Peo- ple out of Respect having cover'd it with a Cloth, the Misk *Za Selsse* order'd it to be taken away. Thus ended that Emperor *Za Danguil*, whose Body even his Enemies attest'd forth a sweet Odour three Days after it was Dead, when carry'd to be bury'd in a little Church close by. Ten Years after the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, his Cousin, translated it wit

Pomp to a Monastery call'd *Duga*, in the Lake of *Dambea*, the Burial Place of many Emperors; and even then it is attested by Witnesses above Reproach, that the Body was as perfect and entire as when first kill'd, without any Art us'd to it, or Embalming. His Death was universally lamented, for he was entirely belov'd, and the *Ethiopians* in their Histories call him *The Chosen*, and sent by God *Za Danguil*.

Let us now give an Account of the two new Comers, *F. An'ony Fernandez*, a Portuguese, and *F. Francis Antony de Angelis*, a Neapolitan, and how they came into Ethiopia. These two were at first design'd to have come with *F. Pays*, but he having found the way we have mention'd above, they stay'd behind at *Diu* till another Opportunity. All things fell out as was desir'd; for they receiv'd Letters from *F. Peter Pays* after his Arrival in Ethiopia, and *Mahomet Aga*, another Servant of the *Bassa* of *Mazna*, came to *Diu*, encourag'd by the Favour *Raznam Aga* had found there before. The Fathers got acquainted with this *Aga*, and did him so many Courtesies with the Governor and Custom-house Officers, that he promis'd to carry them both safe into Ethiopia. They embark'd with him aboard a Ship bound directly for *Suaqhem*, on the 24th of March 1604, and arriv'd at the aforesaid Port, where they were kindly receiv'd by the *Bassa*, upon Information of the Favours done to his Servant on their Account. He gave each of them a Brocard Vest, which is the greatest Honour they can do any Man. Next he fitted out a *Gelva*, being a small Vessel us'd in the *Red Sea*, and sent his Steward with them, giving him Orders to conduct them to *Mazna*, and furnish Horses and a Guard for their Passage to some Place of safety in Ethiopia. A Storm having disabled their Vessel, and forc'd them back to *Suaqhem*, the *Bassa* fitted out another, which carry'd them to *Mazna*, where they were well entertain'd by the *Quequea*, or Commander of that Island and *Arquico*, and furnish'd with a Guard till they were met by the Portuguese of *Fremona*, to whom notice had been sent of their coming. They came to that Place on the 13th of July 1604, where the Portuguese and other Catholics receiv'd them with singular Joy and Affection.

The following Winter, whilst the 3 Fathers were still at *Fremona*, two others arriv'd there from *Diu*. They came from that Place with another Servant of the same *Bassa* of *Suaqhem*, but were in great Danger when they arriv'd at that Place, the said *Bassa* being Dead, and his Successor a most bloody covetous Villain. However, they appeas'd him for the present with rich Gifts, so that he caus'd them to be conducted into Ethiopia, as the others had been. Yet soon repenting, sent after to stop them, and seiz

all they had, but it pleas'd God his Messenger came too late. The Captain of the Ship that brought them was not so Fortunate for the Inhuman *Bassa* laid some forg'd Crime to his Charge, so which he cut off his Head, and seiz'd the Ship and Cargo. No so satisfy'd, he privately murder'd two *Venetians* that came in the same Ship, and took possession of all their Effects.

Socinius his Descent. It will be proper here to give an Account how the Emperor *Socinius* came to the Crown. The Emperor *Onag Segued*, whom we commonly call *David*, had three Sons, the first *Glandios* or *Claudius*, who succeeded him in the Empire, as we have mention'd above: The second was Prince *Jacob*, who dy'd before his Brother, leaving two Sons, the one call'd *Tascaro*, and the other *Faciladas*. *David's* third Son was *Minas*, who succeeded his Brother *Glandios*, and was call'd *Adamas Segued*, of whom we have spoken, and he had Four Sons, *Serza Danguil*, who succeeded him in the Empire, and was call'd *Malac Segued*, *Aquieter*, *A bale*, and *Lesana Christos*, and *Za Danguil* last spoken of was Son to the last of them. *Tascaro*, Son to Prince *Jacob*, revolted against his Uncle *Minas*, or *Adamas Segued*, and being routed and taken, was cast headlong from a high Rock. *Faciladas* liv'd many Years possess'd of considerable Lands in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, and was at last kill'd fighting against the *Galas*. *Socinio* we now speak of was Son to this *Faciladas*, and had spent his first Youthful Years in great Adversity, yet always with a Resolution above his Fortune.

Affairs to the Throne. He had been some time up in Arms, without aspiring to the Empire, to oblige those in Command to give him his Father's Lands, which they possess'd; but when he found the Throne Vacant by the Death of his Kinsman *Za Danguil*, and that *Jacob* before rejected, as being a Bastard to *Malac Segued*, was very remote in the Kingdom of *Narea*, he began to entertain Thoughts of obtaining the Empire, which Fortune now offer'd him. Besides, he was very well attended by many brave Men, who had follow'd him in all his Wars, and encouraged him to lay hold of this favourable Opportunity, since he had the best Title to the Crown, and they would Sacrifice their Lives to set it on his Head. *Socinius* approving of their Advice, and resolving to lose no Time, sent immediately a Man of Quality call'd *Bella Coristes* from the Kingdom of *Amara*, where he then was, to *Ras Athanatus*, the Viceroy of *Gojam*, desiring he would assist him with his Forces. He stay'd not for an Answer, but passing the Nile enter'd that Kingdom of *Gojam*, and sent again to *Athanatus* to come and meet him. He not knowing which way to avoid or what Party to take, came and join'd him with all his Troops.

by whom, and those he had before *Socinius*, was saluted Emperor, by the Name of *Sultan Segued*.

He sent next to *Za Selsasse*, as the Prime Contriver of all the Rebellion, to come to meet him, since he was admitted to the Throne of his Fore-fathers; who after consulting with his Associates, return'd for Answer, that they thought the Crown belong'd to *Jacob*, as having been once possess'd of it, yet if he came not by *June* they would admit him. *Socinius* not liking this Answer, sent again a Nobleman and a Monk, with a Letter, importing, That since he had been once proclaim'd, he would never resign the Empire to *Jacob*, nor to his own Father, if he should come to Life again. *Za Selsasse* secur'd the Messengers, and march'd with his whole Army to *Gojam*, to deliver his Answer with Sword in Hand; but *Socinius* retir'd into the Kingdom of *Amara*, being then Sick, as also to gain Time, hoping many would come over to him, and he might end the Quarrel without Bloodshed. The Summer of 1605 was now almost spent, and *Jacob* came not from *Narea*, nor any News of him, whereupon the Great Men persuaded *Za Selsasse* not to lose Time, but rather to own *Socinius*. He, fearing to be forsaken by them, comply'd, and sent to invite *The Traitor* and acknowledge him as Emperor. *Socinius* sent a Monk to ad-*Za Selsasse* minister to them the Oath of Fidelity, and excommunicate such *submits to* as should refuse to take it, which is the greatest Tye among *him*. them. They all swore, and proclaim'd *Socinius*, Ten of them setting out immediately, and meeting him in *Begameder*, whither he was already advanc'd, congratulating his Accession to the Crown, and protesting to stand by him against all Pretenders, and even *Jacob* himself by Name, should he then come from *Narea*. How well they kept their Promise we shall see in the next Chapter.

C H A P. XII.

Socinius forsaken by the Abyssines, and Jacob enthron'd; he moves to fight Socinius, and is deserted by the Traitor Za Selsasse; Jacob is kill'd, Socinius Emperor, his Character; the end of Za Selsasse, and Ras Athanateus; the Emperor's Affection to the Fathers.

Revolts again to Jacob.

Socinius with draws.

Jacob preclaim'd Emperor.

Jacob offers to compound with Socinius.

WHILST those Great Men above mention'd were in the Kingdom of *Begameder*, doing Homage to *Socinius*, in the behalf of *Za Selsasse*, News was brought him that *Jacob* was near *Dambea*, with Orders to go meet him. The Traitor believing there was more to be got by *Jacob* than by *Socinius*, without any Regard to the Oath he had just taken, went immediately to meet and own the former, being follow'd by all the Army, and others he had bred to his Beck. At the same time he writ privately to those he had sent to *Socinius*, bidding them get away as fast as they could, because his Mind was alter'd; which they did so sily, that *Socinius* could only take two of them, who paid for all the Rest. That Emperor finding himself too weak to call *Za Selsasse* to an Account for his Perjury, and *Jacob* for his Usurpation, retired again into the Kingdom of *Amara*, till a more favourable Conjunction.

Great was the Joy with which the new Emperor *Jacob* was receiv'd by the Army, and all other People, as if they had only desir'd to see such Changes every Day. *Za Selsasse* was made Governor General, and as it were the Emperor's General. *Ras Athanateus* hearing what had happen'd, came in with his Forces: *Jacob* however considering the Instability of human Felicities, would have compounded with *Socinius*, offering him the Kingdoms of *Amara*, *Oleac* and *Xaon*, with all the Lands his Father enjoy'd, provided he would quit his Claim to the Empire. *Socinius* answer'd, That God had plac'd him on the Throne, and therefore he would have all or none. *Jacob* hearing this resolute Answer, and finding himself very strong, march'd immediately towards *Socinius*, or *Sultan Segued*, for by this Name we must call him, and encamp'd close by him. He observing what a Multitude

wither'd Leaves do in Autumn before the Wind. *Jacob* himself was born down in the Hurly Burly, no Man being able to boast that he had kill'd him. There also dy'd their *Abuna Peter*, who had taken that Side, the Person that slew him, alledging for his Excuse, that he thought he had kill'd a *Turk*. Thus ended the unfortunate *Jacob*, twice rais'd to the Throne, the first Time to be sent to Banishment, and the 2d to quit it with his Life.

Many kill'd
falling from
Precipices.

Sultan Segued being inform'd of his Death, immediatly order'd the Pursuit to cease, to spare the Multitude; yet Fear had so possess'd the routed Army, that there was no stopping their Flight, which they continu'd in the Night, many of them in the dark falling headlong from the Rocks. The next Day 600 Horse were found dash'd in Pieces, at the Foot of a Rock an hundred yards high, and more dy'd this Way, than by the Sword. *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda* writes, that one *Emanuel Gonzalves*, a *Portuguese*, who was living in his Days, told him, That he flying among the Rest, his Horse took a leap off one of those Rocks, and he seeing the desperate fall, let go his Bridle, and took fast hold of the Branch of a Tree, by which he hung, whilst the Horse falling, was dash'd in Pieces. He spent the Night on the Tree, and the next Morning having view'd the Danger he escap'd, came down safe. *Ras Athanatus*, who as has been said, had joyn'd *Jacob*, got off, and took Sanctuary in the Monastery of *Dima*, and was afterwards pardon'd, the Emperors Brother *Ras Sela Christos*, and others interceding for him. All the rest that escap'd were forgiven, and restor'd their Employments to them. Only one *Mahardin*, of *Moorish* Race, pay'd for all, his Head being struck off, because he was the first that wounded the late Emperor *Za Danguil* with his Lance, in the Battle where he was kill'd. Of the Victors only three were kill'd. Some *Portuguese's* were also slain, who sided with *Jacob*, and gave him great Assurance of Success.

Socinius, or *Sultan Segued* gain'd more Reputation by his Clemency after his Victory, than he had done by his Valour in the Battel; and therefore purchas'd him the Affection of all his Enemies, who came in to submit themselves to him. He was 33 Years of Age, very gentle, and well shap'd, long visag'd but proportionable, his Head spread, his Eyes of a Hazle Colour, sparkling, and very amiable, so that he seem'd to oblige all Men with his Looks, his Nose sharp, his Lips thin, his Beard black, and broad, his Stature above the Middle Size, well set, and brawny, and only his Tawny Complexion shew'd him not to be an *European*. He was an excellent Horse-Man, brave, resolute, sharp witted, well read in the *Ethiopian* Books, discreet, Courteous, Bountifull, Martial, enur'd to Hardship, as having been above ten Years continually

in Arms, without one Days Intermission. He rested three Days after his Victory in the Field of Battel, rejoicing, dividing the Booty with wonderfull Generosity, rewarding the Soldiers who had signaliz'd themselves, and endeavouring to please all Men. This done he set forward for *Cera*, a Place betwixt *Dambee*, and *Begameder*, where *Jacob* us'd to keep his Court.

The Mischievous Traitor *Za Slassé*, was meanly born, and had serv'd some Men of Quality, by whom for his ready Wit, and Vivacity he was preferr'd to the Emperor *Malac Segued*. His Son and Successor *Jacob* held him in great Esteem on Account of his Readiness in Dispatch of Business, giving him many Lands and preferring him in the Army, till he came to be General. Yet the ungrateful Wretch rebell'd against his Benefactor, as has been said, and was by him therefore banish'd to *Nerea*. The Emperor *Za Danguil* recall'd, and rais'd him again, and he again rose up in Arms, and was the Death of that Prince, restoring *Jacob*, who in Requital made him Viceroy of *Gojam*, with the Title of *Behet Oaded*, which is as much as the Emperors Vicar, or Lieutenant, throughout all his Dominions, to requite all which Favours, he again betray'd *Jacob*, going over to *Sultan Segued*. This Monster had more Mischief in his Head against the last mention'd Emperor, but his Reward was now at Hand, for, contrary to his Natural Sagacity, he let slip some Words, which were his Ruin, saying, Some wise Men had foretold, that he was to kill three Kings, and he had destroy'd two already. These Words were perferly carry'd to *Sultan Segued*, who tho' not credulous of Prophecies, was unwilling that *Za Slassé* should continue to verify them, being so likely a Man to carry on any wicked Design. For this reason he kept Spies upon him continually, and he observing it, contriv'd to get away from the Court, which the Emperor hearing, he caus'd him to be secur'd, and sent to the strong Mountain call'd *Guzman* in the Kingdom of *Gojam*. After a Years Imprisonment he made his Escape to the Province of *Okca*, where gathering some Men, he became a famous Ringleader of Robbers, like the *Banditti* in *Italy*. After some Time, he made an Incurison into the Kingdom of *Gojam*, where he had been Viceroy; there the People lying in Ambush surpriz'd, and kill'd him, sending his Head, stuck upon a Spear, to the Emperor, who caus'd it to be set up before his Palace, for all Men to see the End of that common Disturber.

Za Slassé
his many Villanies.

His deserved End.

Kas Athanatus, who had also been sufficiently embroil'd in Rebellion, went not unrewarded, for the Emperor *Sultan Segued*, remembering his Ambitious Practices took a Dislike to him, and gave away many of his Lands to others of the Royal Family. To forward his Ruin, his Wife, the Daughter of the Emperor *Malac Segued*

And of A
thanatus.

Segued, shook him off, as is usual in *Ethiopia*, and being thus forsaken by all People, and even his Wife, he ended his Life in a very mean Condition, tho' he had been the greatest Man in the Empire, next the Emperor.

*Lands given
the Jesuits
for ever.*

The new Emperor *Socinius*, granted that the Lands given to the *Jesuits* should be settled upon them for ever, which in that Country, is done after this Manner. An *Azage*, or an *Umbar*, who is a sort of Judge, goes in the Emperor's Name, quite round the said Lands, upon the Borders of them, with the Imperial Waights playing, to call together the People from the Neighbouring Parts, who never fail upon this Signal, and these are to be Witnesses to the Landmarks then plac'd. For the more Surety there are Goats kill'd in several Places, and their Heads bury'd, which serve also as Landmarks, and they are severely punish'd, who presume to remove any of these Boundaries. The Lands thus given in *Ethiopia* enjoy great Immunities, and are perpetual; but in such Nature as may be expected in a Country so subject to Changes, and Revolutions, as may be seen in this Work.

C H A P. XIII.

The Fathers going to Court are treated by the Emperor at Dinner; the Description of his Table; he writes to the Pope, and King of Spain; an Impostor pretends himself to be the Emperor Jacob, and raises a Rebellion; he is several Times routed; the Ceremony of the Emperor's Coronation.

THE *Jesuits* had been gone from Court but little above a Month before the Emperor, missing their Company, sent to call them to Court, with Orders, because it was then Winter, and bad travelling by Land, that they should come by the Lake of *Dambee*. They embark'd in *Tancoas*, which are very little Boats made of *Tabna* being very large Rushes, before spoken of, as well as the Boats themselves. In these they coasted along, not daring to venture out, because the least Motion of the Water oversets them,

as do the River Horses to devour those that are in them; and in striking over a small Creek they were in great Danger from one of those Monsters making at them, but escap'd almost miraculously to the other Shore, where that Creature left them for want of Water. They arriv'd safe at *Coga*, where the Emperor came to receive them at the Door of his Apartment and invited them to dine with him the next Day.

We will here give an Account of the Meanness of that Princes, Table, to compare it with the Grandeur of the Ancient Romans. Two Tables were plac'd in the Antichamber, a small one for the Emperor, and a larger for the Fathers, both of them without any curious Damask Cloth, or Napkins, or gilt Plate. When Dinner Time came, a Curtin was drawn betwixt the Emperor's Table, and that for the Fathers, an inviolable Custom in *Ethiopia*, where no Man sees the Emperor at Dinner, but only two or three Servants that Wait. Then came in ten Women, bringing the Dinner, they in the same Dreis as those who serve great Ladies, being a Sort of Gown of course Cotton Cloth, very long and wide, girt about with a great Sash, over which the Gown being drawn up hangs in large Folds. These Women bring two or three *Macobos*, which are like large Table baskets, and very lofty, because cover'd with high Lids, like Caps, the whole made of Straw, or Rushes of several Colours. In these *Macobos*, or Baskets, were 20, or 30 *Apas*, that is thin Cakes, like our frying Oat Cakes, made of Wheat, Pease, and their Grain call'd *Tef*. These *Apas* are very large, and thin, at least half a yard Diameter, and some three Quarters. After these Women follow'd others, bringing several Sorts of Portage, or Broth, in black Earthen Porring'rs, cover'd with Things like Hats, made of fine Straw, the Body of those Hats being very tall, and slender, but the Brims broad, to cover the Porringers, which are also very wide, but not deep.

The Table is a round Board, an Ell, or yard and half Diameter, plac'd on Carpets on the Ground, which they cover all over with the *Apas*, without any other Cloth, or Napkins, and on those *Apas* they place the Porringers. And this is all the State of the *Ethiopian* Tables, for they have neither Knife, Fork, nor Spoon, Salt, Pepper Caster or any other Utensil. And it is to be observ'd, that those very *Apas* which serve instead of Napkins, and Dishes, are also part of the Food. When the *Barindo*, which is the raw Beef, being the greatest Dainty at the Table, is brought in, they lay it on the *Apas*, and the Emperor of *Ethiopia* himself takes out a little Knife he carries about him, and cuts the Beef, or has it cut by his Pages, who only wait at Table, without any Steward, Controler, Carvers, Cupbearers, or any other Officers.

A a

The

River Horses

The Emperor's Entertainment.

Homely Service.

Great Men fed by others. The same Pages put the Morfels into his Mouth, which Custom is observ'd, not only by the Emperors, but by all the Great Men of Ethiopia, who look upon it as too much Trouble to feed themselves. Nor is this the worst, for these Morfels are generally of the soft of the Bread, or of the *Apas* crumbled in the Hand, wetted in several Liquors and so Moulded over, as if they were kneeding it, and sometimes these Morfels are so big, that they can scarce be put into the Mouth, and yet they thrust them in, much as we cram Chickens.

Drinking after the Meal. Thus much as to the Emperor's Table, and indeed those Emperors are much in the right, in not suffering any Body to see such a disagreeable way of feeding. Nothing has been hitherto said of their Wine, because they never drink, whilst they are eating; but when all is taken away, they bring in the Pitchers, and then discourse, as long as the Liquor lasts: for as soon as the Liquor is out, they all slip away, without taking the least Notice of one another.

An Impostor represents the Emp. Jacob. All Countries can produce Instances of Impostors, who have taken upon them to represent others, in order to raise themselves, and Ethiopia at this Time afforded one very remarkable. The Emperor *Salian Segued* repairing to his Court at *Coga* in the beginning of the Winter 1608, sent his Brother *Cella Christos*, Viceroy into *Tygre*, and *Afa Christos* his Brother by the Mother's Side into *Begameder*. At the same Time a poor rascally Youth durst presume to feign he was the Emperor *Jacob*, kill'd the Year before, as has been related. He being a crafty contriving Knave, chose the properest Place for his Purpose, which was the Monastery of *Bisama*, not far from the Port of *Mazna*, on the Mountains, which look upon the Red Sea, the Monks being of the Reform'd Order of *Abba Eustateus*, and very numerous, as spreading all about the Country, and the only Curates, in those Parts. The pretended *Jacob* declar'd himself to these Men, and they, hoping to be favoured by him, gave out that it had pleas'd God to send them the true Emperor *Jacob*, which the credulous People of *Tygre* believing, they flock'd thither to own and support him, without examining any farther.

His Disguise and Ais.

This Impostor being nothing like the true *Jacob* in Countenance, wore a Scarfe on his Head, which coming down under his Chin, he spread part of it over his Mouth covering the greatest Part of his Face, alledging, he did it, because in the Battel he had receiv'd a Stroke of a Spear, which beat out his Teeth, and had left a great Deformity. Many, without farther examining, pity'd his Misfortune, others brought him in Mules, and Horses, and others Arms, hoping to be generously rewarded, which he was

was not short in promising, as venturing nothing of his own. And the best was, that whensoever he wanted any thing, he shew'd that Piece of a Face, and immediately all that beheld it, rais'd a Difinal Cry of Lamentation out of Pity, and gave him all they had. Thus the *Ethiopians* being fond of Novelty flock'd to him daily in Throngs, and particularly all such as liv'd by robbing found in him Protection.

Being now follow'd by a great Multitude, he came down from the Mountains of *Bisan*, towards *Debaroa*, and having taken a little Gold from a Caravan of Natives, beat it out into Plates, which he put about his Hat, all the Crown of the Emperors of *Ethiopia*, being only a Hat lin'd with Silk, and plated with Gold, *Is twice de-* and Silver. The Viceroy of *Tygre* *Cella Christos* hearing of the *seated, and* Impostor's progress, march'd against him, with what Forces he *flies to the* could gather, and tho' much inferior in Number, his Men being *Mountains.* disciplin'd, routed him, and he fled to the high Mountains, which were close by. All the Kingdom of *Tygre* was now in Confusion, and many Bands of Robbers rang'd about; one of which containing 800 Men, and commanded by the Governor of *Auxum* whom they call *Nebret*, designing to fall upon *Fremona*, the Viceroy halted to save that Place, whereupon the Robber return'd. The Impostor hearing, that the Viceroy was gone, came down again from the Mountains, gathering in a few Days 25000 arm'd Men, and march'd to plunder *Fremona*, whence he was inform'd the Viceroy had withdrawn. The People of the Town fled, and he drew near, but understanding that the Viceroy was at Hand, retir'd again into the Mountains. His Men seeing how small a Number follow'd the Viceroy came down, and he falling on vigorously drove them back again with a mighty Slaughter, which so discourag'd the Rebel, that he fled again to the Mountains of the *Amacens*, beyond *Debaroa*, upon the Sea Coast.

The Viceroy perceiving he could not take the Rebel, who as fast as he lost any Men, gather'd more, and that all the Kingdom of *Tygre*, the best in *Ethiopia*, was in Confusion, he writ to his Brother the Emperor, acquainting him, that his Presence was necessary, for the redifying of these Disorders. *Sultan Segued* being upon his March, receiv'd Advice, that the *Gallas*, had broke into the Kingdom of *Begameder*, against whom he return'd, overthrew them, and came back to *Coga*, where he continu'd eight Days. In the mean while a Report was spread abroad throughout *Tygre* that the Emperor had been routed and kill'd by the *Gallas*, which put all that Kingdom into an Uproar. The Impostor receiv'd the same News, with the Addition that the Viceroy was fled, and had left all his Tents behind him. This encourag'd the Rebel to come down into the Plain, where he was soon undeceiv-

ed, for the Viceroy met, and after a sharp Dispute routed him, with greater Slaughter than before; yet the Counterfeit Emperor got off again to his Mountains.

The Emperor crown'd. As soon as the Emperor had settled his Affairs at *Coga*, he set forwards for *Tygre*, and pass'd the Mountain *Lamalmam*, which parts that Kingdom from the Inland of *Ethiopia*, incamping near *Aczum*, where he resolv'd to be crown'd, as we have said is the Custom of those Princes, being met by the Viceroy, his Brother, and *F. Peter Pays*, whom he receiv'd very graciously. On Sunday the 23th of March 1609, the Day appointed for the Coronation, the Masters of the Ceremonies came, bringing the *Ritual*, which they read, and expounded to him. Then the Foot drew up being about 25000 Men, who march'd before, and after them the Horse, in Number 1500, all in their best Accoutrements, and lastly came the Emperor, with all the Prime Persons, richly clad, and well mounted with Costly Furniture. He had on a fine Vest of Crimson Damask, and over it a *Turkish* Robe of Brocade, like the ancient *Roman* Gowns, the Sleeves straight, but so long that they hung down to the Ground, as would the Vest, and upper Garment, if let loose, the first of which was girt with a broad Girdle, all of Pieces of Gold curiously wrought, and on his Neck a thick Chain of Gold which went several Times about, hanging down on his Breast, and the Ends of it falling deep behind, all which, he being a handsome Man, became him very well.

Ridiculous Ceremonies. About two Musket-shots from the Church of *Aczum*, is a large Stone all over carv'd with unknown Characters, near to which they usually perform the Ceremony of cutting the Line or Cord, mention'd in the first Book, which is stretch'd across the way by the Maidens of *Sion*. There the Emperor alighted, with all his Court, the Ground was cover'd with large and rich Carpets, the Great Men drew up on both sides, the Maidens stopp'd the way, crossing it with the Silk Line, up to which the Emperor went three times, and being ask'd by the Maidens, Who he was the first and second time answer'd, *I am King of Israel*. The Maids reply'd, *Then you are not our King*. Then he drew back smiling, as among others was testify'd by the Captain of the *Portugueses*, who was present, and to whom the Emperor the Night before had said, He thought that Ceremony impertinent and ridiculous. Being ask'd the third Time, Who he was? He answer'd, *I am King of Sion*, and drawing the Sword he wore cut the Line, the Maids then saying, *You are truly our King of Sion*; and then the Air resounded with Acclamations of Joy, Volleys of small Shot, and the Noise of Trumpets, Kettle Drums, Waights, and all other Musical Instruments. Near to the Silk Line waited the

Abuna

Abuna Simon, who came with him for this purpose from *Dambea*, with all the Clergy, Monks and *Deberas*, all of them singing Psalms, and other Songs in their Language. Thence they conducted him to the first Court before the Church, where the Coronation was perform'd with the usual Ceremonies. Then the Emperor went into the Church, where he heard Mass, and communicated, and thence return'd to the Camp with the Crown on his Head. They use no Scepter in *Ethiopia*, nor is the Crown any other than a Hat with broad Brims, lin'd with blue Velvet, and cover'd with Gold and Silver Plates, shap'd like Flower de Luces, and some false Jewels; for they have no true Stones, nor can they be perswaded they should be of such value among us. *The Crown.*

C H A P. XIV.

The Emperor returns out of Tigre; the Viceroy Defeats the Impostor's Forces; he is taken and beheaded; F. Peter Pays obtains the Emperor's Pardon for several Rebels.

THE Fame of the Solemnity of the Emperor's Coronation being spread Abroad, could not but mortify the Impostor and his Followers, who had thought him Dead; yet the Emperor was not willing to leave him so, for hearing he skulk'd on the Mountains about *Debaroa*, he march'd thither after him. Before he mov'd he sent his Brother *Ras Cella Christos* to *Dambea*, against two other Rebels that were raising Troubles there, one of whom he kill'd in the Field, and sent the other Prisoner to the Emperor, who caus'd his Head to be struck off. In his way he visited the Fathers House at *Fremona*, and gave them the value of 300 Pieces of Eight, leaving the *Abuna Simon* there to be instructed in the Catholick Faith. As soon as the Rebel was inform'd of the Emperor's Approach, not being able to withstand him, he dismiss'd what Forces he had, and hid himself in the Mountains of *Baroa*, and being perfectly acquainted with them, found there a very private Cave, in which he lay concealed with only 4 Servants, and *The Impostor in a Cave.*

and such was his Precipitation, that he had not leisure to lay in any other Store besides a few Goats, to live upon their Milk. This Contrivance so far avail'd him, that tho' the Emperor ascended the Mountains, and employ'd all his Army in searching every Hole and Corner, he could never find him out. Hereupon, the Winter drawing near, the Emperor set forward for *Dambea*, taking with him his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, who was return'd to him after subduing the Rebels above mention'd, and leaving in his Place as Viceroy of *Tigre*, a Nobleman of singular Wisdom and Valour, call'd *Anfala Christos*, with particular Charge to pursue the Impostor to Death; and this done came himself to *Coga* on the 7th of July 1609.

*Defeat of
another Rebel.*

The new Viceroy *Anfala Christos*, left no Stone unturn'd to find out of the pretended *Jacob*, but he kept so close that all prov'd in vain. In the mean while he happen'd to fall Sick, and lay encamp'd near *Fremena*, with a very small number of Men which a Man of Quality of the House of *Sire*, whose Name was *Sabat Ab*, who liv'd like an Outlaw, and sided with the false *Jacob*, understanding, he gather'd 1500 Robbers, thinking to surprise and murder the Viceroy at *Guelguel* where he lay. He march'd in order to it all Night, and had certainly succeeded but that one of his Men stole away, and taking the shorter Course gave the Viceroy timely Intelligence. Those few Men the Viceroy had were drawn out under the Shelter of the Houses, that they might not be seen by the Enemy, who entering the Place without the least Apprehension, were receiv'd with a Volley of Shot, which so terrify'd and daunted them, being altogether unprepar'd for Fight, that most of them fell flat on their Faces at the first Fire, and then starting up fled without fighting one stroke the Viceroy's Men pursuing them with great Slaughter, and returning with 17 Prisoners.

*He is taken
and executed*

This Success seem'd to Cure the Viceroy, who presently drew near the Mountains where the Impostor skulk'd, who know'd him to be an active Discreet Man, durst not trust to those Faintnesses, and therefore went away to *Bora*, another Mountainous Part of the Country, where there were two Great Men related to the late Emperor *Jacob*, who whilst they thought him to be the Man he gave out, promis'd to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes. He repair'd to them with only 600 Men, and was affectionately receiv'd, believing him to be what he profess'd; but they being perfectly well acquainted with the true *Jacob*, could not be impos'd upon by this Cheat, tho' he show'd them but a small part of his Face. They presently agreed to secure him, and discover his Face; but he suspecting it, fled with his 600 Men

and they surrounded the Mountain searching every lurking Place, where many of his Followers were kill'd, and at length the Impostor himself was taken, his Muffler pull'd off, and it appear'd that he had not the least Scar or Hurt in his Face. Thus was he expos'd to all Persons thereabouts, and then his Head cut off, which those two Noblemen sent to the Emperor, and he order'd it to be carry'd throughout the Kingdom of *Tigre*, that all Men might see by whom they had been deluded.

This Sight soon pacify'd all that Kingdom, the People readily submitting to the true Emperor, who punish'd some few, but *Those that deliver'd him sue for Pardon.* pardon'd many more. *Amada Guerguis*, one of those two Brothers who had kill'd the Impostor, came to the Viceroy, imploring him to intercede with the Emperor to Pardon them, for having at first sided with the counterfeit *Jacob*, alledging the Merit of taking him off; for still they were guilty of high Treason, because they took Part with him, as long as they thought he was the true *Jacob*, tho' they fell off when they found him to be a Cheat.

The end of the second Book.

T H E

gued was highly pleas'd with that Letter, and immediately contriv'd not only to answer it, but how to send an Ambassador to *India*, and *Portugal*. Many Letters pass'd between this Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Pope, which are here for Brevity Sake omitted, tho' we could insert them all, the Originals being still preserv'd at *Lisbon*, among the Records, which will verify the Truth of what is here deliver'd, but that the inserting of them would too much enlarge this Volume, and therefore they are pass'd by in this Translation, tho' several of them are in the *Portuguese* Original; and no Question to be made of their being true Copies, since the Author refers to the Place where they may be seen.

Sends an
Ambassador
to Portugal.

In all his Letters, the Emperor press'd for a Supply of 1500 Men to enable him to declare for the See of *Rome*, as foreseeing the Difficulties that would arise in that Undertaking. Therefore not satisfi'd with the Letters that went by the way of *Mazna*, he contriv'd to send an Ambassador of his own, through his Kingdom of *Narea*, to the Coast of *Melinde*, that he might there embark for *India*, and thence sail in the Fleet to *Portugal*. This he thought the safest Method for his Ambassador to escape falling into the Hands of the *Turks*, at *Mazna*, and believing the way from *Narea* to *Melinde* to be short, and easy. He acquainted the Fathers with his Design, and the Reasons of it, desiring, for his better Reception, that one of them would go with him. They all offer'd their Service, but the Lot fell upon *F. Antony Fernandez*, and the Emperor appointed for his Ambassador *Tacur Egzy*, a Person of great Prudence, and Resolution, and very Zealous for the Catholic Religion, which he had already embrac'd; his Name of *Tacur Egzy* signifying, beloved of the Lord. Both he, and the Father foresaw the Difficulties, and Impracticableness of this Journey, by reason of the length of the unknown Way, among *Moor*s, *Turks*, *Cafres*, and other Barbarous Nations, however they prepar'd for it, and the Emperor having deliver'd his Letters, and furnish'd all Necessaries, they set out at the Beginning of *March* 1613 from *Dambea*, to *Gojam*, with 10 *Portuguese*s, 4 of whom offer'd to attend them to *India*, and the other 6 to return from the Kingdom of *Narea*.

His Way to
Narea.

The Viceroy entertain'd them with singular Affection, till some *Gallas*, and *Xates* came to him, whom he had sent for, to convey them safe to *Narea*, because much of the Way is inhabited by those two Nations. These being well rewarded, and promis'd a greater Recompence upon their bringing News of the Fathers being safe in *Narea*, they set out from *Ombrama*, where the Viceroy was incamp'd, on the 15th of *April* 1613, taking about 40 Men
arm'd

arm'd with Darts, and Targets, along with them. They were soon sensible of the great Difficulties they should meet with in such a tedious, and unfrequentted Journey; for having travell'd two, or three Days Westward, through the Lands of the *Gongas*, they came to *Sinassa*, the Principal Town of the Heathen *Gongas*, and asking there in the Viceroy's Name for a Guard to conduct them the rest of the Way, as for as the *Nile*, they were flatly deny'd, which was as good as declaring they would fall upon, rob, and kill them by the Way, and if they found such ill Entertainment in the Emperor's Dominions, what must they expect from the *Moors*, *Turks*, and *Cafres*, through whose Lands they were to pass. They were oblig'd to send back one of the *Portugueses* that attended the Father, who offer'd to go alone, and acquaint the Viceroy with what had happened, as he did, which much troubled the Viceroy, and he sent 3 Commanders with Men to guard the Fathers, and punish the *Gongars*. These *Gongars* understanding, that a Messenger was gone to the Viceroy, presently gave the Guard demand of them, which in three Days conducted them to the Place where they were to pass the *Nile*, call'd *Mina*, Dangerous and lies upon the Place where it turns towards the North, almost crossing the West from its Source; but is there ground very considerable, and *Nile* carries much Water, and was then very boisterous, and difficult to pass over, there being no Bridges, nor Ferries. Every Man must shift the best he can, and they were fain to make a Float of Sticks ty'd together with some Gourds or Calabashes they had provided to support it; some young Men swam before and drew this Float, and others swimming behind thrust it forward, and this being a very tedious Way, they spent a whole Day in going forward, and backward.

Hence they travel'd continually due South, till they came to *Nareea*, about 50 Leagues, escaping many Dangers from the *Galas*, and other Robbers. The next Day they came into a Country of *Cafres*, who are subject to the Emperor, but much more to their Avarice. These issuing out of their Dens, like wild Beasts, came with their Weapons in their Hands to rob them; but finding some Oppositions and being charg'd in the Emperor's Name to desist, were satisfy'd with a few Stones of Salt, and some little Muzlin; but the Rain falling made them haste back to their Dens, without calling more of their Neighbours, and the Travellers improving that favourable Opportunity hasted away. The same Day their Guide, who was to lead them through By-ways, to avoid the *Cafres*, carry'd them through a close Wood, very difficult to pass, and then down a steep Descent, to a great River call'd *Maleg*, to which they came about Night, and seeking a Place to ford it the next Day, could find none, which made them suspect least the

Barbarous

Guid design'd to betray them, as he had done a great Man before, and therefore the Father order'd him to be strictly guarded but well us'd. However they found a Ford, and travell'd more peaceably on the other side, being remov'd farther from the *Cafres*. Then they soon enter'd *Narea*, and went up a strong Mountain, where the chief Commander of the Kingdom resided, who receiv'd the Father, and the Ambassador very honourably, because they had special Recommendations from the Viceroy *Ras Cella Christos*, and better still from a good Present they made him.

Narea Kingdom describ'd

This Kingdom of *Narea*, is the most Southern of all the Empire of *Ethiopia*. From *Mazua* to *Narea* they reckon 200 Leagues, most of the Way South West, that is to *Mine*, a Town of *Gosam*, where the *Nile* is cross'd the 2d Time to go to *Narea*, and thence they go due South, and thus the middle of *Dambara* is in 13 Degrees and a half of North Latitude, *Mine* in 12, and *Narea* in 8. This Kingdom is not so large as some make it, including in it the Lands of the *Cafres*, which lye round about, and run from thence towards the Coast of *Melinde*, which is to the South East, and those that run towards *Angola* lying West from it. The Trade *Narea* has with these *Cafres*, makes it abound in Gold, which it receives of them in exchange for Cloth, Cows, Salt, and other Commodities. That which is properly call'd *Narea*, and subject to the Emperor, is not above 30, or 40 Leagues in Extent. The Natives seem to be the best People in *Ethiopia*, as is own'd by the *Abyssines* themselves. They are well shap'd, their Countenances nothing like *Cafres*, their Lips thin, their Noses sharp, their Colour not very black; they keep their Word, and are sincere, without any of the Falshood, Lyes, and Inventions of the *Amaras*. The Land yields Plenty of Grain, and feeds Abundance of Cattle. Gold is dealt for by Weight, as is us'd throughout all *Ethiopia*; besides they have light Bits of Iron, beat out flat, two Fingers broad, and 3 in Length, which pass for Money. They were all formerly Heathens; but in the Days of the Emperor *Malac Segued*, about 60 Years before this Time we now speak of, they had embrac'd Christianity, with all the Errors of the *Abyssines*, and till then no Father of the Society had been there. The Men are brave, and defend their own Country very well, for tho' the *Gallas* have possess'd themselves of the greatest Part of *Ethiopia*, and are continually making Incursions upon them, they have never been able to prevail against the bold *Nareas*, and this without any Assistance from the Emperor, to whom nevertheless they pay Tribute, rather out of their own innate Loyalty, than that he can compell them to it; because the Emperors Forces can not come at them, without marching through the Country of the *Gallas*; besides

besides that there being always some in Rebellion nearer the Court, he his oblig'd to observe them.

From *Gonea* the Ambassador and Father went to the Court of the *Benero*, so they call the *Xumo*, or Governour of *Narea*. They came to it in 6 Days, the first of them through Lands almost Desert, the *Gallas* having made an Incurſion there ſometime before. The following Days through a Country well cultivated and peopled The *Benero* receiv'd the Father courteouſly enough, tho' without any particular Marks of Honour, and Esteem; the reaſon whereof he ſoon underſtood was, becauſe there was a Schiſmatick Monk, who was the *Abunna* Vicar, and ſuſpected that the Father came to deprive him of his Dignity, and the Profits of it, which were conſiderable. The Father underſtanding it, viſited the ſaid Monk, undeceiv'd him, begg'd he would favour him with his Inter'eſt in the Viceroy, and with a ſmall Preſent, wholly appeas'd him.

The Viceroy's Behaviour.

The *Benero* was not ſo eaſily reconcil'd, for he endeavour'd to dive deeper into the Occaſion of the Embaſſador's going for *India*, and uſ'd all means to diſcover it; and tho' none but the Father, and the Embaſſador were entrusted with the Secret, yet he ſuſpected it was to bring *Portugueſes*, who might come through that Kingdom, and in their Way ſubdue it, and force them to embrace the Catholick Religion. Hereupon he advis'd with the great Men of his Court, by whom it was agreed that the Father, and Embaſſador, muſt not be permitted to go the Way they had deſign'd which was the beſt, leſt the *Portugueſes* ſhould become acquainted with it, and therefore they ſhould put them into another, which was farther about, and very troubleſome, through a Country call'd *Baliſ*. This being determin'd, after much conteſting with the Father, he flatly told him, it was in vain to contend, for he ſhould not go that Way. The Father finding no other Remedy, and being earneſt to proceed, was ſain to ſubmit, and ſay he would go by *Baliſ*.

Baliſ Kingdom.

Baliſ is a Kingdom, that formerly was ſubject to the Empe-
ror, but now poſſeſs'd by the *Galas*, and *Moors*, bordering on that of *Adel*, being Eaſt of *Narea*, ſo that is was going backward, and taking a great Compaſs to come at the Sea, near Cape *Guardaſoy*, and about the midſt between it, and Cape *Magadoxa*, which was almoſt impracticable. Now to deal plainly, the Way the Father propos'd through *Cafa*, was no better than this, becauſe proceeding South from *Narea* there is no coming at the Sea, without travelling many hundred Leagues, to the Cape of Good Hope, as may appear by all Modern Maps, ſo that the whole Project had nothing of likelihood. So ſoon as the *Benero* perceiv'd the Father condeſcended to go by *Baliſ*, being ſatisfy'd no Harm could come to him that Way, as being very remote, he gave him free Leave to depart, and with it about 30 Crowns in Gold, to help

help bear his Charges, making many Excuses for the smalness of the Gift. Then he sent Orders to one of his Officers to conduct the Father safe, through all his Country; and this Way being through the Kingdom of *Gingiro*, and one Embassador from that King being then at his Court, he dispatch'd him speedily, recommending to him the Father, and the Embassador, and desiring he would take them along with him, and secure them on the Road, which he readily agreed to.

CHAP. II.

The Embassador, and the Father depart from Narea, for the Kingdom of Gingiro, and pass the River Zebee; their Reception by that King; Description of that Kingdom, and the Barbarous Customs of the People, Manner of their Electing a King; and the Fathers repassing the Zebee.

*Progress of
the Embassa-
dor and Fa-
ther.*

THE Embassador, and Father, leaving the Court of *Narea*, travell'd thence to the Eastward, and the first Day came to the Place where the Commander resided, who was to convoy them: He receiv'd them well at first, in hopes of some mighty Present; but finding that did not answer the Expectation of his Avarice, detain'd them 8 Days, and then appointed 80 Soldiers to conduct them to the Frontiers of *Narea*. They travell'd with this Guard 4 Days, through a Desert Country, taking long Journeys for fear of the *Gallas*, who make great Inroads that Way, and the 4th Day the *Nareas* departed, leaving the Travellers in much Danger, who sent some still before to discover, with Directions, if they spy'd any *Gallas*, to make a Signal, that they might hide themselves in the Woods. Going down a high Mountain at Noon, the *Gingiro* Embassador advis'd them, before they came to the Bottom to sculk in the Wood, till the Evening, and cross the Plain by Night, because the *Gallas* graze their Cattel on it by Day. About four in the Afternoon, they flunk into the Thicket, a Shore of Rain that fell favouring them, for it oblig'd the *Gallas* to retire to their Huts tho' it wetted the weary Travellers, who were doubly fatigu'd at Night, the Wood they were in being intricate by Day

Courtesy, for he is none of his Subject. Being seated, he read the Letter, and continu'd a while, discoursing with the Embassador and the Father, by means of an Interpreter, who every time the King said any thing to him to tell the Father, kiss'd the Tips of his Fingers of both Hands; then falling down, kiss'd the Ground, and went to the Father, who stood at a little distance, to tell him what the King said. Returning with the Answer, he again kiss'd the Tips of his Fingers, before he deliver'd it, and bowing went to the King, with which Ceremonies the Discourse held for a considerable space. At length, the King bid the Father go and repose himself, and as to what the Emperor desir'd of him in his Letter, which was to use them well, and allow them a good Guard thro' his Dominions, he would perform it very readily.

*Presents of
the King and
the Father.*

The next Day the Father thought fit to present the King, because those Infidels are altogether bent upon their Interest, and accordingly he carried him some *India* black Stuffs, which he seem'd to make great Account of, as being a Thing seldom seen in his Country. The King to requite him, when he took his leave, sent him a Female Slave, the Daughter of one of the principal Men of that Country. The Father return'd Thanks for the Favour, but said, he did not use to take Women along with him, and the King excusing his mistake, gave him a Man Slave, and good Mule, which he accepted of, and sent Men to help them cross the River *Zabee* again, to go into the Kingdom of *Cambate*.

*Strange way
of crossing
a River.*

The first Days Journey brought them to the River, where they were in an Agony about passing it; for the King's Guides being well acquainted with the manner of it, contriv'd such a Method as, tho' altogether new to them, seem'd no less dangerous, than the Plank instead of a Bridge, and was thus. They kill'd a Cow and of the Hide made a great Sack, into which they put the Baggage, and blowing strongly fill'd it full of Wind like a Bladder, and this was to carry the Luggage, and serve for a Boat. Then they took two Poles, like those our Chairs are carry'd on, and ty'd them very fast to the blown Hide, and to these Poles two Men hung on the one side and two on the other, who were to hold very steady, and be of equal weight to Ballance, for the Thing was like a Scale, and therefore, if the weight was not a like, or any one happen'd to move all must plunge, and the Stream being very rapid, they were in imminent Danger of their Lives. This new Machine was guided before by a good Swimmer, pulling a Rope made fast to the Hide, or the ends of the Poles. Two others swam behind, thrusting the Invention forward. Thus they cross'd the River, and landed much lower on the

the opposite side, than where they took the Water; both because of the violent Current, and in regard there was no landing Place higher. A whole Day was spent in passing over after this manner, for it cost much time to poise the weight right, and then to cross the Stream. There let us leave them, to give some Account of the Kingdom of *Gingiro*, as deliver'd by *F. Antony Fernandez*, and other credible Eye-witnesses.

The River *Zeebe* above mention'd, almost encompasses this *Gingiro* Kingdom, making it a sort of Peninsula, and then runs to empty itself towards the Coast of *Melinde*. The Kingdom is small, the Natives of the Colour of *Cafres*, but not like them in Features. *Kingdom describ'd.*

They are all Heathens, and much addicted to Sorcery, having some abominable Customs among them, worthy to be known for their Strangeness. *Gingiro* signifies, an Ape, or Monkey, and is the properest name for that King; because in the first Place he is very black, as has been said, and sitting alone on that sort of Turret, where he dispatches Business, looks like a Monkey on a Block; besides his strange Motions, and Gestures, which much resemble an Ape. The Name suits with him upon another Account, for if he happens to be wounded in War, his Fellows presently kill him, or if they happen to fail, his Kindred do it, without Remission, tho' he never so much intreats for Mercy; and this they say they do, that he may not die by his Enemies Hands. The same is practis'd among Monkeys, who being once wounded either destroy themselves, or are kill'd by the rest, for they never give over licking, scratching, and clawing the Hurt, till they tear out their Bowels, or otherwise occasion their own Death. *His King.*

Tho' in these particulars they all resemble Monkeys, yet they take much State upon them. When the King is to go abroad, he must do it before the Sun rises; and if the Sun happens to be up first, the King is shut up all the Day, and dispatches no Business; and the Reason they give for it is, because, say they, two Suns cannot shine equal in the World, and since the King does not gain the Preference of the other, he does not think fit to follow him; therefore the next Day after he has mis'd he takes Care to be abroad much the sooner. *His foolish State.*

The Ceremonies us'd at the Election of this King are singular. They wrap up the Dead King's Body in costly Garments, and killing a Cow, put it into the Hide; then all those who hope to succeed him, being his Sons, or others of the Royal Blood, flying from he Honour they covet, abscond, and hide themselves in the Woods. This done the Electors, who are all great Sorcerers, agree among themselves who shall be King, and go out to seek him, when en- *Cer. his E.*

tring the Woods by means of their Enchantments, they say, a large Bird they call *Liber* as big as an Eagle, comes down with mighty Cries over the Place where he is hid, and they find him encompass'd by Lyons, Tygers, Snakes, and other Creatures gather'd about him by Witchcraft. The Elect, as fierce as those Beasts, rushes out upon those who seek him, wounding, and sometimes killing some of them, to prevent being seiz'd. They take all in good part, defending themselves the best they can, till they have seiz'd him. Thus they carry him away by force, he still struggling, and seeming to refuse taking upon him the Burthen of Government, all which is meer Cheat and Hypocrisy.

His Enthroning.

When the King Elect is conducted home, there is always a Battel by the way, because there is a certain Family, which of Old Custom, Time out of Mind, may force the King from the Election and enthrone him, by which means they will become the great Favourites: For this reason, they with all their Adherents wait the coming of the Electors and their Party, whom they Charge; the Victors carry off the King, and with great Rejoycing place him on the Throne above-mention'd, and then that Party has all the greatest Places and Honours; but they have enough to Counterbalance, as we shall soon see. The King being brought to the Court, they conduct him into a Tent, and on the 7th Day after the Death of the former King, the Sorcerers bring a Worm, they say comes out of the Dead Man's Nose, which being wrapp'd up in a Piece of Silk, they cause the new King to kill, by squeezing its Head between his Teeth. Next follows the Funeral of the Dead King, whom they carry to his Grave, dragging him along the Ground, and desiring he will give his Blessing to those Lands they draw him over. Being come to the Place of Burial, which is a Thicket or Wood, the ancient Repository of those Kings, they dig a Hole and throw him into it, without covering the Carcass with Earth, but leaving it expos'd to the Air, as if the Earth were unworthy to cover the Body of a King, who vy'd with the Sun, and therefore the Heaven alone must be his *Manseum*. On the Funeral Day they kill many Cows close to the Grave, so that their Blood may run in and touch the Dead Body; and from that time forward, till the next King Dies, they kill a Cow there every Day, and make the Blood run in, the Profit whereof belongs to their Priests, or Sorcerers, for they shed the Blood, but eat the Flesh.

Burial of the dead King.

Let us return to the new King, whom we left killing the Worm, which when he has done, they give great Shouts of Joy, proclaim, and enthrone him, on that Lost before describ'd, and thus ends the Solemnity, which is follow'd by Sorrow; for then the

the new King calls all the dead one's Favourites, and tells them, That since they were so much his Friends, whilst living, that *His Favourite* they never stir'd from him, it is but Reason they should bear him *kill'd, and* Company in Death, and continue his Favourites in the other *House burnt.* World. This said, he orders them all to be kill'd, and then chuses others to fill their Places; and so acceptable is the Favour of Kings, that there never want Pretenders to those Employments, who value not hazarding their Lives, so they may obtain their ambitious Ends. This barbarous Custom is palliated with the Love, and Care they ought to take of the Kings Person; to show them who are about him, how sollicitious they are to be for his Safety, since their own depends on it. Then they burn the House the old King liv'd in, with all his Moveables, Goods, and Furniture, not sparing any thing, tho' never so valuable; and even when any private Man dies, they burn, not only his House, but the very Trees and Plants that are about it, and being ask'd, why they do so, They answer, to the End, that the Dead Man, who was us'd to those Places, do not return to them, invited by his former Habitation, and delight in walking among those Trees.

Since the old Kings Palace is burnt, let us view the Grandeur of the New ones. Under the Loft which serves him for a *The King's Palace.* Throne stands his House, and by the Outside may be guess'd what is within. The House is round, about 6 Yards, or little better Diameter, the walls are either Wood, or Stone, and Clay, the Roof, and Rafters, which ascend towards the Top, are ill shap'd Poles, the Ends whereof meet and rest on a Thing like a Cart wheel, which is in the Middle, and serves for a Center, and on this Wheel on the Top, the Kings sits, as it were on a Throne, the other Ends of the Rafters about resting on the Wall; so that the stately structure looks like a Parrot's Cage. To provide a Column for this Palace, they go into the Wood, and find out a strait, but not very thick Tree, and before they fell it, cut a Man's Throat at the Foot of it, who is the first they meet with of a Certain Family they have in the Kingdom, which on this Account is exempt from all other Duties, whereof we shall soon speak. Nor does their barbarous Cruelty end here, for when the House is built, and the King conducted to it, before he sets in his foot, they kill another Man of that same Family, if the House has but one Door, or two Men if there are two Doors, and with the Blood of these Victims they daub and paint the Threshold, and Posts.

*He sells and
gives his
Subjects as
Slaves.*

This is a costly Duty incumbent on this Family, which exempts it from all others, yet are those so heavy, that they are not inferior to the Murder of two, or three of them; for whensoever the King of *Gingiro* buys any rare Goods, brought him by foreign Merchants, he agrees to give them in Exchange, ten, twenty, or more Slaves, to which Purpose he only sends his Servants, who going into any Houses indifferently take away the Sons, or Daughters of the Inhabitants, and deliver them to the Merchants. The same he does, whensoever he presents a Slave, or Slaves to any Person of Note, ordering then the best and handiomest to be taken, alledging, that what is given must be of the best. Such was the Woman Slave he would have given the Father. From this Duty that Family is exempt, of which we said some are kill'd at the Palace Doors, and so great is the Veneration they pay their King, and this Custom has so far prevail'd, that no Man offers to mutter at it, and unhappy he that should seem to disapprove of these barbarous Actions, for he would suffer Death, without Remission.

*Great
Custom.*

There is another Ceremony, before we conclude with the King of *Gingiro*. On the Day he enters upon the Government, the first Thing he does, is to send about his Kingdom, to find out all the Men, and Women, that have scald Heads, who being brought together, and sent over the River *Zebbe*, are there slaughter'd. The Reason they give for it is, that other People may not be infected by them, and so the Distemper come to the King, whom we will now leave to follow *F. Antony Fernandez*.

C H A P. III.

The Father and Embassador enter the Kingdom of Cambate ; the Crosses they met with there ; they proceed to Alaba ; are there imprison'd, and at last oblig'd to return back into Ethiopia.

THE Father departing the Kingdom of *Gingiro*, and travelling Eastward, came to *Sangara*, a Village in that of *Cambate*, then govern'd by *Amelmal*, who still acknowledg'd the Emperor of Ethiopia for his Sovereign ; and on the left Hand, are a People call'd *Gura Gues*, who are also subject to the Emperor. The Father stay'd two Days at *Sangara*, being told, they should then meet Company, who came to a Fair, but the Truth was, they had no Fair but robbing, for they did it only to give notice to their Neighbors, that they might all together fall upon his Company and plunder them ; for when they set out, there met them 5 *Centiles* of the *Gura Gues* a horse back, with many others afoot, all arm'd, who all together attack'd the Fathers Retinue, being but 17 that had Weapons, but they fighting for their Lives made the Robbers give Way. Yet a Kinsman of the Embassadors, being wounded with a poison'd Arrow dy'd a few Days after. The Embassadors Family would have reveng'd his Death, but that the Father dissuaded them, and the *Gura Gues* seeing they could get nothing by Force, were glad to take what they would give them.

Having escap'd this, and other Dangers, they came to the Place where the Governour *Amelmal* was, and gave them a good Reception at first, on Account of the Letters of Recommendation they brought from the Emperor. But at the same Time, there came thither, one *Manquer*, an *Ethiopian*, on Pretence of receiving the Tribute that Governour paid the Emperor ; but in reality, sent by several great Men at Court, who were Enemies to the Catholick Religion, to perswade the Governour, not to suffer the *Portugueses* and Embassador to proceed any farther, because they were going without the Emperor's Leave, to bring *Portugueses* arm'd with Guns, and fire Arms, which kill at a great Distance, to oblige them to depart from the Faith of their Forefathers, and.

and to embrace that of *Rome*. Nor did the base *Abyssine* think it enough, to inculcate this to *Amelmal*, but us'd means to stir up all the People of the Country to mutiny, and the Neighbouring *Gallas*, and *Moors* with these Jealousies, they being very susceptible of them.

The Embassa-
dor stopp'd. This mov'd *Amelmal* to cause the Father, and his Companions to be examin'd, and finding all that *Manquer* had urg'd to be groundless, he would have dismiss'd them; but that *Manquer* protested so earnestly to the contrary, that he was feign to send to the Emperor to know, whether it was his will that those Men should pass, and the Letters they brought true or false. Three Months after, when they expected an Answer, the Messengers, being one from *Amelmal*, one from *Manquer*, and one from the Father, return'd, saying, they had been taken, and kept Prisoners all that while, in a Town, but three Days Journey from thence. They were feign to send others again, and arm themselves with Patience, against the wicked *Manquer*, who, besides endeavouring to cause their Baggage to be seiz'd, us'd all his Means to have his Servants pick Quarrels with the Embassadors, that so they might be sent back; and one of his Men being highly provok'd by one of *Manquer's* kill'd him, for which he was imprison'd, but made his Escape.

Sends to the
Emperor. At length, those who had been sent, with an Account of the Embassadors being detain'd, came to Court, and the Emperor hearing them was highly incens'd against *Amelmal* and *Manquer*, both whom he would certainly have punish'd severely, had not they been so remote, and where he could not reach them, *Cambate* at this time being quite fallen off from him, and belonging to several *Moorish* and *Galla* Lords. The Emperor did what lay in his Power, which was to send one *Baharo*, a Man well known in those Parts Express, with a Letter to *Amelmal*, ordering the Father, and the Embassador to be furnish'd with all they wanted, out of his Revenues, and earnestly pressing him to recommend them by all means to the Neighbouring Kings, and Sovereigns; and at the same time he sent *Amelmal*, some rich Velts, and the like to the *Moor Alico*, who govern'd the next Country they were to go into, after they were out of *Amelmal's* Jurisdiction.

Proceeds to
Alaba. This Order of the Emperor's came to *Cambate* in June 1614, which was punctually obey'd by the Governour, who gave the Embassador seven Horses, believing them to be the best Present he could bestow on the petty Kings, through whose Dominions he was to pass. The Father, and the Embassador prepar'd to depart, having now spent 14 Months since they came from the Emperor's Court, and some of their Followers considering the many Dangers

Dangers they had run, took Leave, and return'd. As soon as *Manquer* perceiv'd that *Amelmal* dismiss'd the Father and Embassador, who of Necessity must pass through the Country of the *Moor Alico*, he presently sent Letters thither, which set all against them, so that when he came to *Alaba*, the Residence of that Infidel, he soon show'd himself ill affected; and tho' he receiv'd the Emperor's Letter, and the Vests brought by *Baharo*, and on that Account dissembled with them for two Days, yet the third Day the wicked *Manquer* came thither, having made his escape from *Amelmal*, who intended to have secur'd him till the Father was pass'd beyond *Alaba*.

As soon as that base Man came, *Alico* secur'd *Baharo* that *Isfopp'd* brought him the Letter, and Vests, and then the Father, and there. Embassador, keeping them apart, and seizing all their Goods, their Mules, and the Horses they brought to present, searching them rigorously, and yet it pleas'd God, they did not find the Letters, which the Father had ty'd about the Brawn of his Arm, for had they met with them, the Emperor asking for a Supply of *Portugueses*, would have confirm'd what *Manquer* spoke only by guess. *Alico* being perswaded, that if any *Portugueses* came, they would pass that way, and possess themselves of his Country, he would certainly have murder'd them, which was what *Manquer* advis'd. The Father considering the Danger of another Search, when he was alone, ask'd for Fire, on Pretence of taking Tabacco, which he had never us'd, tho' it was then much practis'd in that Country; when he had Fire, being left alone, he burnt all the Letters.

Their Imprisonment lasted ten Days, during which time several Councils were held, to debate, whether they should live or die; *Manquer* still pressing for the latter; but several great Men represented it as a heinous thing to *Alico*, and contrary to the Law of Nations, that he should Imprison a Messenger, by whom he had receiv'd Letters, and Vests, sent him by an Emperor, and therefore he order'd him to be immediately set at Liberty, and for the rest, he took the Advice of a Man in great Authority among them, which was not to kill, but oblige them to return back. *Alico* did so, but would not let them go through *Amelmal's* Province, for Fear he should suffer them to proceed some other way, or make War on him upon the Embassador's Complaint. *Manquer* intrag'd that he could not have their Blood, perswaded *Alico* to keep three of the *Portugueses*, who were with the Father, alledging, they might serve him in his Wars. This was accordingly done, and the Father departed much griev'd, both for the Loss of his Companions, and the Disappointment of his Journey.

The

Narrowly e-
scapes being
rob'd.

The same Day the Father set out from *Alaba*, some *Moors* had Notice of their departure, met to gether, to Way-lay murder them, so to take the little they had left; but a Rain falling, and those Infidels believing they would not through it, as they did with all possible Speed, they escap'd Danger. Being come to a Town, they soon perceiv'd Assemblies of the *Moors*, that they should not be safe that *Baharo* the Emperor's Express meeting a *Galla* there, ask'd whether he knew one *Amuma*, a powerfull Man of his Nation. He answer'd, He not only knew him, but a Servant, and told him he was not far off. They promis'd good Reward, if he would go call him, and to give an itately Horse, if he would come. The Servant went brought his Master, who taking the Father and his Company under his protection, all the Designs of the *Moors* were pointment.

Conducted by
a *Galla*.

This *Galla* conducted them two Days Journey from the Place of his Residence, where he treated them with Ph Milk, and Beef, and then bore them Company three Days. A Parcel of *Gallas* lay in the way to cut them off, but being by whom they were defended, forbore. The same *Amma* liv'd them from another Parcel of his Nation, who were cutting some Festival of their Idols, and would have sacrific'd. In fine it pleas'd God to deliver them from many more D till they came to an *Amba*, or strong Mountain inhabited by Christians, who were subject to the Emperor, whence the sent that Monarch an Account of all that had befallen him ing to try any other way, if his Majesty should think fit. The Emperor sent them Orders to repair to his Court, whence had set out in *February* 1613, and return'd in *September* having spent a Year and 7 Months in their Journey, and were receiv'd very honourably. Two of the *Portugueses* *Alaba* found means to escape, the third dying a natural death. The Villain *Manquer* presuming to return to Court, relying his Friends there, and denying all he had done, was th upon full Conviction condemn'd to Death, but Father *Fernandez* begg'd his Life of the Emperor. Yet he could scape divine Vengeance, for being conducted to a Mountain ther he was banish'd, he made his Escape to the *Gallas*, a turning with them to make an Incurfion, in which they w puls'd, in the Flight he had his Leg broke, and the *Gallas* him out of Pain, kill'd him.

Manquer the
Villains
death.

C H A P. IV.

Controversies about Religion. F. Pays builds the Emperor a Palace, after the European Manner, A Conspiracy to murder that Prince. The Rebels routed.

WE left the Emperor's Court, to conduct *F. Anthony Fernandez* on his Journey, and having now brought him back, it is Time for us also return to it. The Emperor, and many more being now convinc'd of the Truth of the Catholick Faith, and many great Men publickly professing it.

Proclamation was made, that for the future, none should presume to maintain there was but one Nature in *Christ*; but that all should own two distinct Natures the Human, and Divine, both united in the divine Person. *Simon*, the *Abuna* was then absent, but hearing what had hapned, hastned to Court, threatening to thunder out Excommunications, and Anathemas, and being favour'd by the Emperors Brother *Ras Emana Christos*, and other great Persons, had the boldness to affix an Excommunication on the Gats of one of the Churches of the Camp, against all those who should embrace the Faith of the *Portugueses*. The Emperor was much offended at the *Abuna's* Presumption, and immediately gave order, that Proclamation should be made, to give Leave to all Persons to embrace the Faith the Fathers preach'd, and had been justify'd in the publick Disputations, which was accordingly done.

Proclamation made for Catholick Faith.

The Abuna Excommunicates those that embrace it.

At this Time, the Emperor was oblig'd to chastise the *Agans* in the Kingdom of *Gogam*, who refus'd to pay their Taxes, and had affronted some of his Officers, and being forc'd to winter there, the *Abuna* laid hold of that Opportunity, of his Absence, to persecute the Catholicks; writting circular Letters to stir up all his Followers to take up Arms, in Defence of the Faith of their Ancestors; and affixing another Excommunication against such as should say, there were two distinct natures in *Christ*. *Elos*, or *Elias*, so they pronounce *Julius*, the Emperor's Son-in-Law, a bold, but haughty ignorant Man, was then Viceroy of *Tygre*; who being very obstinate in his Errors, and an Enemy to *Ras Cella Christos*, as soon as he receiv'd the *Abuna's* Letter, began to persecute the Fathers, and other Catholicks at *Fremena*, seizing all the Estates of the *Abyssines*, both Men and Women, who had embrac'd that Faith. As soon as the Emperor had notice of these

Agans Catholicks Persecuted.

Proceedings, he writ to the *Abuna* to repair to him, to *Achase*, where he then was, that all his Scruples might be remov'd. He also order'd *F. Pays* to come to him, which he did, and gave him an Account of what had been done in *Tygre*, whereupon the Emperor sent Express Commands to that Viceroy to restore all the Catholics.

Obstinacy of
Schismatics.

Many great Men, and the Emperor's own Mother now desir'd the Emperor to desist, because they were inform'd, that there was Danger of a mighty Rebellion, the very Monks being in Arms to defend their Opinions; but both he, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos* continu'd firm in their Resolution. The *Abuna* came now to the Camp, follow'd by so many of their Monks, and Nuns, that they far outnumber'd the Army, protesting they would all dye for the Faith of their Ancestors, stand by their Master *Dioscorus*, and begging of the Emperor, that he would make no Innovation. He reject'd them, and they grew so enraged, that many of them conspir'd to murder him, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*.

F. Pays
builds a Pa-
lace.

The Emperor having subdu'd the *Agawi*, return'd in *March* 1614 to *Gorgorra*, where he had kept his Winter Camp, which his Court, for two Years. This Camp was curiously seated, being in a Peninsula almost enclos'd by the Waters of the great Lake, which they call the Sea of *Dambea*. There *F. Pays* resolv'd to build him a Palace after the *European* Manner, to oblige him, and show the *Ethiopians* that what they reported of the Palaces, and Monasteries in *Europe*, was not impossible, as they believ'd. He was encourag'd to it by finding in that Place a Quarry of very good white Stone, and therefore presently gave Directions for making Hammers, Mallets, Chizzels and all other Necessary Tools, handling them himself, and teaching the new Workmen, to dig, hew, and square the Stones for the Fabrick; and the same he did as to all the Joiners, and Carpenters Part. Still he wanted Lime, and found no Stone proper to make it, and therefore made use of a binding Sort of Clay. He rais'd large, and strong Walls, fac'd both within, and without with square Stones, well wrought, and joyn'd, so that the building being finish'd, might have serv'd any Prince in *Europe* for a Country House. Among the Rest, there was one fair Room about 50 Foot long, and 15 in Breadth, and on the same Floor, a square Bedchamber, with a spacious Stair Case in the Middle, from the lower to the upper Floor, and from that another which ascended to the flat Roof of the House, about which was a handsome Parapet. At the Top of the Stairs was a little Room, like a Closet, which the Emperor was much pleas'd with, because from it he had the distant View of a
th

that great Lake, and the adjacent Country, and saw at hand all that came in, and out, without being himself discover'd by any Body. The Father put a sort of Spring Lock upon the Door, of the Stairs that went out upon the Top of the House, which the Emperor said, would be better alter'd, that he might not always stand in need of the Key to open it, but Father Pays answer'd, *Your Majesty may have occasion for it as it is*, and how true this prov'd we shall see hereafter. This Building amaz'd all the *Abyssines*, who came from the remotest Parts to behold it, and what most surpriz'd them was to see an upper Floor, and having no Name to express it by, they call'd it *Babet Laybet*, that is, *a House upon a House*. This Work gain'd the Fathers much Reputation, convincing the People, that what they told them of the mighty Structures in *Europe* was true.

Elios Viceroy of *Tygre*, and the Emperor's Son in Law, *Amana Christos* the Emperor's Brother, and the Eunuch *Casto*, who was High Steward, being enrag'd because many were converted, conspir'd together to destroy the Emperor, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*. To this Purpose they contriv'd that the *Abuna* should raise a Mutiny, by fixing an Excommunication against all that maintain'd two distinct Natures in *Christ*, and forbidding all to converse with them, even Children with their Parents, and Servants with their Masters. The Emperor perceiving what the wicked *Abuna* drove at, sent to let him know, that if he did not immediately take off his Excommunication, his Head should answer for it; and he fearing his Life, as readily obey'd. This Project failing, the three Traitors agreed to murder the Emperor themselves, the Eunuch *Casto* having the Liberty to go in at all Times, on Account of his Employment. Accordingly knowing the Emperor was alone, the said *Casto* and *Elios* left the other Servants below, and went up to murder him. *Ite Amata*, the Emperor's Kinswoman, knowing their Design, sent the Emperor notice of it, at the very Time they were going to put it in Execution; and tho' they came immediately, his Courage was so great that he appear'd not at all disturb'd, but receiv'd them very graciously. They came with their Swords in the Scabbards in their Hands, as is the Custom, and after some few Words spoken, the Emperor rising, as if it were to walk, laid his Hand on *Elios's* Sword, by way of Familiarity, and went to the Stairs that led up to the Top of the House, the others follow'd, thinking they might better do what they came about in that Place, but when they were at the Door, which as was said before shut with a Spring Lock, the Emperor clapt it to, leaving them on the Stairs, and going up himself, so that they were disappoint'd,

without any Noise or Disturbance, and the Emperor remember'd what *F. Pays* had said, That he might have Occasion for that Spring Lock.

The Conspirators Rebel.

Julios the Emperor's Son-in-Law, was much concern'd at this Disappointment of murdering of him in private, and therefore resolv'd to break out into open Rebellion, which was no difficult matter to do, *Ethiopia* being, as has been said, and we shall have Occasion to see a Continual Scene of Insurrections, Mutinies, and Treasons. The motive he pretended, according to the *Ethiopian* Historian *Azage Tino*, and the two Fathers who were there, was the Emperor's taking the Dignity of *Raz*, which is the Highest in the Empire, and the Viceroyship, from his own Brother *Ewana Christos*, and conferring it on his other Brother *Cella Christos*, who was a great Favourer of the Catholics. The *Moors* having made an Irruption into *Ethiopia*, next the Frontiers of the *Funchos*, and the Emperor marching with his Forces to repel them, *Julios* laid hold of that Opportunity, of his Absence, to make Proclamation, enjoining all those, who acknowledg'd two distinct Natures in *Christ* to depart the Province of *Ogara*, where he was Governour, and the others to joyn him, in Defence of their Religion; by which means he gather'd a numerous Army, and drew towards the *Nile*, to go over into the Province of *Gojam*, where *Cella Christos* resided. The Emperor was now return'd into the Province of *Dambara*, where being inform'd of the Rebellion of *Julios*, and the Danger of his Brother *Cella Christos*, he sent some Troops with all Expedition to his Relief.

Marches against the Emperor.

In an Island of the Lake the *Nile* falls into, *Julios* found *Simon*, the *Abuna*, who advis'd him, to turn his Forces directly against the Emperor himself, whom he might easily destroy, most of his Commanders being corrupted. The Council being approv'd of they both march'd together, the *Abuna* encouraging the Soldiers, and assuring them of Heaven if they dy'd in that Service. The Emperor, who thought of nothing less, was much surpriz'd when his Scouts brought him Advice of the Enemies Approach, to whom he was very much inferior in Strength; but being a Man of extraordinary Bravery, and Conduct, after sending to his Brother *Cella Christos*, to come to his Assistance, he mov'd undantedly towards the Rebels, and the two Armies came in Sight of one another on the 5th of May 1613, the Emperor posting himself advantageously, to shun the Shock of the Enemies Horse, which were much superior to his.

Rebels routed and slain.

The next Morning *Julios* being impatient to put an End to the War, and concluding the Conspirators on the other Side would not fail to joyn him, after drawing out his Army, rode himself up to the Emperors Troops, with only six, or seven Voluntiers.

His Patrisans, not daring to betray their Monarch so barefac'd, suffer'd him to ride through, and he made on, crying out, *Where is the Emperor.* In this Manner he came to a Battalion of *Agres*, that stood near the Emperor's Tent, and were not privy to the Treason, one of whom knock'd him down with a Stone, and another coming up first run him through, and then cut off his Head. His Followers were soon hew'd down, and his Army took to their Heels, the Imperialists pursuing them with much Slaughter, till the Emperor sounded a Retreat. The *Abuna* amazed at this wonderfull overthrow had not Power to fly, but was kill'd, and his Head chopp'd off; which they presented to the Emperor, who was thus secur'd on the Throne and the Rebellion suppress'd.

C H A P. V.

Description of the Nation of the Agaus. Two Rebellions suppress'd. F. Pays builds a Church. The Emperor professes the Faith of the Latin Church. Two new Fathers come into Ethiopia, and two others die.

MANY Gentiles of the Nation call'd *Agaus*, being about this Time converted, it gives us Occasion to speak of those People. There are two Provinces of them in Ethiopia, the one in the Kingdom of *Begameder*, call'd *Lassa*, being a Hilly Country, full of such steep, and lofty Mountains, that they are almost impregnable, which was the Reason that several Rebels had maintain'd themselves there above ten Years, against all the Power of the Emperor. There is another Province of *Agaus*, in the Kingdom of *Gojam*, consisting also of high Mountains, tho' not altogether so lofty as those of *Begameder*. This Province, being about 20 Leagues in Length, and between 6, and 7 in Breadth, is divided into about 20 Districts, all the Inhabitants living near the Nile. These Mountains abound in Provisions, and are full of Woods, and thick of Bamboes, so very close, that they save them instead of Walls, and Trenches against their Enemies; for through them they cut close narrow Ways, with so many Turnings, and Windings, that they look like Labyrinths, and in Time.

Time of War, they shut themselves up among those Bamboes, about a mile from the Entrance, stopping up the Ways with Trees laid across. Besides, the Natives, like wild Beasts, bred among those Thickets, and acquainted with all the Avenues destroy such as attack them, with their Bows, and Arrows. These their close Thickets they call *Secutes*.

Their Customs, Habits &c.

Nor are these Wooden Fortifications their only Security, for they have mighty Dens and Caves under Ground made by Nature in the solid Rocks, the Entrance into them narrow, but opening within, so that they can receive, and entertain a great Number of People, and some of them have Water within. These they call *Furtivas*, and there they hide themselves till their Enemy is past by. The *Agans* of *Gojam* are much addicted to Sorcery. Besides their common Provision, which is chiefly Millet, they have much Honey, a good Commodity in *Ethiopia*, because they make their Liquor of it, Abundance of fine Cattel, and like a wild Mountain People, they wear no Cloth, but only Cows Hides, whose Flesh they eat Raw, like the *Abyssines*. These Hides they beat very much, with an unwieldy Sort of Instruments, till they become as soft, and limber, as *Spanish* Leather, and then dye them red, which is the Colour they are most fond of. Every Man and Woman covers himself with one of these Hides, throwing them over their shoulders and girding them about their Waist, without any other Garment. They are generally of a dark Sooty Colour, not so black as the *Abyssines*, well featur'd, and good Soldiers, tho' they use not to go meet their Enemies out of their own Country, but are satisfy'd with defending it, and it were to be wish'd that those who value themselves upon being more civiliz'd were of the same Mind. Thus the *Agans* maintain'd their Ground for many Ages, not only against the *Casus* their next Neighbours to the West-ward, but even against all the Power of the *Ethiopian* Emperors, to whom they scarce ever paid any Acknowledgment.

Their Conversion.

It is true the Imperial Troops did sometimes make Incursions into their Lands, as did other Plunderers, driving away considerable Booties of all Sorts of Cattel, but it is no less certain that they often paid dear for it, and many who came off well the first Time did not care for returning. The *Agans* look'd upon War with the *Abyssines*, as a less Evil than Peace, because they did them little Damage in War, and their oppression was great in Time of Peace. However the Emperor *Sul'an Segued*, being a brave, and fortunate Commander, press'd them so hard the Years 1613, and 1614, piercing into their Lands, and wintering there, that they were oblig'd to submit, and apply'd the

selves to *F. Pays*, then at *Gorgorra*, to interceed for them with the Emperor, that they might have a favourable Reception, offering him a considerable Present, which he refus'd, desiring no other Reward, but that they would take him into their Country, to teach them the way of Salvation. They accepted the Condition, and the Emperor showing them much Kindness on the Father's Account, *F. Francis Antony de Angelis*, was sent with them instead of *F. Pays*, who converted many, and erected several Churches.

The Emperor had prevail'd with the *Bassa* of *Snaghem* to give free Passage to some Fathers he would send for out of India, who came thither from *Goa* in the Year 1620, were well receiv'd by that *Turk*, and safely conducted to *Fremona*, where, it being then the rainy Season they were order'd to Winter. Their Names were *F. James de Mattos*, a *Portuguese*, and *F. Antony Bruno*, *Sicilian*. *F. James Mattos* went the following Summer to the Emperor's Court, and had an honourable Reception, but *F. Lawrence*, who resided at *Fremona* dying, he return'd thither, to attend the Converts in that Kingdom, and receive the Supplies the King of *Portugal* sent the *Portuguese* yearly out of the Customs of *Diu*.

The Emperor growing daily more zealous in establishing the true Doctrine, in his Dominions, and being fully convinc'd of the Certainty of there being two distinct Natures in *Christ*, resolv'd now to abolish another Error the *Ethiopians* had taken from the *Jews*, and accordingly set out a Proclamation, forbidding all Persons for the Future to keep Saturday holy, but only Sunday, as the true Christian Sabbath. That Abuse was so strongly rooted in the Hearts of the People, that it caus'd a general Uneasiness, and some Persons durst presume to send the Emperor a Letter, without any Name, full of base, threatening, and reviling Expressions. That Monarch not being able to discover the Offender, issu'd out a Second Proclamation, enjoining all Persons to work upon Saturdays, and in Case they did not, for the first Offence they should forfeit a Piece of Cloth, worth about a Crown, and for the second all their Goods. This Penalty was first inflicted on one *Buco*, a brave Commander, who was afterwards converted.

Jonacl, one of the greatest Men in *Ethiopia*, was at this Time *Rebellion* against the *Viceroy* of *Begameder*, whom the Emperor order'd to publish the aforelaid Proclamation in that Country. He did so, tho' not with a Design to see it obey'd, but rather to stir up the People to Rebellion, being himself resolv'd to head them, as he actually did in *October* 1620, withdrawing with such as would follow him to the Mountains on the Frontiers of the Kingdom, next the *Galla*, whom he had before engag'd to come to his Assistance. This News being brought to Court much perplex'd the Emperor, who

Two Jesuits
come into E-
thiopia.

knowing

*The Traitor
kill'd.*

knowing he had many Traitors about him, beheaded some of those he could convict, and banish'd others; but all to little Effect, for the Remedies seem'd to heighten the Distemper. Next he march'd against the Rebels, but perceiving the Mountains they lurk'd in, were impregnable, he set down at the Foot of them, not questioning but many of those Outlaws would come over to him, as they soon did, and *Jonael* finding himself almost abandon'd fled to the *Gallas*, his Confederates, who being corrupted by the Emperor kill'd him.

Another Rebellion suppress'd.

In 1621, the *Damotes*, a People in the Southern Parts of the Kingdom of *Goram* rose in Arms, on the same Account of keeping the Saturday, at the Instigation of their Monks, and *Basavis*, who are a Sort of Anchorites, but the Viceroy *Ras Cella Christos* defeated them, killing above 3000, and among them many of those Religious Hermits. This same Year *F. Pays* built a Stately Church of whole Square Stones, very bewtiful, and Masterly. Over the high Altar was a curious Arch, with several Compleat Columns, and six others of the *Ionick* Order in the Frontispiece; and a Steep for the Bells with a winding Stair Case, and a flat Roof enclosed with a Parapet about it, whence there was a delightful Prospect of the Lake and Plains of *Dambea*. The Emperor came two Days Journey to see this Structure, the like whereof had not been known in *Ethiopia*, and went into it barefoot, leaving a considerable Present to it, at his Departure.

A Church built.

The Emperor embraces the Latin Faith.

The following Year 1622, he publicly profess'd the *Latin* Faith putting away all his Wife, except the first, at *Focara*, near the great Lake of *Dambea*, next *Begameder*, betwixt *Anfras*, and *Dara*. Soon after *F. Pays*, who had converted, and receiv'd him into the Church dy'd at *Gorgorra*, having spent 19 Years in this Mission, besides the 7 he was a Captive in *Arabia*. He left an ample Relation of all the Affairs of *Ethiopia* till his Death, whence much of what is here said has been taken, and the Original is still preserv'd at *Rome*, in the Secretaries Office of the Crown of *Portugal*. This same Year also dy'd *F. Francis Antony de Angelis* an *Italian*, who came into *Ethiopia* in the Year 1604, and was a great Master of the *Amara* Language, which is that they speak at Court. These Persons Deaths are particularly here mention'd, as being those who travell'd these Countries, and to whose Accounts we are beholding for all the knowledge we have of them.

These Accounts by whom writ.

C H A P. VI.

The Travels of F. Emanuel d' Almeyda, and 3 others from Bazaim, in India, to the Emperor of Ethiopia's Court.

AT this same Time F. Emanuel d' Almeyda, residing at Baza- 4 Jesuits sent
im was sent into Ethiopia with three Companions, which into Ethio-
were F. Emanuel Barradas, F. Lewis Cardeyra, and F. Francis Car- pia.
valho, an Account of whose Voyage, and Journey by Land we
will here give, as deliver'd by the first of the four.

We made ready with all possible Speed, and on the 28th of
November 1622, imbarck'd on a *Paguel*, being a small Indian Ves-
sel, and set Sale with the Northern Squadron, which convoy'd
the trading Ships, *James de Mello de Castro*, being Commodore.
We put into *Damam*, and that very afternoon sail'd again; but
were forc'd back to the same Port the next Day, our Squadron of
Men of War, being in Pursuit of six Dutch Ships, we descry'd that
Day, making from *Suratte* towards *Goa*. Having waited there 15
Days for the *Dien* Squadron, and being impatient of Delay, we
hir'd an *Almadie*, as far as *Goga*, designing to travel thence by
Land to *Diu*. At *Goga* we staid a whole Month, by Reason the
Road by Land was infested with *Resbuto* Robbers, which oblig'd
us to wait for the Fleet, and in it arriv'd at *Diu*, two Months af-
ter we left *Bazaim*, At *Diu*, the Commander, and Factor, in-
stead of forwarding, put us to much Trouble: but having dis-
patch'd our Affairs the best we could we imbarck'd for *Suaquem*, on
the 24th of March 1623.

The Vessel we were in, was a Pink belonging to *Luke de Sousa*,
freighted by *Lanlegi Doffi*, and commanded by *Rapogi Sangovi*,
and tow'd a large Vessel as big as a Ship, and so heavy loaded,
that it could scarce move, and the worse because so ill stow'd, that
as soon as she anchor'd she heel'd to one Side, and had like to sink,
This, and the slackness of the *Monson*, made it late before we had
Sight of *Socotora*, and it was no small Vexation to us to see the
continual Superstitions of the Gentiles, and Mahometans, the Bani-
ans offering several sweet Gums, and perfumes to their Pagods, or
Idols, in the Poop, and the Mahometans in the Fore-Castle calling
E c upon

upon their false Prophet for a fair Wind, and dedicating to him a Figure, like a Horse made of *Bamboes*, with several little Flags about it, and pretending that their holy one enter'd into an old *Moor*, which he represented, acting the Mad-Man, and striking all that stood in his Way, with a Ropes End; at the same Time answering those who ask'd him, when they should see *Cape Guardafuy*, enter the Red Sea, and come to *Suaqum*; and all his answers prov'd as false as the Prophet they came from, but they were all well pleas'd, and credulous nor the least out of Countenance, tho' every thing afterwards fell out quite contrary to what their Prophet had foretold.

In short, the Wind being scant we could neither come to anchor at *Socotora* tho' we had Sight of it, nor at *Caixem*, where we stood for several Days, but went to winter at *Dofar*. There the Vessel lay at Anchor, from the 18th of May till the 16th of October, and we all that while aboard, without ever going ashore, but in continual Frights, few Days passing without News being brought, once that they had Intelligence of us at Land, another Time that the Petty King was coming, or sending to fetch us; sometimes that there were *Dutch Ships* on the Coast, and could not miss seeing us; then that there were *Turkish Ships*, and Gallies come from *Moca*, which would probably touch at *Dofar*, or else we should meet them in our Way. This put us to the Trouble of hiding ourselves frequently in several Holes about the Ship, as often as any People came aboard from Land, besides the want of Provisions, which oblig'd us to shift with Rice, and some Fish, when it was to be had. The Water was a greater suffering being very brackish, or almost salt, which fill'd us full of the Itch, and that, tho' we let blood for it, held us to *Suaqum*, and some even into *Ethiopia*. The Sailers suffer'd much, tho' they were most of the Time ashore, many of them falling sick of Fevers, and others of the Itch, but what griev'd them most was the Money they exacted from them for anchoring, being above 2000 Pieces of Eight, besides the Loss sustain'd in their Goods, which taking wet, were spoil'd.

Jesuits winter at Dofar.

Dofar Port.

I shall say little of *Dofar*, because I was not in the Place; but it is well known to be on the Coast of *Arabia* in about 15, or 16 Degrees Latitude, betwixt *Cayxem*, and *Cariamuria*. The City is small, the Inhabitants poor, the petty King was Brother, and Subject to him of *Xaer*, who is Lord of many Lands in this Part of *Arabia*, which hereabouts is neither populous, nor wealthy. On the same Coast, between *Xaer* and *Dofar*, is the City, and Kingdom of *Cayxem*. This King of *Xaer* and *Dofar* is Master of most of the Frankincense in the World, growing on very

d Mountains, which run about 45, or 50 Leagues from *Doo Cayxem*, on small Trees, or Shrubs, bearing few Leaves, *Frankincense*. no Fruit, but the *Frankincense*, which is its Rosin. Along Pleasant Coast of *Dofar* there are Abundance of Palm Trees, Fig-Trees, much *Betele*, and Plenty of Grapes, and this is it has by partaking of two Winters, that of *India*, which has many Clouds, tho' they discharge no heavy, but only Rain, yet lasting for above 3 Months and a half; and that of the *Arabian* Gulph, which is at the same time as ours. Here great Numbers of Wells, and the Country is so moist, that, was told it occasions both Men, and Women to have one Leg Foot of a monstrous Thickness.

On the 16th of October we weigh'd Anchor, and arriv'd at *Adem* on the 4th of December. Our Voyage was tedious be- Red Sea.

The Monsoon began weak, which made us many Days in going of *Adem*; but it prov'd so favorable afterwards in the dangerous Places, that we enter'd the Red Sea with a fresh breeze by Night, that we might not be seen by some *Turkish* Vessels use to lye there, to carry the Ships to *Moca*, and we enter'd the Side of *Ethiopia*, that is, between it, and the small Island yes in the Mouth of the Streight betwixt it, and *Arabia*; because, the *Arabian* Channel be deeper, and safer, yet the *Turkish* Ships that guard the entrance use to lie at Anchor, behind cer- headlands of *Arabia*. The next Morning we discover'd the mountains above *Moca*, and the use in *Ethiopia*, opposite to them, at Noon pass'd by the Island *Jabel Jaquer*, lying almost in the midst of this Sea, between the two Coasts. The *Banians*, and others saluted it, as they use to do, with sundry superstitious notions, offering it some Eatables, and talking to it, asking questions and answering as they thought fit.

Little beyond it begins a Chain of small Islands, so close to- gether that we sometimes saw 6 or 7 in a Row, and some of that lie farther off are so visible, that they take away the Chain of I- of the others behind them. This Chain of little Isles, is like lands. ge in the Red-Sea, dividing all the Length of it, as the sea does *Italy*. The common Course they run for *Suaquem* the length of the three or four first Channels, between Islands, and the Coast of *Arabia*, then they cross the Gulph in four or five Days to the Coast of *Africk*, steering Nor-west, endeavouring to come up with the Land opposite to a Parcel of Lands call'd *Arquico*, where they take Pilots of the Country, being no sailing along the Coast from thence to *Suaquem* without, by reason it is all full of Isles and Banks of Sand, some of above, and others under Water. We fell in with the Land again, and had much Trouble about that time with contrary

winds, blowing hard; yet having taken a Pilot, we held on our Course, through that Labyrinth of Islands, and Sands, till we came almost in Sight of *Suaqum*, where the Wind failing us, we were so, or 12 Days gaining less than 8 Leagues, and then dropped Anchor, on the 4th of December, 50 Days after we had left *Defar*.

Bassa honours the Jesuits.

The next Day we landed, 8 Months, and 12 Days after our embarking at *Din*, going immediately with the Captain, the Pilot, and chief Merchants, to wait upon the *Bassa*, who receiv'd us in honourable, and affable Manner, saying, he would permit us to go peaceably into *Ethiopia*, because he was a Friend to the Emperor, and desir'd to keep a good Correspondence with him, and the Emperor had sent to desire of him, that he would be kind to him. He order'd us all to put on *Cabayas*, that is Vests, which is the greatest Honour he bestows on those he favours; but we knowing how little it is worth, and how dear it commonly costs, excus'd ourselves, and only I put on one, that we might not seem to slight his kindness. The Captain, the Pilot, and I went away with our Vests, a Horseback, to our Lodgings, where we took them off, as is the Custome, and with them to lighten the Purse of 50, or 60 Pieces of eight, for the *Bassa's* Servants, who invented this Custome for their own Profit. So much they cost the Captain, and the Pilot; for I having declar'd, that I was a poor religious Man, and not ambitious of so expensive an Honour, the *Bassa* had order'd they should not demand any Fees of me; however the show cost me 6, or 7 Pieces of eight.

Their Present to him, and others.

The next Day we carry'd the *Bassa* the Present brought for him, which purchases Leave to pass through his Liberties. The principal Things it consisted of were, a *China* Counterpane, a Dimity Quilt curiously wrought with Silk, a Velvet Carpet, an inlaid Escritoire made at *Din*, some *China* Dishes, and Salvers, and some other Curiolities. After the *Bassa's*, we carry'd another Present to his *Quequea*, who is the Person that governs all things next to him, and a third to the *Amin*, being the Chief Officer of the Custom-house. Nor is this all, for there are many more that crave, and must be serv'd, as Clerks, Commanders upon Passes, Guards, Door Keepers, in short they all suck and draw as much as they can. Above all the Duties on Goods were exorbitant, for they valu'd Commodities at one half more than they were worth, and according to that Rate took 16 per Cent. besides five Pieces of every Sort in the Hundred. When we were thus well shorn, he dismiss'd us for *Maxua*, in honourable Manner, with Letters of Recommendation, ordering the *Quequea*; and *Amin*

Zabot Vil-
lage.

they exacted upon us, we departed thence on the 16 of *January*, attended by almost all the Garrison of *Arquico*, being then about 20 Musketeers, tho at present they amount to above 200. They bore us company a Day and halfs Journey, till we met with People belonging to *Zabot*, a Village the Emperor had given the Fathers, chiefly that the Men of it, being above 300, arm'd with Javelins, and Targets, should go receive them at their coming, and the Goods they brought for Charity, and conduct them to *Debaroa*; because there are generally great Bands of Robbers all along that Road, being most of them Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns, who by reason the Country is very Mountainous, Desert in many Places, and so remote from the Court, have little Regard for the Emperor, retaining nothing but the Name of Subjects. Besides those already mention'd, the Viceroy *Keba Christos*, a Zealous Catholick, being then in his Camp near *Debaroa*, sent his Brother *Asma Guerguis*, and the *Babar Nagais Acaba Christos*, to guard us, with a good number of Men. All this was little enough, for the Fame of our coming, and bringing a considerable Caravan, had mov'd the Robbers to summon one another from all Parts, so that there were great Numbers of them ready to fall upon us.

Good Cattel.

We spent four or five Days in getting through the dangerous Passes, for the most Part climbing excessive high Mountains, among which there were some Landstills, and spacious Meadows, where great numbers of stately fat Cows and Oxen graz'd, which continue so all the Year, for in *December*, *January*, and *February* they feed in these Grounds towards the Sea, where it is then Winter, and in *June*, *July*, *August* and *September*, they go farther up the Country, to take the Winter there.

Asmara
Country.

Asmara is a high Country, but not so Mountainous, 8 or 9 Leagues short of *Dabaroa*, where the Inland Winter of *Ethiopia* ends. From that Place towards the Sea, we could see the thick Clouds, and mighty Showers attending the Winter on the Coast, hang over the Mountains, and high Vales, without fearing to be wet, the Natives assuring us they never came thither. A little beyond *Asmara* we met with a Regiment of *Portugueses*, belonging to *Maegoga*, and among them *John Gabriel*, a Man in Esteem, who for several Years had commanded all of that Nation in *Ethiopia*. With them came 5 Servants of the Viceroys and brought 5 Mules he lent us, one for each of the Fathers, and the 5th for *Emanuel Magro*, who bore us Company from *India*; they were good Beasts and serv'd us several Years. That same Prince gave four Mules more to other 4 Fathers that came in *July*, and the next Year sent 7 to the Patriarch and Fathers, he brought

ght with him, which are no small Gifts for a Country that
t wealthy.

ie next Day we came to the Viceroy's Camp, who order'd
is Men to receive us in a spacious Plain, being about 1500
ers, 300 of them mounted on Mules, many of whom led
fine Horses. The Viceroy himself embrac'd us with singular, *Reception of*
and after a splendid Entertainment, we went to lie half a *the Jesuits.*
re further, at a Village of our own call'd *Adegada*, where
ere visited by him the next morning, and continu'd four
, during which Time above 200 new Converts receiv'd the
d Sacrament, besides the old Catholicks.

re many *Portugueses* of *Maegoga* and the Viceroy appointed
ood Guard, so that we pass'd the Desert of *Seraoe*, lying be-
1 *Debaroa* and *Maegoga*, being 10 or 12 Leagues in Length, *Seraoe De-*
led by above 600 arm'd Men. In this Place, besides Tigers, *sert,*
, Ounces, and Elephants, there are Abundance of Robbers,
ing to it from all Parts of *Tigre*, and particularly from some
bouring Mountains, which are so uncouth, that they sel-
own any Subjection to the Viceroy, and at that Time,
were in Rebellion. Towards the End of this Desert we
l the River *Marebo*, and at a small Distance from it met
es de *Mattos*, who was come a Days Journey from *Maegoga*
ect us, having liv'd there above a year without the Coun-
of any other Father.

: next Day we arriv'd at *Fremona*, a Town in the small *Fremoni*
ory call'd *Maegoga*, and suppos'd by some to have taken its *Town.*
from *Fremonaios*, the first Bishops of *Aczum*, whom our
call *Frumentus*. The name of *Maegoga* was taken from the
-running close by, it being usual in *Tigre* to give Denom-
ns to Territories from the Waters. *Mae* signifies water, in
ncient Language, which is that of their Books, and *Goga*, *Maegoga*
igna, for so they write and pronounce it, is the Noise made *Territory.*

said Water of two Streams there are, one coming from
rth, the other from the North East, washing the Foot of
high Mountains, lying to the Eastward. At the Conflux
se two Streams, a small Hill rises above the Plain, on
stands the Town of *Fremona*, above which it still rises
to the Westward, where it forms another Head. From the
ay is another still greater Ascent, turning towards the
or South West. The Fathers had for Fear of the many
rs thereabouts, built a House of Stone, and Clay, on the
Head above mention'd, to which several others being after-
added, the Place became strong, for that Country being en-
by 7 or 8 Balleons, with lofty Curtains between them.

This

This Place defended by 20, or 30 Muskets, and one Drake, manag'd by the Sons of the *Portugueses* was look'd upon as impregnable. The Town lies scatter'd all about the Hill, having now many Houses of Stone and Clay, with Enclosures of the same, there being great Plenty of Stone, and very fit for any Work, which they dig in Pièces 3, or 4 Inches thick, of what Length and Breadth they please, and is, taken out of the Quarry without the Help of Pick-axes, or Wedges, only digging, and parting them with slight Iron Crows. The Clay is all red, and so glutinous, that it saves Lime. In this Place we rested some Days, waiting for the Emperor's Orders to go on to *Dambea*, which soon came, with Directions to the Viceroy to assign us a good Guard, as he did, commanding the *Nebiet* of *Azzum* to conduct us with his Men, as far as *Sire*, and the *Xumo* of *Sire* to see us safe beyond the Desert, which both punctually obey'd.

We came to *Fremona* about the Beginning of *February* 1624, and departed thence on the last Day of the same Month, three of us, leaving *F. Emanuel Barradas*, with *F. James de Mattos*, to assist him in serving the many Converts of the Kingdom of *Tigre*, Our Journey to *Ganeta Jesus* took us up 20 Days, and there we had a Residence, where *F. Lewis de Azevedo* then was, and the Emperor sent to order us, not to make any Stay. At break of Day we set out and came at Noon to the Top of a very high and steep Alcent, for the Territory of *Dancaz* is a Spot of Ground, about a League in Length, and little less in Breadth. All this is very high Land, no way accessible without climbing Mountains of a vast Height, for 3, or 4 Hours, and these are almost upright. This is an excellent Situation for a City, were it in *Europe*, being full of Springs, and Rivulets, Meddows, and Corn Fields; tho' there are few Trees, but that is not the Fault of the Soil, but of the Inhabitants, who are continually cutting them down, and never plant any. Near the middle of this Territory, on a small Ridge was the Emperor's Camp, or Town, containing about 8, or 9000 Houses, all of them of Timber, or Stone, and Clay, thatch'd, and being for the most Part round, they look'd more like a Parcel of Hay Reeks than a City. The Patriarch coming over 4, or 5 Years after, brought with him some Masons, who built the Emperor a Palace of Lime, and Stone, which in that Country was wonderfull, the like having never been there seen before, and would have been reckned a noble Structure in any other Parts.

Jesuits Receptions at Court.

Half a League from the Camp we were met by all the Prime Men of Quality, attended by several Bodies of Horse, and Foot, who conducted us to the Camp, where the Emperor receiv'd us in

in a ground Room, sitting on his Couch, which is his Throne, on curious silk Quilts, leaning on Brocade Cushions. The Room was richly hung, the Viceroys standing along the Walls, the great Men clad in Vests of Velvet, Cloth of Gold, Brocade, or Satin, with their broad rich Swords in their Hands, as is us'd at Court. The Emperor had a noble Presence, being tall, well favour'd, large beautifull Eyes, a sharp Nose, a broad handsome Beard, cloath'd in Crimson Velvet to the Knees, with *Moorish* Breeches of the same, a Girdle of several thick Gold Plates, and a loose upper Damask Garment of the same Colour. He scarce suffer'd us to kiss his Hand, but order'd we should sit down near his Couch, the Nobility afterwards seating themselves by Degrees. After the usual Ceremonies, and delivering him a Letter from *F. Mutius Vitelleschi*, the General of our Order, he dismiss'd us, sent a plentiful Entertainment after us, of several Cows, Pots of Wine, and Honey, *Apas*, or Cakes of Bread, &c. Some Days after we retir'd to rest us at our Residence of *Gorgorra*. Thus far *F. Emanuel d'Almeyda's* Relation.

CHAP. VII.

Several Fathers sent into Ethiopia. Ras Cella Christos the Emperor's Brother suppresses a Rebellion. Don Alfonso Mendez appointed Patriarch sails from Lisbon to Goa.

F. Mutius Vitelleschi, the General of the *Jesuits* had order'd the Visitor in *India*, to send 12 more into *Ethiopia*, upon the News of the great Progress made in that Country. Four being already as far as *Dofar* on their Way, the Visitor appointed 8 more, and in regard it was fear'd, the *Turks* would not permit so many to pass the same way, four were order'd to go by *Mazua*, 2 by *Melinde*, and 2 by *Zela*.

The first 4 had a good Voyage from *Diu* to *Mazua*, where they arriv'd on the 2d of *May*, having set out about the latter end of 4 *Jesuits* *March*. Here they were detain'd by the *Bassa* of *Suaquem*, till he more pass'd by had receiv'd a Present he expected from the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, the way of being a *Zecora*, or that curious Creature before describ'd, which the *Mazua*.

F f

Por-

Portugueses call *Burra do Mato*, that is a wild *Ats*. The Heat was so violent during their Stay in that small Island, that all their Skin being parch'd came off in Fleaks, and Scurf, but being satisfied to escape with their Lives, as soon as dismiss'd, they proceeded on their Journey and came safe to *Fremena*.

2 from Mc- These two appointed to go by the Way of *Melinde*, after
linde return visiting all the Ports on that Coast, and inquiring in all Places
to India. how they might proceed on their intended Journey, finding no
Directions, nor any Person that could pretend to guide them, re-
turn'd at last into *India*. It is not to be wonder'd they should find
no way, the nearest Port on that Coast being at least 250 Leagues
in a straight Line from any Part of the *Abissines* Dominions, and
all among the most Brutal, Barbarous, and Inhuman Nations
that *Africk* affords.

The two that were to attempt passing through *Zeyla*, tho' well
recommended by the *Moorish* King of *Caixem*, were immediately
seiz'd by that Barbarous Prince of *Zeyla*, or *Adel*, and after some
Days imprisonment put to Death in their dark Confinement.

This same Year 1624, the Emperor put out a Declaration, in
Favour of the Catholick Religion, which much provok'd the ad-
versic Party, who knowing they could never prevail as long as the
Emperor and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos* were thoroughly united,
they work'd so far by false Insinuations, that the Sovereign
growing Jealous remov'd his said Brother from the Viceroyship
of *Gojam*, and tho' he was soon restor'd, yet this Jealousy was
never quite extinguish'd, but produc'd many Mischiefs, which af-
terwards ensu'd.

Ras Gella Christos at this Time dedicated the Church of Lime
and Stone the Fathers had built for him, at *Cerca*, in the Kingdom
of *Gojam*; and having receiv'd Orders from the Emperor to march
against the Rebels in the Kingdom of *Amahara*, under the Son of
Cabrael, he set forward, notwithstanding all the Difficulties, that
might have obstructed, it being then the Depth of Winter. The
Rebels fled at the Sight of his Advanc'd Parties, which slew many,
and took all their Baggage, their Ringleader retiring to an in-
accessible Mountain, with the Remains of his broken Forces, one
of the *Gallas* who was in the Imperial Camp, undertook for a
considerable Reward to betray him to *Cella Christos*. To this pur-
pose he pretended to desert, and coming to the General of the Re-
bels, perswaded him to go over to his Country, where he would
prevail with those People to espouse his Quarrel. His advice was
follow'd, and the Traitor being conducted to a Town of that
Nation, his deceitfull Guide perswaded his Countrymen rather to
deliver him up to the Emperor's Brother, for a good Reward,
than

*Practises a-
bout Religion*

*Ras Cella
Christos de-
feats Rebels.*

C H A P. VIII.

The Patriarch Don Alfonso Mendez his Letter, giving an Account of his Voyage from Goa to Baylur, and his Journey by Land thence to Fremona.

The Patriarch is to go by Dancali. I Departed Goa, says the Patriarch, on the 17th of November, 1624, for *Diu*, intending to imbark there for *Suaquem*, or *Mazua*; but receiv'd Letters at Sea from the Father Rector at *Diu*, giving me to understand, there was no Ship there to carry me to either of those Ports, the *Banians* positively refusing to go thither, because they had the foregoing Year been unreasonably exacted upon by the *Bassa*, and other Officers of the Custom-House: Besides there were Letters newly come from the Emperor, and Fathers in *Ethiopia*, advising, that I should not go by the Way of *Suaquem*, or *Mazua*; but repair to a Port of the King of *Dancali*, who is a very good Neighbour, and almost subject to the Emperor, which Port is call'd *Baylur*, and is 12 Leagues within the Mouth of the Straights, for that Way I might take with me what Men, Church Stuff, Books, or other Goods I pleas'd, and be as safe as in the Emperor's own Dominions. At the same Time they advis'd that no Merchant Ships must venture to that Port, but only Men of War, Gallies that could row, or other such light Vessels, that might be out of Danger of the *Turks* of *Moca*, which lies just opposite. Adding that notice should be given of the Time I was to set out, that all things might be in Readiness, and a number of Men to conduct me. Besides these I receiv'd Letters from the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, the great Promoter of Christianity, which are here omitted as too tedious.

His Company. I touch'd at *Bazaim Damam*, and *Goga*, and arriv'd at *Diu* on the 2d of February. Four Gallies fitted out for this Purpose at *Bazaim* coming to this Port on the 23d of March; I imbark'd on the 2d of April, and set sail the next Morning, with four Fathers of the Society, which were *F. Jerome Lobo*, *F. Bruno d Santa Cruz*, *F. John Velasco*, and *F. Francis Marquez*, two Lay-Brothers being *Emanuel Luis*, and *John Martins*, and 13 Lay-Men, one of them a Servant I brought from *Portugal*, 5 good Musicians, 3 *Abyssines*, two *Masons*, and two other Servants.

The

The Wind being slack, and steady, we had Sight of the Island *Zocotora* on the 18th, and standing for it all Night had like to be cast away about break of Day, being just ready to run upon a Shoal that butts out from the Island to the Eastward; but that the Captain, who at other Times us'd to rely upon the Sailors, stepp'd to the Head, and looking out, saw the Sea ripple under the Cutwater, which made him cry to the Steersman to put the Helm up hard a Lee, and the Galliot, which at other Times did not readily answer the Helm, and must now upon the least sticking have split upon a Rock, came about as swift as the ablest Horseman could have done, to the Admiration of all the Men, and particularly of the Captain, who, tho' well acquainted with the Sea, and having run many Dangers, declar'd he never was in any like this, and look'd all the Day after as pale as a Ghost, protesting the Deliverance was miraculous.

Escapes great Danger at Sea.

Running along the North Side of the Island, we came to the watering Place, where the King of *Caixem* has a Town, and in it a very handsome Houle, with a Gallery, after the Manner of *India*, and *Portugal*. The King's Factor, being the Prime Man there, was frighted, and drew out all the Men in Arms, to be in a Readiness, but understanding they were *Portuguese* Vessels, presently sent out an *Almadie* to compliment the Commodore, and offer such fresh Provisions as the Country afforded, which we stood in need of, and accordingly, the next Day sent us a considerable Present of Flein, and Tamarinds; not only for the Captain, but for the Fathers.

Refresh'd from Shore.

That night we stood off from the Island, and pass'd between *Abdalaria*, and the 2 Sisters, and on the 21st in the Morning discover'd Cape *Guardafuy*. On the 29th we enter'd the Mouth of the Red Sea, and the next morning by break of Day were six or seven Leagues within it, still inclining towards the Coast of *Ethiopia*, without having Sight of *Moca*, or so much as of the Islands, where generally the *Turkish* Gallies, or other Vessels use to cruize. On the 2^d of *May* we found our desir'd Port of *Baylur*, which we might have got into the next Day after our entering the Mouth of the Red Sea, being the 30th of *April*, had our Pilots known how to hir it. In the Port were three or four small Vessels of *Moca*, which seeing ours that row'd, and had sharp Beaks, fell very hastily to landing all they had aboard. An *Almadie* of ours went before, and the *Xeque*, or Governour plac'd there by the King, who resides about six or seven Leagues from thence, coming out to her, the Interpreter told him, There were three Ships come from *India*, which intended to water; giving him his

Arrive at Baylur.

Present

Present, and so to prosecute their Voyage. He in a great Fright, answer'd. He would give them all the Water they had Occasion for, but they must be gone immediately, and would have sent Hostages presently; but the Interpreter reply'd. They would go ashore the next Morning.

Is well received.

Being assur'd that was *Baylar*, we drew as near to Land, as the Sea would permit, which is there very shoal, and full of Flats. As soon as the least of our Ships came up with the *Turkish* Vessels, and made it self Master of them, the Interpreter went ashore, and told the *Xeque* the Truth of the Matter, That the Emperor of *Ethiopia* had sent for Fathersto *India*, and directed them to come to that Port, because the King was his Friend, and had engag'd to give them a good Reception; that they were aboard, but that no arm'd Men should land, or do any Harm. This satisfy'd the *Xeque*, who said, They had receiv'd such orders from their King three Years before, and he the Emperor's Presents to that Effect. An old Man, who is a Sort of Judge there, whom they call *Furto*, added, that he came about a Month since from the King's Camp, and whilst he was there, Letters were brought from the Emperor of the same Purport both of them then came aboard, in very friendly Manner, which was a great Satisfaction to us.

Troublesome travelling.

We departed *Baylar* on the 5th of *May*, afternoon, not so well furnish'd as we expected, for tho' they had promis'd us, and there was need of many more Camels, yet we being very hasty to be gone, as apprehending the Neighbourhood of *Moca*, they found us but 14, which oblig'd us to leave behind much of our Goods, taking only the most valuable, we being now 22 Persons, with two that joyn'd us from the Ships. Only six Asses could be got, so that we rode by Turns, and went a foot most Part of the Way, which when it was not loose Sand, was over Mountains of Iron Mines, the Stones whereof are like the Dross that comes from the Furnaces, and so sharp pointed, that they spoilt a Pair of Shooes in a Day, and there being no great Stock of them, most of my Companions were forc'd to make use of the Pack-thread Buskins we carry'd for the Servants, and not being us'd to them, their Feet were much gall'd, and Bloody, following the Camels eleven Days our Journey lasted. Some of them to partake of the Blessing the Prophet *Isaiah* gives the Feet of, Ministers of the Gospel, would not ride at all, eating very little besides Rice we had with us, meeting no Town to furnish us with Provisions; and the Heat so violent that it melted the Wax in our Boxes, without any Shade, but that of Briers, which did us more Harm than good, lying on the hard Ground, and drinking brackish Water

Water, of a very ill Scent, and sometimes but little of that. Yet the greatest Vexation we had was the Company of the Camel Divers, who dealt with us most barbarously, and could never be corrected by the old *Faris* above mention'd, who went along with us, continually craving something, and with a Design to inform his King, what he might demand of us. This Man, the Kinder we were to him, the worse he treated us, obliging us to maintain, and cook for him, and he would always be the first serv'd, and if at any Time his Meat was not so soon-ready as he expected, he reveng'd himself by not travelling that Day, and playing us a thousand Dog Tricks, striking our Men, all which we were fain to bear, for Fear our Goods should be left in that Desert, which he would be very apt to do, because he was paid before hand, for the Hire of the Camels, without which he would not have stir'd a Foot with us.

The King of *Dancali* being inform'd of our Arrival, came six Days Journey, from remoter Parts, to a better Country, where there was good Water, and sent his Brother before to receive, or rather to pillage us, for soon after we met; he sent to put us in mind, we should give him his Present, which we could not avoid delivering in that very Place, tho' we pleaded the Things were all dispers'd in the several Packs, that were to be open'd when we came to the King, his Brother's Camp. To show what Difference there is in Men's Fancies, he willingly accepted of all that was Clothing, and only rejected, and desir'd us to change him a little Cabinet of *Din*, curiously inlay'd, which is worth there five *Cruzaos*, that is about 13 or 14 Shillings, for a Bit of Cloth, worth about eight Pence. The King made the same Account of some Curiosities of *China* we offer'd him, parting with them immediately, and being extremely fond of the Cloathing, tho' of very small Value; The Reason his People gave for this was, that, he always living in Tents, Curiosities were of no use there, nor had he any thing worth keeping in them.

The next Day, the King sent us four Mules for the four Principal Fathers to come into his Camp in more state, among which one fell to my Share, because I was reckon'd the Great Father, for so they call the Superior. This Name sunk that of Patriarch, or *Abuna*, of which the King had receiv'd some Intelligence, brought him out of *Ethiopia*, by the *Moorish* Commander, and the *Portugueses*, that came from thence. Seeing us all in the same Habit, which was always that the Society wear in *India*, they ask'd for the *Abuna*, that came from *Rome*, and we answer'd, He dy'd at Sea, meaning the Bishop of *Nice*, at which the King was as much concern'd as we, thinking he had lost a consider-

ble

*His poor
Exposure.*

the Place in him. He prepar'd to receive us in a Hall, like that the Poets describe the first King of *Rome* had, round, enclos'd and cover'd with Hay, and so low, that it oblig'd me to bow lower than I had intended. Nor could the Wind be confin'd in it, being open on all Sides. On one of them the Floor, was rais'd about four Fingers above the rest, and on it a small Carpet of *Lar* in *Perse*, worn to thread bare, that it look'd as if it had serv'd all his Predecessors, with a small Cushion of the same Antiquity, which when he was better provided with what we gave him, he order'd to be laid for us to sit down before him, instead of a Leather we had at the first Visits, and we afterwards saw it on his Horse. His Canopy was a Piece of coarse Cloth, on the right Hand a Chair, which was once good, with Silver Plates, and on the left two very large Calabashes, full of a Liquor, he us'd instead of Wine, and took of it often, before his Visitors, and these were the Kittledrums that went before him, when he came thither from his Tent, which was a small Distance, and might for Antiquity have serv'd *Ishmael*, from whom they boast they are descended.

His Behaviour.

His Gravity, and Sedateness was well becoming a King, and he show'd it in despising a small Present we carry'd him for Admittance as his Servants told us was usual, reserving the rest for another Time, which he did that we might not think that sufficient; nor did he show much liking of the great Present, tho' it was of considerable Value, nor that he could find Fault with it, but that there might be Room for us to give more, and him to crave on, as he did during all the 17 Days we stay'd there, which very much vex'd us, and yet we were much oblig'd to him, for tho' he fancy'd we brought much more than in Reality we had, and both himself and his People were very greedy, which is occasion'd by the Country being so poor, that for above 50 Leagues I travell'd through, there is not one Foot fit to be sow'd, and they live upon Flesh, and Milk, and some Corn brought them out of *Ethiopia*; yet he never order'd our Goods to be search'd, nor saw any of them, nor exacted any Duties. The Fathers that went by the Way of *Maana*, and *Snaquem* said we should not have come off there for 150 Pieces of Eight.

Hard Fare.

Here we began to be pinch'd with Hunger, for tho' the Rectors of *Bazaim*, and *Tana* had furnish'd us with Provision enough to serve us both by Sea and Land, it was left at *Baylur*, both for want of Carriage, and because they told us there was Plenty enough at the King's Camp; but we found so little, that it was a great hapiress to meet with half a Peck of Millet, which we eat by Measure, either boil'd, or roasted, there being no convenience for grinding

grinding, and very often we fed upon nothing but Flesh, which they sold us very dear, knowing we must eat, and they had then a good Opportunity to furnish themselves with Cloathing, which at length began to fail, and none having Faith enough to trust us, we were oblig'd to shorten our Allowance. At our taking Leave, the King would have me, as being the great Father, to ride his own Horse, from his Tent to ours, magnifying the Honour he did us therein, and telling us, that even his own Brother did not mount his Horse. There was no dissuading him from it, tho we urg'd that the Fathers did not use to ride a Horseback, for he was resolv'd the Emperor should know he did his Masters that Honour, so that I was oblig'd to mount, and went back with great noise of Horse-bells, and well attended. *Honour done the Patriarch*

The next Day, being the 5th of June, we were dismiss'd, with more Honour than Conveniency, having but one He Mule, besides the Beasts we brought from Baylar, so that we were little mended, except my self, who had a good Mule given me by Paul Nagueyra, who would never ride in all the Way, alledging he could not do it, when the Fathers went a foot. Thus we travell'd through uncouth Lands, but with Plenty of good Water, the Moorish Commander, and his Men going along with us, as also a Renegado Abyssine, who was his Father in Law.

The Boundary between the Kingdoms of Dancali and Tygre, *Rech Salt* is a Plain four Days Journey in Length, and one in Breadth, which they call the Country of Salt, for there is found all that they use in Ethiopia instead of Money; being Bricks, almost a Span long, and four fingers thick and broad, wonderful white, fine, and hard, and there is never any miss of it, tho they carry away never so much; and this Quantity is so great, that we met a Caravan of it, wherein we believ'd there could be no less than 600 Beasts of Burden, Camels, Mules, and Asses, of which the Camels carry 600 of those Bricks, and the Asses 140, or 150, and these continually going, and coming. They tell many Stories concerning this Salt Field, and among the rest, that in some Part of it, there are Houses that look like Stone, in which they hear human Voices, and of several other Creatures, and that they call such as pass that Way, by their Names, and yet nothing can be seen. The Moorish Commander told me, that as he went by there, with a Lion Ras Cella Christos sent to Moca, three or four of his Servants vanish'd on a sudden, and he could never hear of them after. In one Place there is a Mount of Red Salt, which is much us'd in Philick. This is to be pass'd over by Night, because the Heat is so violent in the Day, that Travellers, and Beasts are stifled, and the very Shoes parch up, as if they were laid on burning Coals. We enter'd upon it at three in the Afternoon, and

The next Day, at 9 of the Clock, we came to the Foot of the Mountain *Sanase* where began the Command of the *Moorish* Captain that went for us; and so far we had hir'd the Camels, who could not go up it, because very high, and steep. Soon after we had set up our Tent, came *F. Barradas*, with several *Ethiopians* of *Sanase Mountain*. Quality, many *Portugueses*, Mules for all the Fathers, a very fine one for the Patriarch and a bundance of Provisions. Here *F. Barradas* advis'd me to put on the Episcopal Robes, which when the *Moorish* Commander saw, he was much surpris'd, and begg'd my Pardon for not having known me sooner, to pay that Honour that was due to my Dignity, and the Renegado hearing of it was so confounded, that he durst not show his Face. On the 17th we ascended the Mountain, which is higher than the *Alps*, as one of our Companions said, who had pass'd them, and thicker of Cedars, Cypress, and other Trees, and sweet Herbs, the common Weed on it being extraordinary high. Tufts of Sage, and white Roses. Going down again, we came into Till'd Grounds, full of Barley, and Millet, which we had not seen before. The *Xumo* of *Agamea* met us at the Place where we lay that Night, he and the others with him bringing Presents of 2 or 300 *Apas*, or Cakes of Bread each, and 2, or 3, Cows, as also four, five or six Camels loaden with Meltheclin, all which was divided among the Company, and tho' perhaps the Presents might be the more considerable, because they were for Guests, who came from such remote Parts, it is a settled Custom in *Ethiopia* to entertain, and give a Days Provision to all Passengers, according to their Quality, and if it be not done the Traveller may the next Day complain of the Governour of the Town. The *Xumo* of *Amba Senete*, to whose House we came the 3d Night, gave us there 8 Cows, and we were entertain'd after the *Ethiopian* Manner, a Round Table being spread on the Ground, and on it many *Apas*, as broad as Peck Loaves, made of Wheat, and a sort of Pease much valu'd in that Country, on which they lay the Meat, so they are both eat together, both Flesh and Dish.

Being thus attended by a great number of Horse Men, richly clad, who went before Skrimitting with their Irvealins, and Targets, we came to *Fremona*, which is a large and famous Town in these Parts, on the 21st of June. Thus far the Patriarch's Letter.

The Patriarch's Journey to the Court. His Reception there. The Progress of Religion. Several Rebellions, and Contrivances of the Schismaticks for subverting the Roman Religion.

*Dangerous
Season to
Travel.*

THE Patriarch coming to *Fremona* when the Winter began, which is there on the 21st of *June*, and ends in *September*, he was forc'd to stay all *October*, and a great part of *November*, because it is extraordinary dangerous travelling from *Tygre* to *Dambs*, during those Months, being very subject to Fevers, and other malignant Distempers, occasion'd by the Corruption of the Air in those Deserts, the Sun Beams perfectly burning in those low boggy Grounds, which so scorches up the Grass, and Shrubs that they exhale such noxious Vapours, as seldom fail to prove mortal to any that pass.

*Reception of
the Patriarch*

At *Gorgorra*, the Patriarch gave Ordination conditionally to 20 Clergy Men, and Monks, who had receiv'd it before from the *Abuna*, and some of them that had Wives were permitted to keep them, as is us'd in the *Greek Church*, that the Parishes might not be destitute of Curates. Half a League from the Emperors Camp he was met by the best of the Court and 15, or 16000 Arm'd Men, both Horse and Foot, all in their best Apparel, which in the People of Quality consists of Vests of several sorts of Silk, as Velvet, Satin, Brocade of *Mecca* all after the *Turkish* Fashion. The Apparel of the common Sort consists of Callicoes, Buckrams, and other *Indian* Stuffs. The richest, over their Silks have large Gold Chains, rich Sashes, wear curious Gold Bracelets, broad Swords, or Hangers plated with Gold, and Silver. The Gentlemen were well mounted and accouter'd, the rising parts of their Saddles higher than ours, and plated with Silver on Silk of several Colours. All these Horsemen coming up with the Patriarch made him a low Bow, and then opening to the Right and Left, took him in the Midst of them, the Air resounding with the Noise of Kettle Drums, Pipes, and Shouts. Thus was he conducted to a Tent, at a small distance from the Camp, where he alighted to put on his Bishops Rocket, and Hat, all the great Men kissing his Hand. Then he proceeded to another Tent, at the Entrance into the Camp, where having put on a Cope and white Mighter, he mounted a Py'd Horse, with a Horse-Cloth of white Damask,

*Habit of E-
thiopia,*

Damask, which the Emperor had sent very richly trapp'd, and then under a Canopy, carry'd by 6 Viceroys, and Prime Noblemen, he proceeded to the Church of *Gan Jabet, Serca Christos*, the Lord High Steward leading his Horse, the Musick sounding all the Way. At the Church he was receiv'd with a Discharge of some Cannon the Emperor has, and all the small Shot, the *Benedictus* being sung by excellent Voices. The Emperor was in the Chancel richly clad, with his Gold Crown on his Head, sitting on his Imperial Seat, with a Cushion of Cloth of Gold, and Brocade at his Feet, where he receiv'd, and imbrac'd the Patriarch, who then went up to the Altar, and made a short Speech, which was much applauded.

When the Ceremony was over, they all withdrew, and after a small Repose the Patriarch went to Court, where the Emperor seated him in a Chair equal with himself, and this he practis'd as often as he afterwards came to see him. They then appointed a Day on which the Emperor and all the great Men, both Clergy, and Laity, where in solemn Manner publicly to swear Obedience to the Church of *Rome*, which was on the 11th of February 1626. The Palace being then richly adorn'd, and all the Men of Note assembled, the Emperor, and the Patriarch sat down on two Chairs, and the latter made a long Speech, or Sermon to the Audience, to prove the Supremacy of the Church of *Rome*. Then *Mechus Christos*, the Emperor's Cousin, Lord High Steward, and Viceroy of *Cemen*, spoke by his Order, the Emperor himself prompting, where he mis'd in any thing he had been directed to say. Then the Emperor taking the New Testament in his Hands open, knelt down before the Patriarch, and took the Oath of Supremacy to the Pope, which was afterwards perform'd by all the Nobility, and Clergy. Next they all took an Oath to Prince *Faciladas* as Heir to the Crown. Proclamation was then made, that no Clergy Men, or Monks, should for the future say Mass, or perform other Ecclesiastical Functions, till they had been with the Patriarch; in regard it was much doubted, whether they were legally ordain'd; for besides that they did not confer any lesser Orders, the Ordination of the Deacons consisted in anointing their Heads, and cutting off some Hair, and that of the Priests in taking a Loaf off the Church Window with their own Hands. And it once happened, that almost 3000 resorting to the *Alexandrian Abuna*, to be ordain'd, he being then busy, bid them all take what Orders they would, and go about their Business. It was also order'd that all Persons whatsoever should embrace the *Roman* Faith, upon Pain of Death, to such as should refuse it, and that none should presume to conceal them.

Honour done
to the Patriarch.

Oath of Supremacy taken to the Pope.

Ethiopian Ordination.

Next.

Next the Emperor gave the Patriarch Lands, on the Borders of *Dambea*, adjoining to *Begameder*, where he order'd him a House to be built, and furnish'd with all Conveniencies for himself, and Family, and a Seminary for 60 Young *Abyssines*, and Sons of *Portugueses*, to learn to write, and read both Languages and be instruct'd in matters of Faith. Another House was built for the Patriarch in the Camp at *Dancaz*, where the Emperor us'd to reside in Winter, and that Prelate preach'd there on most Sundays, the *Ethiopians* delighting in hearing many Texts of Scripture quoted. Many of them mislik'd the Custom introduc'd by the *Portugueses* of praying on their Knees, and some contended that the Altars ought to be portable, without any Stone. The Patriarch employ'd himself in collecting, and expounding the Synods, till the 6th General Council, because the main Errors of the *Abyssines* were relating to the Incarnation, whereof little is said in the other Synods because those Heresies had been sufficiently confuted before. He also compos'd a Catechism, in showing all the Errors not only of the *Abyssines*, but of all other Oriental Nations, in putting which Books into the *Ethiopian* Tongue he was much assisted by a Noble Man call'd *Oda Christos*, who had an excellent Talent that way.

A Church
built

Locusts.

A mighty Progress was made in Converting of the People, the Patriarch sending abroad several Priests, and Monks he had Ordain'd, to instruct and administer the Sacraments. Two of these were murder'd in the Province of *Cegnade*, which is the most Eastern Part of the Kingdom of *Tygre*. At this time was the Solemnity of the Dedication of the new Church built at *Gergura*, with Lime and Stone, where the Veltre, and Choir being vaulted, and many Roses curiously cut in white Stone, the *Abyssines*, who had never before seen a Stone Roof came from very far to admire this strange Work. This same Year 1626, the Kingdom of *Tygre* suffer'd by a dreadful Plague of Locusts, which are frequent in *Ethiopia*, by reason of its being a Mountainous Country, and full of Deserts, where such Vermin generally breed, and there are such Multitudes of these Locusts, that they look like vast thick Clouds, and their Teeth are so sharp, that they destroy all the Grass, and the Leaves on the Trees, leaving all the Provinces they pass through desolate. This Plague was so dreadful in *Tygre* that whole Provinces were utterly unpeopled, particularly that of *Bur*, near the Red Sea, next to *Dafalo*, and so great a Famine ensu'd, there being nothing for Men, or Beasts to eat, that very few escap'd, who all went a way to other Countries 5000 of whom came th *Gane a Jesu*, in *Dambea*, where the Emperor then was; looking more like Ghosts than Men, as having nothing left

left but the bare Skin upon their Bones, who were all reliev'd by the Emperor.

As soon as possible the Patriarch went upon his Visitation, beginning at the Province of *Ogar*, which is 15 Leagues long, and 10 in Breadth, being high Land, and consequently very cold, but fruitfull in Wheat, and Barley. On the North it is bounded by Mount *Lamal*, on the South it joyns to *Dancax*, and contain'd above 60 Churches, besides some Monasteries. This same Year 1627, the barbarous *Gallas* broke into the Kingdom of *Gojam*, where surprizing the Viceroy *Buco*, with a very small Number of Men, they kill'd him; but *Ras Cella Christos* offering them Battle, tho' with much inferior Force to theirs, they fled by Night over the River, and thus the Country was deliver'd of them. Ogar Province.

Five Fathers arriv'd in May 1628, at *Mazua*, from *Diu*, for the Mission of *Ethiopia*, and were detain'd there four Months by the *Turks*, but at length, after much Trouble, and Charge they got away, and arriv'd safe at *Fremona*. Soon after *Tecla Guerguis*, Viceroy of *Tygre* broke out into open Rebellion against the Emperor, declaring for the Faith of *Alexandria*. The Emperor having receiv'd the News, order'd *Keba Christos*, who had been before Viceroy of that Kingdom to march against the Rebel. He drew 500 Targetiers, and 100 Horse out of the Kingdom of *Gojam*, to which he joyn'd another Body of 1000 Men, call'd *Coapalt*, which signifies Stars, being the ancientest, and best Troops in *Ethiopia*, with these he March'd so indefatigably, that tho' the Rebels were 100 Leagues from him, he came up with them, and put an End to the War in a Month, making a great Slaughter, and taking their Ring-leader the Viceroy, whom the Emperor caus'd to be hang'd in his Camp. Rebellion for Religion suppress'd.

This Year the Catholick Religion seem'd to be at its highest Pitch, for there were then in *Ethiopia* 19 Priests of the Society, besides very many of Natives that had receiv'd Ordination from the Patriarch, and the Number of Converts was incredible. The Foundation of a New Cathedral was now laid, and many other Churches much improv'd; but amidst this Prosperity the Seeds of all following Mischiefs were sown, *Melcha Christos*, a Rank Scismatick, underhand incensing the Emperor against his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, and laying the Foundation of the many Rebellions that afterwards ensu'd. Conversions, and Plots.

The first of them was in the Year 1629, by the *Agas* of *Be-gameder*, who live among Mountains of a prodigious Height, and abounding in Provisions, against whom the Emperor march'd in Person, with 25000 Foot and 2000 Horse; but attacking them indiscreetly Rebellion and Invasion.

in their Fattnesses, was repuls'd with considerable Loss, and so return'd to *Dancaz*. Thence he sent to call his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, who was then in Disgrace, yet came immediately, and advancing towards the Rebels, defeated such as were come down from the Mountains. This done another Rebellion breaking out at *Amahara*, under one *Laca Mariam*, *Ras* came upon him so unexpected, that he and most of his Men perish'd by the Sword, or in the Flight falling off the Precipices. This broke not the others that were further on the Mountains of *Lassa*, against whom the Emperor sent the Vicetoy of *Tygre*, *Keba Christos*, who venturing too far, with an inferior Force, was there kill'd by those Peasants, and his small Troops utterly routed. Misfortunes seldom come alone, and so it hapened now, for much about this same Time, the *Gallas* made an Iruption into the Kingdom of *Gogam*, where *Tecur Egzi*, Lieutenant to *Ras Cella Christos* opposing them with too small a Power, was himself slain, and his Troops defeated. These two Commanders *Keba Christos*, and *Tecur Egzi*, werethe two Main Pillars of the Catholick Religion, next to the Emperor, and his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, and they failing there soon ensu'd an extraordinary Change, such as were of the contrary Opinion about the Emperor, laying hold of all Opportunities to alienate him from the Religion he had embraced.

Accidents
that over-
saw Reli-
gion.

Two Accidents now happned, which contributed very much to the Revolution that was at hand. The first that a famous Monk, who had been for many Years *Ichege*, that is General of the Religious Order of *Tecla Haymanot*, dy'd obstinate in his Schism, and was nevertheless bury'd before the High-Altar in a Church; which the Patriarch hearing of, he sent a Reprimand to the Priest that Church belong'd to, telling him, The Church was desil'd by that Body, and unfit for divine Service. Hereupon the said Priest took up the Body, and cast it out, which gave great Scandal. the People complaining, that the *Portugueses*, under Colour of propagating the *Roman* Faith, insulted the very dead, and would not suffer them to lie in their Graves. The other Case was, that the Patriarch caus'd a Woman convicted of Witchcraft, and who had confess'd it herself, to be imprison'd for a few Days; but perceiving it gave a Disgust, he dismiss'd her again, without any farther Punishment. The Reason why this was so heinously relented is because it is a positive receiv'd Opinion in *Ethiopia*, that there can be no Contract, or Familiarity with the Devil, so as to do Harm to any Person by way of Witchcraft. The original of this Notion proceeded from very many having been formerly destroy'd by Poison, whose

Deaths

Deaths they then attributed to Sorcery, and to obviate that, it was decreed, that no Person should say, there was any *Buda*, that is Witch, or Wizard. To confirm their Opinion they say, that whosoever believes there are any such Sorcerers, must of necessity grant there are two Gods, for none but God has Power to give or take away Life. If we urge Scripture, as *Pharaoh's* Magicians, *Simon Magus*, and the like, they at best grant there were formerly Sorcerers in other Countries, but not in *Ethiopia*.

These were not all the Occasions of Offence. The Emperor *Alemd Prin* had a lewd Daughter, call'd *Oenguelawit*, who had two Husbands *cefi*. Living, and yet liv'd in open Adultery with a third Person, which was *Za Christos*, who had been marry'd to another of the Emperor's Daughters. This infamous Woman would have prevail'd with the Patriarch to grant a Dispensation, for her to Marry her Adulterer, which that Prelate refusing, she meditated Revenge, and set all the great Men she had any Influence over against him. Many more Accidents concurr'd, which being improv'd by the Adverse Party occasion'd mighty Troubles, and these at length wrought upon the Emperor, as we shall soon see.

In the Year 1630, the Rebels of *Amara*, sent one with the Title of Viceroy, and a strong Body of Men to possess himself of the Kingdom of *Tygre*. He being wholly intent upon feasting on a Saturday, which those People keep as religiously as Sunday, was surpriz'd, and set upon by the Emperor's Viceroy, and three *Xumos*, or great Men of that Kingdom, who slew 4000 of his Men, and took 32 Pair of Kettle-drums, which show'd how considerable their Victory was, because none are allow'd to use them but Commanders who have at least 400 Men. Another considerable Party of these People was entirely cut off by *Ras Cella Christos* on the Mountains: Notwithstanding this good Service, the Emperor upon the Insinuations of his Adversaries took from his Brother *Ras Cella Christos* the Viceroy-ship of *Gojam*, most of his Lands, and the best Troops he had, leaving him in such a Condition, that he was wholly unable to support his Dignity.

C H A P. X.

A New Bishop comes into Ethiopia ; Troubles, and Rebellions ; a great Victory obtain'd by the Emperor ; he gives Liberty of Conscience, and dies ; the manner of his Funeral ; Cruelty of his Son, and Successor Faciladas.

THUS stood the Affairs in *Ethiopia* at the Arrival of *Don Apollinaris d' Almeyda*, the new Bishop of *Nice*, chosen in the Place of *Don James Seco*, who, as has been said, dy'd at Sea. He landed at *Goa* on the 21st of *October* 1629, sail'd thence again on the 18th of *November*, and reach'd not *Diu* till the 25th of *March*. From *Diu* he set out for *Suaquem*, but was forc'd into the Illand *Camaran*, on the Coast of *Arabia*, whence he sent a good Present to the *Bassa*, to gain his Favour. That Commander was then far off carrying on the War against *Imam*, a powerful King of *Arabia*, who had newly defeated him with the Slaughter of 12000 *Turks*. That King had not long before taken the City of *Adem* from the *Turks*, and 3 Years after this, in 1635 made himself Master of *Moca*, so that those Infidels lost all the Kingdom of *Yemen*, which is the best of *Arabia Felix*, when they had been possess'd of it above 60 Years, and by that Means enjoy'd a most considerable Trade in the Eastern Parts, the Commodities of those Countries being brought to *Adem*, *Moca*, *Odida*, *Camarane* and *Guida* by Merchants of *Nagana*, *Por*, *Mangalor*, *Diu*, *Goga*, *Surtate*, *Dabul*, the *Malabar* Coast, and *Achem*.

A Bishop gets into Ethiopia. The *Bassa* was well pleas'd to hear of the Arrival of the Bishop, remembering that a few Years before four *Italian* Religious Men of our Order landing at *Alexandria*, had been ransom'd for 6000 Pieces of Eight, notwithstanding they had the *Turks* Pass, to go that Way into *Ethiopia*. However being told by some *Turks*, that these were poor, had a Pass from the *Bassa* of *Suaquem*, and their Order very kind to the Merchants trading to *Diu*, he dismiss'd them, and they sail'd in a small Vessel, on the 12th of *July* for *Mazua*. In that passage, which is generally perform'd in three or four Days, they spent 14, were suffer'd to

go from *Mazua*, without any Obstruction, and arriv'd at *Fremona*, on the 20th of *August*. There they continu'd 3 Months, because it was Winter, and came into the Emperor's Camp on the 16th of *December* 1630, had a very honourable Reception, and after a Fortnight's Stay, retir'd to the Patriarch's House at *Depsan*, in the Territory of *Anfras*, four Leagues from *Dancax*.

The Emperor had lately depriv'd his Brother *Ras Cella Christos* of the Viceroy-ship of *Gojam*, and bestow'd it on his Nephew *Cerca Christos*. This was done through the sinister Insinuations of the Unkles Enemies, and particularly of Prince *Faciladas*, who envy'd *Ras*, and thought he should have a fitter Instrument for his Designs, in his Cousin. This new Viceroy of *Gojam* was now order'd, by the Emperor to go with all his Forces to convoy a Carravan, that was coming out of the Kingdom of *Narea*, and brought him the Gold that Country yearly pays, being in all 1000 *Oqueas*, which amount to 10000 Peices of Eight, and so *Rebellion of* poor is *Ethiopia*, that they look upon this as a mighty Treasure. *Cerca Christos* in his Way came to a Territory of the *Gafates*, near *stos*. the *Nile*, which abounding in Grass, was full of those Peoples Cows, there very numerous, and stately, as also those of the Neighbouring *Demotes*. The Viceroy concluded that these Cows would yield him more Gold, than all that amounted to, which came from *Narea*, and which he was not like to be the better for, and therefore drove a way so many, that at *Dancax* it was said they were above 100000. The Emperor was much concern'd at this Insult, and sent him Orders to restore the Cows and deliver himself up Prisoner; but he had other Thoughts, and accordingly made Proclamation in his Camp, declaring Prince *Faciladas* Emperor, and commanding all Persons to forsake the *Roman* Faith, and embrace that of *Alexandria*. The Prince nevertheless was so far from consenting to this Practice, that he march'd against him with his Army, which the Rebel perceiving he set up an Infant descended from the Royal Family, and at the Perswasion of the Schismatick Monks, murder'd two Persons for Professing the *Roman* Religion. The Emperor was much concern'd at the News of this fresh Rebellion, whilst the other of *Lassa* was still on foot, and therefore being sensible how he had been misled, sent again for his Brother *Ras Cella Christos*, to whom he was reconcil'd, and by his Advice sent more Forces to Prince *Faciladas*, with Orders to march immediately against the Rebel. The Prince did so, taking *F. Francis Marquez* along with him. The Viceroy fled hastily over the *Nile*, but was so closely pursu'd, that coming to a Battel, and being much inferior in Numbers, his Forces were routed, and he flying to a Mountain oblig'd

*He is taken
and executed.*

Fathers, as the Prelate requir'd. It would be too tedious to mention all the Differences that arose, and Controversies between the Emperor, and the Patriarch, and therefore we must pass most of them by, as not Material, nor Pertinent to our Purpose, that we may entertain the Reader with what is more proper for this Work, those Points, being the Subject of an Ecclesiastical History; tho' at the same Time, we have thought fit to insert so much as may give him a true Idea of the Religion of the Ethiopians, and the Motives made Use of for banishing those Fathers, to whom we are at least oblig'd for as much as we know of that Country. Let us now return to the Wars.

The War of *Lasta* grew so troublesom, that the Emperor was again forc'd to send for his Brother *Ras Cella Christos* to command; yet notwithstanding all he could alledge oblig'd him to march with only 3000 Men. The Mountainiers beset him with 20000, against whom he defended himself bravely all the Day; as did the Viceroy of *Begameder Kebra Christos*, who lay at a small Distance with his Forces; but their Men forsaking them in the Night, they were both necessitated to save themselves the best they could. This Misfortune so daunted the Emperor, that he retir'd to the Kingdom of *Gojam*; the Rebels, on the other Hand, propos'd to possess themselves of *Dancax*, his usual Residence, and agreat Part of his Army was ready to forsake him. He being inform'd of the Enemies Resolution, and fearing if they were once Masters of his Court, that all the Empire would declare for them, left his Baggage behind, and march'd directly towards them all Night, with about 20000 Men. On the 27th of June 1632, his Scouts brought him Word, that the Rebels were advancing towards him with about 25000 Men, but ill arm'd. At noon the two Armies came in Sight of one another, the Imperial Horse in the Van, being about 2000, Then the Emperor himselfe clapp'd Spurs to his Horse, and being follow'd by the Cavalry obtain'd a compleat Victory the first Charge, the Peasants flying like so many Sheep before the Wolves. The Night coming on sav'd many of those Wretches, tho' others were beaten to Pieces, casting themselves down Precipices, the Pursuit being continu'd till late, when the Imperialists made themselves Masters of their Camp. The next Day the Slain appear'd to be about 8000.

*Rebels of Lasta
its worst the
Imperialists*

*Are then
selves routed.*

This Slaughter the *Alexandrian* Party took care to represent to the Emperor as caus'd by the Change of Religion, telling him whether he beat, or was beaten, still the loss was his own, since all those were his Subjects, and so tenacious in their Opinions, that he could never hope to enjoy Peace, till the Faith of their Ancestors was restor'd. In fine, the Prince his Son, his Empress,

As most of the great ones giving him no Respite, he was to perplex'd that he took his Bed, and they having consulted together, *Alexandrian* gave publick Notice that all Men might return to their former *Faith restor'd* Religion. The Patriarch hereupon made a Speech to the Emperor, blaming his Conduct after so glorious a Victory, and exhorting him not to fall off from what he had so well begun. To which he answer'd, He had done all that was in his Power, till all Men were ready to forsake him; but that still his Design was not to make any Alteration in Matters of Faith but only to allow of Customs, and would do nothing without acquainting his Lordship. Notwithstanding all the Endeavours of the Patriarch, Bishop, and Fathers, at length Proclamation was made in these Words, *Hear, Hear, we first gave you this Faith, believing it was good, but innumerable People have been kill'd about it, with Elos, Cabrael, Tecla, Guerguis, Cerica Christos, and now lately with these Peasants; for which Reason we restore you the Faith of your Fore-Fathers. The former Clergy-Men may return to their Churches, put in their Tabotes, and say Masses; and do you rejoice.* This Liberty threw them into many Errors, for being uncertain what to believe, some of their Monks affirm'd, that *Christ* was the Son of God, only by Grace; others that the Divinity dy'd with him on the Cross, but that he had two Divinities, one of which dy'd and the other surviv'd; others said, one Person was compos'd of the two; others confounded the Divine Nature with the Human; and others being quite puzzled cry'd, *Christ* is true God, and true Man, and it is enough to know that. Nor was there less Division about Consecrating the Cup, some contending it could not be done with any Liquor but Wine, others that it should be with Water discolour'd with six or seven Raisins. At length they agreed it should be done as was us'd at *Alexandria*, and finding no abler Person to enquire of, they put the Question to an *Egyptian* Carpenter, who told them it was always done there in Wine, yet they resolv'd it should be with Water and Raisins. Because the Catholicks us'd to call upon the Name of *Jesus*, it was forbid so to do, under severe Penalties, and some Persons were run through with Javelins for not forbearing.

Errors.

A few Days after, there was a general Circumcision, and then follow'd an universal Baptism, after their former Manner, which being done they concluded themselves free from the Obligation of being ty'd to one Wife, that being one of their Grievances, and publickly declar'd, That for the future they would marry, and unmarry as they pleas'd. Accordingly, *Oengualavit*, the Emperor's eldest Daughter, marry'd her own Brother in Law *Za Christos*, he forsaking his other Wife, and

Her first Husband *Bella Christus*, both of them still living. However the Proclamation which allow'd of the *Alexandrian* Religion did not forbid the *Roman*, but gave Liberty of Conscience, so that the Fathers continu'd to say Mass, and Preach in their Churches; but soon after they were expell'd, and another Order publish'd, that all Persons should return to the *Alexandrian* Faith, and that none should for the future dispute with the Patriarch, or Fathers. The Emperor did not long survive this Change. Some would have it that he was poison'd, but it visibly appear'd that he broke his Heart with Grief, and Trouble, being in perpetual Anguish, till he dy'd in September 1632, at the Age of 61 Years, whereof he reign'd 24. At his Death, he declar'd he dy'd in the *Roman* Faith, having always kept *F. James de Matos*, and the Patriarch's Chaplain *Emanuel Magro*, about him. His Body was bury'd in the Church of *Ganeta Jesu*, 4 Leagues from *Dancas*, where he dy'd. The Manner of his Funeral is thus related by *F. Manuel d'Almeida*, who was present at it.

An *Egyptian* had made him a Bier, with small steps, almost Square, into which they put the Body, wrapp'd up in Bugkram, covering it with a large Piece of Tasefy, of several colours. Before this Bier, or Coffin, were carry'd, first the Imperial Colours, being of two Sorts, the one they call *Sandecas*, and are Colour'd, Staves, for Poles, with Bals of Metal gilt on the Top; under which hang their little Banners, about a Span, and a half Square. The others are like Standards, of white Cloth, with some Red Stripes in the middle, neither of them bearing any Arms, or Device. There were five or six of each Sort, all advanc'd, without dragging, or striking them. By them went the Kettle-drums, beating at Times a melancholy Tone; then two or three of the best Horses he us'd to ride, with their richest Furniture; next several Pages, and other Servants, carry'd Parts of his Imperial Robes, and Ornaments, one his Velt, another his Sword, a third his Crown, and so others his Sash, his Beads, his Javelin, his Target, &c. These Things divers Persons took by Turns, showing them to excite Tears, and Sighs, and to this end the Queen herself carry'd his Crown on her Head a considerable Space. This was the Funeral Pomp of the Emperor *Socinius*, otherwise call'd *Sultan Segued*, all the Court, from the highest to the Lowest attending a foot, or a Horseback. The Queen, his Daughters, and all the Ladies then at Court, rode on Mules, their Hair cut off, and a Slip of fine white Cloth two Inches broad ty'd about their Heads, the Ends hanging behind. All the Company was in their Mourning, which is any old Rag, and those who would express

His Funeral.

it most, put on a black Leather, or Cloth, and clip their Heads. There was no Sort of Light carry'd, nor any in the Church, but much weeping, till he was bury'd, and six or seven Monks stood at the Door reading the Psalms. The next Day they all return'd to *Dancax*, and when in Sight of it, drew up again as the Day before, carrying the empty Bier, or Coffin, and by it a Man clad in the Emperors Robes, and the Crown on his Head, riding on a Mule, with a Silk Umbrella over him, in all respects representing the Emperor. Before him went another with that Princes Head-piece, and Javelin, on his best Horse, with the richest Accoutrements. Near *Dancax* stood four or five Bodies of Troops, and other Persons belonging to the Court, who all came out to meet the Company, crying as loud as they could.

In this Manner they went all together, and with them *F. Faciladas* the *James de Mattos*, and *F. Emanuel de Almeyda*, who gives this Relation, to the Palace Gate, where they alighted, and the chief of them went into a large Tent, where the new King was, with some Noblemen, and then began a new Lamentation, which lasted near two Hours. The Fathers went home, and when the weeping was over, return'd to kiss the Kings Hand, condoling with him for his Fathers Death, and then congratulating his Succession to the Crown.

The new Emperor *Faciladas* had 24 Brothers, all whom he afterwards inhumanly put to Death, only out of *Turkish* Policy, to secure the Crown upon his own Head, a Barbarity scarce to be parallell'd in History; and then fell to persecuting all those that profess'd the Catholick Faith, like another *Dioclesian*.

*Murders 24
of his Bro-
thers.*

CHAP:

C H A P. XI.

Persecution of the Catholicks. The Patriarch, and Fathers banish'd to Fremona. Four of the Latter sent away to Goa. Their Journey, and Voyage, and a particular Description of the City of Adem.

FACILADAS being rais'd to the Throne, as has been seen Faciladas in the last Chapter, took the Name of *Sultan Segued*, as his call'd Sultan Father had done before him, and began to exercise much Cruelty Segued. towards the Catholicks, beginning with his own Unkle *Ras Cella Christos*, whom he depriv'd of all his Lands and Dignities, and sent him banish'd in Chains to *Cemen*, where he liv'd like a common Criminal, under a Guard. Next he order'd *F. James d' Mattos*, and *F. Joseph Giroco* to depart *Dancax*, and to repair to *Ganeta*, *Persecution.* *Jesu*, where they had not been long, before they were with four others turn'd out, and sent to *Gorgorra*, and four of these again remov'd to *Collala*, in which twelve of them liv'd some Time very hardly. The Patriarch, and Bishop had their Lands taken away, and scarce as much allow'd to Maintain them, and three Fathers, as was requisite for a Poor Vicar. The Fathers at *Fremona* were as hardly us'd by the Viceroy, and had been all murder'd by the Soldiers, but that the *Portugueses* assembled, and defended themselves in that Sort of fortify'd Place. All others who profess'd the Catholick Faith, from the Emperor's own Cousin Germains to the Meanest, were stripp'd of what they had, and left to beg their Bread; and then the Emperor sent Orders to the Patriarch, and Bishop to deliver up all the Arms they had, and depart immediately to *Fremona*, a new *Abuna* being come into the Camp from the Kingdom of *Narica*, who said he would not give Ordination, till the Patriarch, and Fathers were either kill'd, or banish'd. After several Messages to and fro, the Arms were deliver'd, and the Fathers all turn'd out of their Residences, with Orders to repair to *Fremona*.

They set out accordingly, with one *Paul*, the Emperor's own Nephew, whom he had sent to guard them through the *Deserts*, which are full of Robbers; but he and his Men did what they were sent to prevent, plundering a great Part of the Baggage, and would have taken all, had not the *Portugueses*, who

Jesuits banish'd and robb'd.

Follow'd the Patriarch defended it, and kill'd some of his Men. Yet would not this have sav'd the small remainder of their Goods, or even their Lives, had they not been afterwards faithfully assisted by *Tecla Salus*, and *Asma Guerguis*, two Commanders appointed to conduct them, after they were out of *Paul's* Liberties. In their way they pass'd one Brook twelve Time, every one of them in great Danger of their Lives, from those who were to guard them, who finally resolv'd to murder them all, and divide their Spoil, after the last Passage, in a small Plain, where they were to rest that Night. When they had pass'd the 11th Time, *Tecla Salus*, who had Intelligence of the wicked Design by his Spies, struck out of the Way, and led all the Company up a high Mountain, before they were discover'd by their Robbers, who bit their Fingers to be thus disappointed of their Prey. However they enclos'd the Mountain hoping to pick up some of the Mules, or Oxen, one of which last fell into their Hands loaded with Church-stuff, and *Paul* being charg'd with consenting to the Robbery then plainly told them, That what had hapned was nothing to what they were to expect.

As they lay'd

The Mountain they were on had two Ways up to it, one to the North, and the other to the South. *Asma Guerguis* pitch'd his Tent on that to the Northward, which is the easiest, and next to *Ambo*, where the Robbers expected us, our Men pitching theirs next him. On the South Pass, being at some Distance *Tecla Salus* lay, and the Fathers on the Top. The next Morning, both the Robbers, and *Paul's* Men began to ascend the Mountain, but retir'd several Times, upon only presenting one Musket we had, and fled in great Disorder, when it was fir'd. Nevertheless they ventur'd to return again, and found such a hot Reception, the very Women among us fighting like good Soldiers, that they immediately turn'd their Backs, and were pursu'd down to the very brook, whence they did not offer to return any more. A sufficient Number of the Troops of *Tecla Salus*, and *Asma Guerguis* joyning the Fathers the Day after, they proceeded on their Journey in Safety, and came to *Fremona* on the 24th of April 1633.

Arrive safe at Fremona

4. Since a way before.

Here they suffer'd much Want, most of their Lands being taken from them, besides that they hourly expected to be sent away, and deliver'd up to the *Turks* upon the Sea Coast, for which Reason it was resolv'd to send four Fathers before, to lessen the Expence, and procure some Relief. One of these four was *F. Emanuel d'Almeida*, who gives an Account of their Journey, and Voyage as follows. At the End of April 1633 there were of us, at *Fremona*, 18 Fathers, one lay Brother, and two Prelates, being the Patriarch, and the Bishop, where it was agreed that some of

us should go over to *India*, for Relief in our Distress, and accordingly my self and three others were pitch'd upon. The Undertaking was Difficult, because if we offer'd to go the direct Road, we should certainly be stopp'd by the Emperor's Officers, as not having his Pass. We therefore agreed, by the Interposition of a Lady, call'd *Oziero*, who still preserv'd her Affection towards us, that a *Xumo*, or Lord of *Bur*, whose Name was *Xiay*, should secure our Passage through his Lands, and guard us to *Arquico*. It was a great Compass about, and the Woods and Mountains full of Lions, Tigers, and more fierce, and cruel *Moors*, from whom God protected us, gaining the Favour of the *Xumo*, who guarded us, with Gifts, and Presents, out of that little we had. We came to the Coast near *Desalo*, ten Leagues from *Mazua*, which was the worst of all our Way, for the Sun scorch'd on those Sands, like Fire, so that the Ground we lay on was as hot, as a Hearth, or Oven, and the Heat was no less violent at *Mazua*, when we came thither, which was about the middle of *July*. Before our Departure from *Fremona*, we had by Means of some *Baneans* procur'd a Pass from the *Bassa* of *Suaquem*, for 400 Pieces of Eight. That *Bassa* dying in this Interval of Time, his Successor exacted as much more for confirming of our Pass, and his Deputy he newly sent to govern at *Mazua*, and *Arquico* oblig'd us to pay 600 more to allow us to depart, which Sum we were oblig'd to borrow of the *Baneans* to repay them at *Diu*. At length we embark'd on a small Vessel for *Adem*, not being permitted to go to *Cayxem*, four Fathers of the Society, two Priests born in *India*, and fourteen *Abyssine* Servants, who would go with us. We set sail on the 19th of *August*, and the next Day came upon the Island *Dalec*, a low Land, poor, and destitute of all Necessaries; but close by it there is a Pearl Fishery, tho' not considerable, all which the *Bassa* of *Suaquem* takes to himself, having Officers there on the fishing Days. Having water'd there, we held on our Course along the Coast of *Dancali*, sail'd through the Mouth of the *Red Sea* on the 29th of *August*, and holding on our Course all Night, miss'd the Flats, lying in that Part, and came to *Adem* Arrive at on the 30th, but the Wind growing scant got not in, till the next *Adem*. Day, after a strong Gust had carry'd away our Mast. It was known in the City, who we were by Letters, sent in, the Day before by an *Almadie*, or Boat, and *Xarif Abdela* the Governour of the City expected some mighty Wedges of *Ethiopian* Gold from us. Being land'd they carry'd us before the Governour, who sent us to the *Xabander*, and order'd all we had should be carry'd to the Custom Houle. The *Amir*, or Lord of the City, being then at *Rara* five or six Leagues from *Adem*, and expecting to get

They come to the Coast.

Sail for India.

Arrive at

Detain'd and cruelly us'd there.

some angry Treatment, order'd us, and all we had to be carry'd to him, which was not easily done, and finding nothing but our Bedding, Bisket, and some inconsiderable, necessaries, kept us there several Days prisoners, with great Threats in case we did not turn *Moslems*, and tho' he could not prevail on us, he succeeded better with the poor *Abyssines*, who overcome with ill Usage, comply'd, and embraced his Sect. At length being inform'd, that the *Bassas* would lend us much Money, because we were very rich in *India*, he sent us back to *Adem*, where the Ships were ready to sail for *Dia*, but would not suffer us to depart that Season, that he might have more Time to treat our Rantome.

Adem described.

Since we are come to *Adem*, a Place famous in the Histories of *India*, it will be proper to give a short Account of the Condition we found it in. This City is in *Arabia Felix*, and in twelve Degrees of North Latitude, about 20 Leagues without the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, seated at the Foot of high Mountains, which are the Land Marks of Necessity to be observ'd by all the *India* Ships bound for the *Red Sea*, which Generally first make *Cape Guardafuy* in *Africk*, and thence stand over for the Mountains of *Adem*, and as soon as discover'd, being sure of their Course, they steer directly for the Streight of *Babelmandel*, which they generally Pass the same, or the next Day. Formerly most Ships resorted to *Adem*, without entring the *Red Sea*, because all the *Arabian* Merchants met there, with the Wealth of their several Provinces, and carry'd thence the Commodities of *India* to several Fairs, frequented by Merchants of *Damascus*, and all Parts of the lesser *Asia*, who convey'd them along the *Mediterranean* into *Europe*. This Trade enrich'd *Adem*, and made it once so famous, as to vie with the three principal Eastern Marts of *Gee Ormuz*, and *Malaca*.

How it declined.

After the *Turks* made themselves Masters of the Ports in the *Red Sea*, and of the Kingdom of *Yemen*, which is the best Part of *Arabia Felix*, taking the City *Adem*, that Part declin'd, by Reason of the Wrongs the Governours offer'd to Merchants trading thither; who being better treated at *Moca*, *Odida*, *Camaran*, *Gida*, *Suagum*, and *Mazua*, within the *Red Sea*, went on thither, leaving *Adem*, which of a rich, and very propuluous City, came to be so poor, and thinly inhabited, that we saw most, and those the best Structures in it gone to Ruin, so that scarce one in 15 was standing.

The *Arabs* had retaken this City from the *Turks*, five or six Years before we came to it, having it betray'd to them by the *Arabs*. *Guards*, who open'd the Gates on the Land Side to them, in the Night, and they entring easily put to the Sword all the *Garrison*, being as is said, about five, or 600 Men, only such escaping as got out of the Sea Gate, into some Vessels they found there, and so to *Moca*. At the same Time the King of *Yemen* obtain'd great Victories over the *Turks*, driving them almost out of all his Kingdom, and taking all the Inland Cities; so that the prime Men being kill'd in several Actions, the Towns on the Sea Coast, believing they could not be long defended, offer'd many Wrongs to the Merchants of *India* trading to them, whereas on the contrary, the *Amir* of *Adem*, being desirous to draw many Ships to his Port, began to show them much Favour. Thus *Adem* began again to improve, and we found 18 Ships in the Harbour, come that Year from several Parts of *India*, richly laden. But it was not long so fortunate, for the King of *Yemen* still pressing upon the *Turks*, two Years after made himself Master of the Ports in the Red Sea, as *Moca*, *Odida*, and *Cammarane* and he being still more kind to the *India* Merchants, than those of *Adem*, he drew almost all the Trade to himself, very few resorting to *Adem*, which soon sunk again.

Its Situation is thus, Certain high Cliffs, and Headlands run out from the Land, and Jutting into the Sea, stretch forth one Arm to the Eastward, and another to the Westward for about a League. These Arms consist of very lofty, Craggy Rocks, and Mountains. The Sea runs in on both Sides East, and West, forming two large Bays between those Promontories, and the Main Land. That to the Westward is longest, but shallow. The other opposite to the Eastward, has Water enough for many Ships to Anchor close by the Shore, and is shelter'd from almost all Winds; because near the Arm form'd by the Mountains on that Side, there is a high Clift, divided from it by a small Channel, and lying to the Eastward; breaks off the Sea from the Ships in the Harbour. At the Foot of these Mountains is a Spot of Ground, almost round, about a Falconet Shot Diameter, tho' bury'd under those Hills, like a Kettle. There stands the City, so enclos'd, that it needs no Wall, except only one small Part, next the Bay, where the Ships Anchor. The Houses are of Stone, and Clay, as far as the second Story; such as are higher being of Brick from thence upwards, all flat roof'd, with many small Windows, and wooden Lattices. They are not ill built, and tho' not so strong, for want of Lime, yet they are out of Danger, because it never rains there, all the Year Round, and tho' the Sky is often clouded, never any thing falls above a small Dew.

This

Gates &c.

This Furnace, for so we may call it, by reason of the Vehement Scorching of the reflected Sun Beams, is as close as can be imagin'd having but two Gates, or Avenues. The one leads to the Shore, which contains a very small Compass, being terminated by the Rocks of the Mountains enclosing the City, which is in the Shape of a Bow full Bent, the Shore being the String, holding at the Ends of the said Bow, next the swelling Billows, that continually beat upon those Rocks. On the other Side, the Way leads to the Continent, between Rocks, and seems to be hew'd out by Hand, being of prodigious Height, and for above 100 Fathom in Length, in which Space there are three Gates, one behind another, open'd, and shut, at Night and Morning, all of very thick Planks cover'd with Iron Plates, and 12, or 14 Yards High, with *Guerites* over them, on Arches lying across the Road, from one Rock to the other. These Gates are continually guarded by above 100 Soldiers, and no Man can go out, without carrying the *Ducam's* Ticket on his Arm.

Strength.

The Mountains, and Precipices on them are a Fortification to the greatest Part of the City they surround. Next the Shore it has a weak Piece of Wall, as being built with Stone, and Clay, and plaister'd without; but the Headland, I said, lies to the Eastward of the Bay, serves instead of a Fort, being very high, and commanding all about, and the Chancel lies very close to the Rocks, of the said Head-land. On the Point of it is a Battery, level with the Water with some Canon on it, which can sink any Enemies Ship that shall come to Anchor there, but a few Men may easily make themselves Masters of it.

Fertility.

The Land about *Adem* is fruitful, where we saw many Fields of Millet, the Reed whercof was as tall, and thick as a Pike-staff, and the Ear so large and full that 10, or 12 would fill a Peck, and what is still more wonderful is, that one and the same Seed Yields three Crops, for it runs up, and is ripe in three Months, when they cut the Reed about a Span, or a Span and a Half from the Ground, and the Stalk left sprouts up again and comes to Maturity in three Months, which being cut again grows up again a third Time, with only this Difference, that tho' the Reeds are still alike, the Ear is fuller the first Time, than the other two following; but the Reed is almost as good as the Grain, being excellent Food for Horses, Camels, and all Sorts of Cattel.

A Camban
friend to the
Jesuits.

In this Place we continu'd six Months, and suffer'd enough, which had been worse, but that some of the *Bancans* reliev'd us with Alms, and Money Lent; but we chiefly owe our Lives to a Native of *Cambaya*, whose Name was *Emsarg star*, and he had been

cen several Years *Xabander*, well belov'd by all Men for his good Temper, and Generosity, besides that he was familiar with the prime *Xarifs*. This Man gave them so good an Account of us, that they began to favour our Pretensions, disliking the *Amirs* surly Behaviour towards us, and so far supporting our Intrest, that all Men shov'd us Respect, and good Will. An Accident hapn'd at this Time, which indanger'd our Liberty, and even our Lives, and was thus. The *Amir* returning to *Adem*, with his whole Court, several of the *Abyssines* they had taken from us, return'd with their Masters. These now finding an Opportunity, some of them came to confests to us, and be reconcil'd to God, repenting the Sin they had committed, in professing *Mahometanism* with their Mouths, tho' they had never receiv'd it in their Hearts, or sincerely renounc'd *Christ*, whose Faith they promis'd for the future openly to profess, tho' it cost them their Lives. One of these, to secure his Religion, and get rid of his Master, who was the *Amir's* Son, and never ceas'd to importune him to repair to the *Mosques*, fled to a Sanctuary, the Slaves in *Adem* us'd to have Recourc to when oppress'd by their Masters; and it is the Custom there, that the Master can not force them thence, but is oblig'd to sell them to another. The *Amir's* Son, being much concern'd at it, complain'd to his Father, who believing that had been done by our Advice, grew inrag'd at us, and order'd we should depart *Adem*, and be carry'd in Banishment to *Canfar*, a very unhealthy Place, where it would be a wonder if we escap'd with our Lives. Our *Banean* Friend took the Business in Hand, and spoke to the *Xarif Abdela*, Goverour of *Adem*, who obtain'd of the *Amir*, that we should be banish'd to a better Territory, call'd *Lage*; where we suffer'd much, during our 20 Days Stay, till the *Amir* was somewhat mollify'd.

They are banish'd.

At length he came to this Resolution, to demand 200 Pieces of Eight for our Ransom, which some *Baneans* lent us, to be re-embark for *Diu*.

Eight for our Ransom, which some *Baneans* lent us, to be re-embark for *Diu*. With another Sum borrow'd for our Expence in that Country, and the Ransom of four or five *Abyssines*, of those they had taken from us. The little *Monson* coming on, which is at the Beginning of *March*, three Fathers of us embark'd on ship belonging to *Diu*, and the 4th, with two of the Patriarch's Chaplains on a small Coasting Vessel of *Mascate*, hoping to get to *Diu* by the End of *April*, and thence to *Goa*, before the Win-

We had a troublesome Voyage, because that *Monson* is very scant. Our Ship sail'd out of the Harbour the next Day, with a fair Wind. The other Vessel, not then quite ready, continu'd there 40 Days, for Want of Wind.

Wind to carry her out, all which Time the Passengers continu'd abroad, for Fear of being stopp'd again, if they went ashore. The 40 Days being expir'd, they set Sail, and arriv'd at *Mafate*, where they were forc'd to Winter, and got to *Goa* with the *September Monson*.

Our Voyage prov'd no better, tho' we left *Adem* sooner, the Winds proving so contrary, that we were two Months, and a half sailing to *Caixem*, where we winter'd, and came to *Disa* about the Middle of *September*, *F. Joseph Giroco* dying by the Way. Thus far *F. Emanuel d' Almeida*.

C H A P. XII.

The Patriarch, and Fathers dispers'd. Most of them deliver'd to the Turks, who put them to Ransom. Some pass over to Goa. One sent to Lisbon. Plague, Famine, and War in Ethiopia.

Six Jesuits
go towards
the Sea.

THE new *Abuna*, and his Followers could never be satisfy'd, as long as the Patriarch, and Fathers were in *Ethiopia*, and accordingly ceas'd not pressing the Emperor, till at the Beginning of the Summer, he sent an *Azage*, with Orders to deliver them to the *Turks* at *Mazua*. This Officer being well affected towards them, was very favourable, so that they were allow'd to write to the Emperor, tho' without Hopes of altering his Resolution, but only to gain Time. News being brought, that the Emperor was sending a second Messenger to remove them, the first fearing he should be blam'd for his Remissness, press'd to carry them away immediately; but the Patriarch positively declaring he would not stir, unless dragg'd away by Force, and he having no such Orders, nothing was done at that Time. However, for Fear of exasperating the Emperor too much, the Bishop went away with six of the Fathers to the Province of *Siraoe*, which is near the Sea, where they suffer'd very much.

The Patriarch, soon after, understanding, that another Messenger was coming to drag them away by Force, privately negotiated with Joannes Akay, the Bahar-Nagays, or Governour of the Sea Coast, that he should take them all into his Protection, which he consenting to, and sending a Number of arm'd Men to conduct them, they made their Escape by Night, and came safe to him. He receiv'd them in friendly Manner, as he did a Present they gave him, of the small remains of their Shipwrack, and sent them to an Amba, or Ethiopian Fortrese, being an high upright Mountain on all Sides, with only two steep, and difficult Avenues to it, on the Top whereof was a Plain, containing a small Village of Thatch'd Houses, and Cottages, more like Dens of wild Beasts, than Habitations of Men. Here was little Water, and less Provision, the Land being barren, and affording little but some Millet, and a few Lentiles.

The Bishop, and his Companions had Notice sent them, to get away the same Night the Patriarch had fled, but they were so closely observ'd, that it was impracticable; for one of them hapening only to look abroad a little, it was interpreted that he intended to fly, and had like to be kill'd, being much hurt. The Lord of those Parts being acquainted, that they had attempted to escape, sent for, and confin'd them to a Shed there was in the midst of his Village, for Cattel; but thinking that too good a Lodging, at his Departure the next Day, order'd them to be remov'd to a worse. Being on the Way, F. Jerom Lobo went before to beg of the said Lord, that they might continue in their first Apartment, but was fain to wait half a Day, before he could speak to him, he being then very busie about discovering a mighty Treasure his Monks told him lay under a vast Stone, which when turn'd up, they assur'd him a great Stream of Gold would run out, till it met with another of Water, that ran about half a League from it. The Fable of this Treasure was very ancient, and imported, that the said Treasure had been always guarded by a very dreadful Devil, who as soon as any dug down to a certain Hole, flew out from under the Stone, in such a terrible Storm of Wind, that the Searchers ran away with all Speed, cursing the Devil, and his Treasure. But now an old, blind, praying Monk assur'd them, that the said ill condition'd Devil was newly dead, and had left only one Son, who was then very far off, and being lame could not come in haste, and that there was none at that Time but a blind Daughter of his, who since she could not see, minded nothing, and therefore that was the Day to make their Fortune. This was the Business that employ'd the Xumo, when F. Lobo came

to him, who tells us in his Commentaries, that 300 Men were at Work, digging, and labouring to remove the Stone; besides abundance of Monks, and among them the blind one praying heartily, and they had sacrific'd a Black Cow, that the dead Devil might not come to life again. But after all their Toil, and praying, when the Stone was remov'd they had nothing but Weariness for their Pains.

The *Xumo* was much out of Humour, but being told that the Father brought him a present of Value, he admitted him, and granted his Request that they should return to their first Lodging, where the next Day, he search'd their Baggage, and accepted of what they gave him, wondering at their Poverty. Here they receiv'd Advice from the Patriarch, that the Viceroy was coming to *Tygre*, with Orders to carry them down to the Sea, and *F. Lobo's* tread to Court, fearing, that if he went to *India* he would cause a great Fleet to be sent against *Ethiopia*. This Advice being brought on *Low Sunday*, which the *Abyssinians* celebrate with much eating and drinking, the Fathers took the Opportunity of their Guards being dead asleep to give them the Slip, travelling all Night, and lying hid all Day, with much Danger of wild Beasts, but could not escape the Hands of the Lord of a Village, who would have stripp'd them of their very Cloaths, as having nothing else at that time, but that they gave him Security, he should have three Ounces of Gold, as soon as they came to the Place, where the Patriarch was.

The Emperor understanding that the Patriarch, and Fathers were under the Protection of *Joannes Akay*, sent the Viceroy of *Tygre*, to offer him the Command of *Babar-Nagays*, or Governour of the Coast, and other great Advantages, if he would deliver them up to him, or at least to the *Turks* at *Mazua*. He could not withstand this Temptation, and therefore chose to put them into the Hands of the *Turks*. They being inform'd of this Design contriv'd to divide themselves; and one *Cass Mariam*, a powerful Man in the Territory of *Bur*, offering to procure two on his Lands, the Bishop, and *F. Hyacinth Francis* went to him; as did the Fathers *Lewis Cardeyra*, and *Bruno Bruni*, to one *Cantibazara Joannes* an old Friend of theirs in the same Province. There was no time to dispose of any more, for their Protector *Joannes* soon sent them word, that he would obey the Emperor's Orders, yet not in delivering them up to him; but would conduct them to *Mazua*, and desire the *Turks* to grant them free Passage; and accordingly came with the *Azoge Ziero*, who deliver'd the Patriarch a Letter from the Emperor, complaining that he had not obey'd him, in departin

4 Jesuits pro-
sented by E-
thiopia. 1. 2.

his Dominions, and threatening him, if he persisted in his Resolution of staying. In fine they were conducted within a Days Journey, and a half of *Mazua*, and there deliver'd to a *Turkish* Officer, who was waiting for them with about 80 Musketers, and receiv'd them with much Civility, which he continu'd to *Arquico*, where they arriv'd on the 20th of May 1634. Only the Fathers *Francis Rodrigues*, and *John Pereyra* were permitted by *Joannes Akay*, before the Delivery to stay behind in Disguize, to assist the many *Portugueses* there were within his District in *Tygre*. Two deli-
ver'd to the
Turks.

Mazua as has been said, is a small, flat, and open Island, without any Fortification, divided from the Continent of *Ethiopia* by a Channel about a Musket Shot over. There is never a fresh Water Spring in it, nor any but what is gather'd in Cisterns, when it rains, which not being sufficient to serve the Inhabitants, they have it daily brought from certain Wells, on the Continent, near the Sea, and a League and a half from the Island, towards the Mouth of the Red Sea. Near these Wells is the Town we call *Arquico*. The People of *Mazua* not being able to subsist without Water, it is requisite for them to be Masters of *Arquico*, on Account of the Wells, and therefore the *Turks* have there erected a Fort, with four Bastions, and Curtains, but weak, and low, and all the Work seems to be of Stone and Clay, yet supposing it were of Lime and Stone, two Hours Battery would lay it level with the Ground, by reason of its Thinness. On the Bastions, there are some Falconets, and Drakes, sufficient to fright the Natives; but not any that understand the Art of War. The Governour, whom the *Turks* call *Quequea*, has his House adjoining to the Fort; and about it is a Wall of dry Stone, within which the Garrison Soldiers live, being about 60, or 80 white *Turks*, and as many *Arabs*, and Mungrels. Mazua, and
Arquico des-
crib'd.

As soon as the Fathers enter'd this Enclosure, they were receiv'd with Shouts of the Boys, and the rest of the People flock'd to see them, both on Account of their being Strangers, and because they thought every one of them was loaded with Gold, and a mighty Treasure came with them to *Arquico*. Those who were not about alighted at the *Quequea's* Door, and went up immediately to salute him. He receiv'd them in a Room cover'd with Carpets, sitting on a Step rais'd above the rest, and leaning on a Cushion of half Brocade of *Mosca*, being himself a Man of a middle Stature, pretty gross, with a long Beard, a grave Countenance, a Fierce Aspect, and worse in Conditions, as the Fathers found by Experience. His Velt was of fine Cloath, and on his Head a large Turbant of very fine Muslin. Usage of the
Jesuits at
Arquico.

They all came in barefoot, as is the Custom, and touching the Points of his Fingers kiss'd their own Hands. He bid them sit down on the Carpet, enquir'd about their Journey, and gave fair Words, promising free Passage for *India*. All these Ceremonies tended to draw from them those mighty Heaps of Gold, Fame had spread abroad, they brought out of *Ethiopia*, and accordingly he had order'd his Guards to search their Goods, whilst he held them in Discourse. They did so, and after all their Labour, found nothing but two Silver Chalicees. The Governour being told, what had appear'd, gave Directions, they should be strictly search'd, in the next Room, and after all nothing appear'd, but two little gilt Crosses, such as Prelates use to wear, and a few Royals in a Purse, which would keep them but a very few Days with good Husbandry. This being too little to satisfy the Avarice of the *Turk*, he sent them away to the *Xabandlar's* House, taking for himself four *Abyssine* Boys, which he said fell to his Share. One of them had been Servant to a Monk, who having been possess'd of many Lands, forsook all to follow the Patriarch. This Monk, being concern'd for the Loss of the Child, which would be bred a *Mahometan*, and not acquainted with the Barbarity of those People, went indifferently to the *Quequea*, and told him, That Boy was born free, and could not be made a Slave. The *Turk* who was enrag'd to be disappointed of his conceited Treasure, drew his Scymeter and would have cut him in Pieces, had not the Standers by mollify'd him, excusing the Monk's Ignorance. However he caus'd him to be so cruelly bastinado'd, that it had like to cost him his Life.

Barbarity of
a Turk.

That afternoon the Patriarch, and Fathers were hurry'd over to *Mazua*, where the *Amim*, or Chief of the Custom-House, being a better natur'd Man, receiv'd them courteously, and sent them to the Lodgings the *Baneans* had provided. Here they borrow'd 600 Pieces of Eight of the said *Baneans*, which they presented to the *Quequea*, who oblig'd them to give him 600 more, to ransom a *Portuguese* Boy he would have taken away. They continu'd here above a Month, till the *Bassa* of *Suaquem* sent for them, and accordingly they embark'd on the 24th of *June*, on two small Vessels, with a Guard of *Turks*, and spent 45 Days in their Passage, which is generally made in Eight. The first welcome they receiv'd at *Suaquem*, was being told, that the *Bassa* would take no Ransom for them, being resolv'd to send the World of them. However being inform'd, he would quite lose the Trade of *Diu*, if he murder'd them, he demanded 3000 Pieces of Eight for their Ransome, which they not being able to

pay,

pay, he after several Abatements came to 4000, which were bor- They are
row'd, and they provided for their Voyage. When they were ransom'd for
ready to imbarck, he sent Word that only seven should go to *Diu*, 4000 Pieces
and the Patriarch, with the rest remain there till the next Year, of Eight,
which was accordingly done.

The Ship set sail on the 26th of August 1634, and after 92
Days, arriv'd at *Diu*, whence some of them made the best of Arrive at
their Way to *Goa*, to treat about the Patriarch's Ransome, and *Goa*.
making some Provision for Ethiopia. They propos'd to the Viceroy
Don Michael de Noronha, Count de *Lombares*, to send 400 *Portu-
guese*, who would easily make themselves Masters of *Suaguer*,
Maxua, and *Arguico*, which last they should Garrison, and it
would be a Curb upon both *Turks*, and *Abyssines*, whence the
Catholicks in those Parts might be protected, and as to Tempora-
als the Custom-House of *Maxua* was worth 1000 Pieces of Eight
a Month, besides that from *Ethiopia* might be had much Wax, F. Lobo im-
bristone abundance, of Hides, and Gold; but all these Pro- barks for
jects came to nothing, and therefore F. *Jerom Lobo* was sent into
Europe to negotiate at *Madrid*, and *Rome*. The Ship which car- Lisbon:
y'd him being one of the finest that was ever built in *Portugal*,
made so much Water, that they were forc'd to run her aground
at *Terra-do-Natal*, on the South Coast of *Africk*, beyond the Cape
of *Good Hope*, where whilst they were endeavouring to save what
they could ashore, she took Fire, and was consum'd.

The Father, and his Companions remain'd on that desert Left seven
shore, seven Months, during all which time, none of them Months on
ly'd, or was sick, so healthy is that Air. They all labour'd the Coast of
hard to build two small Vessels, with what Timber the Sea *Africk*.
brew up, and what they found ashore, each of them 45 foot
Long, about twelve in Breadth, and six in Depth, to attempt
in them to weather the Cape of *Good Hope*. 263 Men embark'd
in those two inconsiderable Vessels, which met with such
Storms, that one of them was soon forc'd ashore again in the
same Place, whence it set out. The other, which they call'd
Nossa Senhora da Natividade, or Our Lady of the Nativity, in
which the Father was, after immense Dangers and Sufferings,
 arriv'd safe at *Angola*, on the 5th of March 1636. Thence the
Father, embarking on another Ship, sail'd over to *Cartagena* in
America, and came thence in a Galeon to *Cadiz*, whence he went
by Land to *Lisbon*, then to *Madrid*, and *Rome*, in all which
Places he obtain'd nothing, but fair Words and Promises, with
which he return'd to *Goa* in 1640. Gets to An-
gola, thence to
Lisbon and
back to Goa.

Ethiopia de- In the mean while *Ethiopia* groan'd under all the Calamities
 trov'd by the it had pretended to dread, on account of Entertaining the Fa-
 Rebels and thers, for notwithstanding their Banishment, the Peasants of
 Gallas. *Lassa*, who before pleaded Religion to countenance their Re-

bellion, grew more formidable, insomuch that they ravag'd
 the greatest Part of the Kingdoms of *Bagameder*, and *Tygre*, as
 far as the high Mountains of *Cemen*. The *Gallas* pierc'd into the
 Heart of the Kingdom of *Gujan*, plundering and driving away the
 Cattel, under the Conduct of *Chyriks*, Son to *Ras Cella Chyris*,
 to revenge the wrongs offer'd to his Father, and defended himself
 from being compell'd to renounce his Religion. *Emana Chyris*,
 Son-in-Law to the same *Ras*, who then Govern'd in *Narea*,
 revolted, and refus'd to pay the usual Tribute to the Emperor.
 At the same Time, the Plague rag'd in the Kingdom of *Dambee*,
 so that the Emperor was forc'd to remove his Court from *Dan-*

Plagues Le-
 eaz, to
 euzt, and
 Famine?

Lybo, whither it pursu'd him, destroying several of his
 Servants, and obliging him to fly thence. Nor did it stop there,
 but spread into the Province of *Ogara*, the High Mountains of
Cemen, that of *Lamalmen*, and over the Plains of *Tygre*. To
 compleat the Miseries of those wretch'd People, such immense
 Multitudes of Locusts spread over the Provinces, as devour'd
 all the Product of the Earth, which was follow'd by so de-
 structive a Famine, as swept away the greatest Part of the Na-
 tives the Pestilence had spar'd.

C H A P. XIII.

Persecution and Slaughter in Ethiopia for Religion. Capucins sent thither murder'd. The Gallas ravage the Kingdom of Tygre. A short Account of Moca, and the Conclusion of this Work.

THE Bishop, and Fathers that remain'd in Ethiopia, could not be so close conceal'd, but that the Emperor had Notice of it, and sent strict Orders to the Viceroy of Tygre to deliver them to the Turks, or put them to Death. *Casta Mariam*, who protect'd the Bishop, and his Companions stood by them at first, but being overcome by threats, he carry'd them towards the Sea, near *Dafalo*, to a dreadful deep Vale, where he left them, in the Custody of some *Moors*, desiring they would relieve them with a little Barley. Here they continu'd till a Portuguese found them almost famish'd, and acquainting *Casta Mariam* with it, he carry'd them to his own House, till tearing the Emperor's displeasure, they were forc'd to fly again. *F. Almeyda* to a thatch'd house, where he lay close a Year, and the Bishop to *F. Rodrigues's* Retreat, which was somewhat easier.

Three others were protect'd by *Tecla Emanuel*, Governour of *Assa*, near *Maegoga*. He being remov'd, and his Brother succeeding in the Place, and being a mortal Enemy to the Fathers, they were oblig'd to remove, and he never ceas'd till he had found the Place where they lay hid, stripp'd them almost naked, kill'd *F. Gaspar Pays*, and three Portuguese Youths, and left the others dangerously wounded, of which Number *F. John Pereyra* dy'd eight Days after, on a Mountain, whither they had been remov'd by some Portuguese. This account is given at large by *F. Bruno Bruni*, the Survivor of them, in a Letter to the General of his Order, and we have a Confirmation of it in an Authentick Instrument, sent over by the Bishop of *Nice*, with the Affidavit of several Witnesses, proving that all these Persons were thus butcher'd in Hatred to the Catholick Faith.

The Patriarch, and two Fathers were still at *Suaquem*, whence they had writ to the French Consul, at *Grand Cairo*, acquainting him with their barbarous Usage, whereupon an Officer of the *Bassa* of *Cairo*, to whom he of *Suaquem* was subordinate, writ

The Patri-
rchran-
som'd for
4000 Pieces
of Eight.

writ to acquaint him, that it might cost his Head, if he did not dismiss them. Upon this Advice he demanded 15000 Pieces Eight for their Ransome, and they offering but 1000, he put them into Irons, where they continu'd till the *Bancans* contracted with the *Bassa* for 4000 Pieces of Eight, which being pay'd, they were dismiss'd, and put aboard on the 24th of April 1695, and in a Month arriv'd safe at *Dia*, whence the Patriarch went immediatly to *Goa*, to sollicite for *Ethiopia*, tho' without any Success.

Others put to
Death for
Religion.

To return to *Ethiopia*, the Persecution ran as high as ever there, and six noted *Ethiopians* were cruelly put to death, for professing the *Roman Faith*. In the Year 1638, the Bishop of *Nice*, and the two Fathers his Companions were deliver'd up by their Protector *Joannes Akay*, to the Emperor's Officers, who conducted them to Court, where they were condemn'd to Death, but their Sentence chang'd into Banishment, which their Enemies not bearing, after many Suffering, they were all hang'd.

Capucins
sent to Ethi-
opia.

The News of what had happen'd in *Ethiopia* being brought to *Rome*, and some Persons representing that what those People had done, only proceeded from their Hatred to the *Portugueses*, they sent six *French Capucines*, with Passes from the *Great Turk*, to make their Passage into *Ethiopia* several Ways. Two of them attempted it by the Coast of *Magadoxo*, and *Pate*, on the East-side of *Africk*, where they had not travell'd up the Country many Leagues, before they were murder'd by the *Cafres*. The other four went through *Egypt* to *Suaquem*, two of whom pass'd no farther than *Mazna*, being there inform'd of what had befallen the other two, who ventur'd before into *Ethiopia*. Those two being *F. Agashangelus* of *Vendosme*, and *F. Cassianus* of *Nants*, enter'd the Kingdom of *Tygre* in the Habit of *Arabian Merchants*, where they were soon seiz'd, and sent Prisoners to Court, and there being examin'd, and owning what they were, immediately ston'd to Death.

Ston'd to
Death.

Two Jesuits
that had lain
conceal'd
king'd,

The two Fathers *Lewis Cardeyra*, and *Bruno Bruni* were still in *Ethiopia*, under the Protection of *Abeto Xa Mariam*, *Xumo*, and Lord of *Temben*, one of the best Territories in the Kingdom of *Tygre*. This great Man, withstood all the Emperor's Promises, and slighted his Threats, disappointing all the cunning Machinations of his Enemies to destroy him, for defending those Religious Men; till after many brave, and honourable Exploits perform'd against the Viceroy, who besieg'd him, with all his Forces, and was kill'd by him, he was safely slain by some of the Enemies, that surpriz'd him alone, and spent with

Fa.

Fatigue. The News of his Death was soon brought to *Amba Salama*, which signifies the Holy Mountain, where he secur'd the Fathers, yet was not believ'd in three Months, till a Priest came from *Lafa*, with the Confirmation of it. The Inhabitants of this Mountain were all so Zealous, that they resolv'd to perish, rather than forsake their Spiritual Directors, and accordingly endur'd the utmost Extremities of Want, both of Provisions, and Water, till they all look'd more like Shadows than Men. Thus they all continu'd on the Mountain till the following *March 1640*, being above a Year and a half after the Death of their Protector, who was kill'd, as has been said above. During this Time, the Emperor never ceas'd trying all means to destroy them, and offering fair Conditions for them to quit the Mountain, which they never would regard, well knowing, he valu'd not what he promis'd, being resolv'd not to perform it, till finding it impossible to subsist any longer in that Place, they were forc'd to condescend, the Emperor swearing, he would not oblige them to depart *Ethiopia*, but would assign them a Place, where they might live in Safety, with all the Catholics that were on the Mountain. Notwithstanding this Solemn Engagement, as soon as the two Fathers came down from the Mountain, they were carry'd to a Neighbouring Town, where a Fair was kept that Day, and there hang'd in the Sight of a Multitude of People.

The Death of these Fathers was immediately follow'd by an Irruption of the *Gallas*, into the Kingdom of *Tygre*, a great Part whereof they laid waste. The Emperor sent one of his Sons, with the greatest Part of his Army against them, who being joyn'd by the Chief *Saentes*, so they call the Lords of Lands in *Tygre*, gave those Infidels Battel, near the Place, where the aforelaid Fair had been kept, and was himself kill'd, with the *Babar Nagadi*, *Tecla Salas*, the *Xumo Robel*, and the whole Army defeated. The *Gallas*, encourag'd by this Success, return'd the next Year, 1641, with a greater Power, destroying most of the Provinces of this Kingdom, viz. Those of *Terta*, *Sera*, *Tamben*, *Sorte*, *Agamea*, *Anzen*, *Amba*, *Canete*, *Fixo*, *Maegoga*, *Debaroa*, *Angana*, and others, and piercing as far as *Decano*, which we call *Arquico*, the Turkish Fort, and had thought of possessing themselves of it, but drew off when the Balls began to fly among them. These Judgments were so heavy, that even the Emperor's Mother, who had been the most violent Enemy to Catholick Religion, and his Brother *Gladis*, look'd upon them as such, and advis'd him to return to it, to prevent the utter Ruin of the Empire; but his Heart was hardned.

Miseries of
Ethiopia.

These Accounts we receiv'd in several Relations sent us from *Ethiopia*, and *Mazua*, and by Information the two *Capucins* above mention'd took at the said Town of *Mazua*, from several *Abyssines* both *Catholicks* and *Schismaticks*.

Wretched
Country about
Moca.

The Patriarch in *India* never ceas'd trying all Expedients to send some *Jesuits* into *Ethiopia*, knowing that all those he had sent there were dead. The *Bassa* of *Suaquem* was tamper'd with, by means of a rich Present, and offer'd mighty Matters, but was found to do it, only in Order to extort Money from those Fathers, if they had come, being corrupted by the Emperor of *Ethiopia* with a Bribe of 100 Oqueas, which amount to 1000 Pieces of Eight. *Antony Almeida*, upon a Pass sent by the *Aga* of *Moca*, giving Leave for *Jesuits* to go thither, went, to attempt a Passage that Way, in *March* 1643, and return'd in *September* following. He declar'd that Country is still worse than *Mazua*, being so hot that it resembles an Oven, so that there is not a Tree to be seen, nor any sort of Green, nor so much as a River, or Spring, or any Water but of one Well, which is half a League from the Town, and that rather Salt than Brackish. The Houses are very inconvenient, little, and low, and all moulder away into Salt Dust, because the Clay they are made of is moulded with Sea Water. As bad as this Place is, it was formerly much frequented, as being a Port to which the Commodities of *India* were brought, and therefore resorted to by Caravans of Merchants from all Parts of the Lesser *Asia*, or *Natolia*. However since the *Arabs* recover'd that Country from the *Turks*, the aforesaid Caravans failing, the *India* Commodities were not brought, because there was no Vent for them, and consequently Trade ceasing, the Town is gone to Decay, as is that of *Diu*, and others that formerly engros'd the Commerce of the *Red Sea*.

In *March* 1648, two *Italian*, and one *French Capucin* were beheaded at *Suaquem*, by Order of the *Bassa*, at the Inttigation of the Emperor of *Ethiopia*, who solicited him to commit that Murder: Their Heads were head, and the Skins, stuffed with Straw, sent to the Emperor, as a Testimony, that his Will had been perform'd, and to procure the promis'd reward. This Account we receiv'd in a Letter of *F. Torquatus Parisiano*, an *Italian*, sent by our Patriarch, in the Habit of an *English* Man, aboard a Ship of that Nation, from *India* to *Suaquem*, to consult there, about the Affairs of *Ethiopia*, with those Fathers. After touching at *Moca*, they made over to *Daler*, the largest of all the Islands in the *Red Sea*, being twelve Leagues in Length, and proceeding on their Voyage very slowly, because
of

f the many Shoals, anchor'd at a place called *Xaba*, whence they sent to acquaint the *Bassa* with their arrival, at which he joyc'd, because of the Profit he expected, and return'd a Boat with fresh Provisions. On the 7th of *May* 1648, the Ship came to an Anchor at *Suaquem*, where the Father Landing among the *English* could hear no News of the *Capucins*, the *Bassa* having forbid all Persons, on Pain of Death, to discover that he had murder'd them. At last the Chief of the *English* told him, how inhumanly they had been butcher'd by the *Bassa*, desiring he would go aboard the Ship, for Fear of the like Fate, since he could not possibly succeed in what he came about, and might do him much Harm, if discover'd. The *Bassa* desiring to enquire particularly into the Strength of the Ship, the *English*, who suspected that Infidel might have some Design to seize, went all aboard, and making merry, fir'd their Guns at every Health, to shew the *Turks* they were ready to receive them. This done, they went ashore, to shew themselves, without suspecting the Father to land, for Fear of any Disaster, and so returned again to their Ship, and in her to *India* in the Year 1649.

All other Means failing, the Patriarch sent one of the *Abyssinians* he had brought with him, and a *Banean*, both of them Catholics, hoping the one, as a Native, might be permitted to pass into *Ethiopia*, and the other find more Favour among his Country Men the *Baneans*. They sail'd from *Diu* in *March* 1651, and touching at *Moca*, in *Arabia*, stay'd there till *August*; the reason whereof was this. The *Bassa* of *Suaquem*, who is Commander in chief of all that Coast of *Ethiopia*, kept a Galley cruizing in that Sea, in which there were 60 Christians, all *Plunders*, at the Oar, who breaking loose one Night, slew all the *Turks*, and to be reveng'd on those People, play'd the Pyrates, without sparing any thing they met on either Coast. But they prov'd too bold, for the King of *Arabia* hearing of them, fitted out some Vessels, which boarded, and took them, after a brave Defence. The Men were all put to Death, and the Galley restor'd to the *Bassa*. He flying into a Passion, sent the King Word, that he ought to have restor'd him his Slaves, and not have kill'd them; for he knew how to punish them himself; and since he had been so hasty, as to put them to Death, he should give him 250 Crowns a Man for them, or he would make Reprisals on his Ships, and ravage all the Coast of *Arabia*. The King laugh'd at his Message, sending him for an Answer, That he might begin when he pleas'd, for he had his Revenge in his Hands, and he would cut him off all the Trade of *India*.

The *Turk* hearing his Message, went away to *Mazua*, and vented his Spleen on the Inhabitants of that Place, Robbing and Killing those that were no way concern'd. This Breach with *Arabia* was the Occasion that none pass'd from *Arabia* to *Mazua*, or *Suaquem*, and detain'd the *Abyssine* and *Banean* there six Months. Here they receiv'd News from *Ethiopia*, that the new *Abuna Mark* had been publickly depos'd for his most infamous Life, and another, whose Name was *Michael*, sent from *Egypt*.

The *Turks* and *Arabs* being reconcil'd, the *Banean* and *Ethiopian*, in *October* pass'd over to *Mazua*, and thence proceeded to *Engana*, which is two Days Journey farther, sending Letters to *F. Bernard Nogueyra*, the Patriarch's Vicar General, to meet them there with all Speed. This Father had been appointed Vicar General, by the Patriarch, after the Death of all the others, and was put to Death for the Profession of his Faith. Here *F. Tellez* concludes his Historical Account of the Travels of the *Jesuits*, and the Affairs of *Ethiopia*, reaching to the Year 1654, what hapened afterwards we shall have from the *Capucins*, who succeeded in that Mission, and have publish'd their Relation in *Spanish*.

F I N I S.

THE CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

- P. 1. *Of the Name of*
after John, Vulgarly gi-
o the Emperor of Ethiopia.
Occasion of that Mistake,
the Proper Name of this
re. Page 1.
2. *Of the Countres com-*
mended under this Empire of
Tinia, or the upper Ethi-
what Kingdoms now be-
to it, and the Extent and
is of some of them. p. 6.
3. *Of the River Nile,*
Source is in Ethiopia, of
reat Lake of Dambea, and
the said River runs through
d continues its Course to
Egypt. p. 12.
4. *Of the Cataracts, and*
overflowing of the Nile,
the Opinions of the An-
concerning them; as
the other Rivers of E-
ia, and particularly of the
x, Zebec, Haoax, and
). p. 17.
5. *Showing that the L-*
Meroe, which Authors
n Ethiopia is the King-
Gojam, where the Nile
p. 22.
- Chap. 6. *Of the Red Sea, which*
leads into this Ethiopia, and
the Reasons, why it is so call'd.
p. 25.
- Chap. 7. *Of the Climate, the*
prodigious high Mountains, the
Fertility, Trees and other Pro-
ducts of Ethiopia; and of the
several Sorts of Animals, both
Wild and Tame. p. 29.
- Chap. 8. *Of the several Sorts*
of People in this Empire of their
Features, Inclinations, and
Habits, and of some of their
Customs, as to Eating, their
Marriages, and Behaviour to-
wards the Dead. p. 38.
- Chap. 9. *Of the Customs ob-*
serv'd by the Abyssine Em-
perors of keeping their Sons in
the Fortrefs of Amba Guexen;
the Description of that Place,
and the Ceremonies us'd in tak-
ing them out from thence to be
promoted to the Throne. p. 45.
- Chap. 10. *The manner how these*
Emperors take and declare
their Empreſſes, and of the Go-
vernment of the Abyssine Em-
pire. p. 50.
- Chap. 11. *Of the Abyſſinian*
Soldiery, and the manner of
their

The CONTENTS.

- their Camp; of the City Aczum; and other Towns and Buildings; and of the Revenues, and Taxes of this Empire. p. 56.
- Chap. 12. Wherein a short Account is given of the Gallas who are at present the greatest Enemies of the Abyssinians. p. 64.
- Chap. 13. How the Abyssinians came to the Knowledge of the true God by means of the Queen of Sheba, who went to see Solomon, and of the Son she had by him; with an Account of what seems to be real, and what fabulous, touching the coming of that Queen, and her Son by him. p. 68.
- Chap. 14. of the Emperors that reign'd in Ethiopia after Solomon's Son, and particularly of one call'd Lalibela. p. 74.
- Chap. 15. At what time and in what manner the Knowledge of the Faith of Christ was brought into Ethiopia; a Proof of it out of the Ethiopian Books; a farther Confirmation of it. p. 77.
- Chap. 16. At what time the Monastical Life began in Ethiopia; with an Account of the Holy King Kaleb. p. 88.
- Chap. 17. At what time Tecla Haymanot flourish'd, who much dilated the Monastical Life in Ethiopia, of the manner of living of those Ethiopian Religious Men, and particularly of the Habit they wear; and on Account of some Monasteries. p. 95.
- Chap. 18. At what Time the first Innovation in Religion happen'd in Ethiopia, and of the many Errors and great Schism of the Abyssines. p. 101.
- Chap. 19. An Account of the Abuna who is the Ethiopian, Bishop. Of what sort of Clergymen they have; and of their Vestments, and Ceremonies of the Mass. p. 105.

BOOK II.

- CHAP. 1. Of the first Discoveries of Ethiopia by Land and Sea; of the Empress Helen, and a magnificent Church she built; Embassies between Ethiopia and Portugal, and some other Particulars. p. 112.
- Chap. 2. The great Havock made in Ethiopia by the Moor Granhe; the Emperor David craves aid of the King of Portugal; David dies, and is succeeded by Claudius; Don Christopher de Gama comes to his Assistance with 400 Men, and twice defeats the Infidels. p. 118.
- Chap. 3. The last Battel, in which Don Christopher was defeated, his Death; the Portugueses who escap'd the Slaughter, joyn the Emperor Claudius, and rout some of Grande's Commanders; how that Infidel was routed, and kill'd; what hapened after this Victory, and how the Emperor slighted the Portugueses. p. 125.
- Chap. 4. How the Portugueses

The CONTENTS.

- gueses lived in Ethiopia, after what has been said above; King John the third is for sending a Patriarch thither; some Jesuits set out for that Mission; an Embassy sent into Ethiopia proves unsuccessful. p. 131.
- Chap. 5.** Don John Nunez Barreto, the new Patriarch, arrives at Goa, and the Bishop Don Andrew de Oviedo goes into Ethiopia; how he was receiv'd by the Emperor Claudius; the Death of that Monarch; Adamas Segued succeeds, his Tyrannical Government, and Overthrow. p. 137.
- Chap. 6.** Persecution under the Emperor Adamas Segued; Brother Fulgentius Freyre sent from India taken by the Turks; F. Andrew Gualdames attempting to go into Ethiopia, kill'd by those Infidels; the Death and Character of the Patriarch and his Companions. p. 144.
- Chap. 7.** The Fathers Anthony de Monserrate and Peter Pays appointed at Goa to go into Ethiopia; they are taken at Dhofar, and sent Prisoners to the King of Xael, then to the Bassa of Yemen, in Arabia Felix. An Account of what they saw in that Country and their Captivity. p. 159.
- Chap. 8.** The remaining Part of the Captivity of the Fathers, till they were ransom'd; some farther Account of Arabia Felix. F. Abraham de Georgijs sent to Ethiopia, put to Death by the Turks; F. Belchior de Sylva goes safe into Abyssinia; a Colledge of Jesuits founded for that Mission at Diu. p. 156.
- Chap. 9.** F. Peter Pays finds means to get into Ethiopia. What Emperors succeeded in that Empire, after Malac Segued; the Emperor Za Danguil's Victories. p. 161.
- Chap. 10.** F. Peter Pays goes to the Emperor's Court, where he is receiv'd with great Honour, says Mass and Preaches before the Emperor; that Monarch writes to the Pope and King of Spain, and resolves to embrace the Catholick Faith. p. 167.
- Chap. 11.** The great Conspiracy against the Empire Za Danguil, what Method he took; fights the Rebels and is kill'd; four other Fathers arrive in Ethiopia; Socinius proclaim'd Emperor, takes the Name of Sultan Segued; the Behaviour of the Traitor Za Zelasse. p. 170.
- Chap. 12.** Socinius forsaken by the Abyssines and Jacob enthron'd; he moves to fight Socinius and is deserted by the Traitor Za Zelasse; Jacob is kill'd; Socinius Emperor his Character; the End of Za Zelasse and Ras Athanateus; the Emperor's Affection to the Fathers. p. 176.
- Chap. 13.** The Fathers going to Court are treated by the Emperor at Dinner, the Description of his Table; he writes

The CONTENTS

China. The Emperor re-
turns out of Tyre; the Vi-
scount arrests the Emperor's
son, who is taken and imprison-
ed. The Emperor's son obtains
freedom by the aid of
p. 185.

/ BOOK III

Chap. 2. The Swiss, and
the Pope, agree: the King
for the Kingdom of Cyprus,
and for the Holy Land: the
Pope for the King: De-
signing to give the Kingdom
and the Holy Land to the
Pope: manner of the E-
lecting a King: and the Pa-
pers relating to the Holy

Chap. 4. *Continued*: about Religion. F. Fays builds the Emperor a Palace, after the European manner. A Conspiracy is made to murder the Prince. The Rebels vanquish.

Chap. 6. *The Travels of F. Emanuel d' Almeyda, and three others, from Bazaim in India, to the Emperor of Ethiopia's Court.* p. 213.

Chap. 8. The Patriarch Do-
Alphonso Mendez's Letter
giving an Account of his Voy-
age from Goa to Baylur, an-
his Journey by Land thence
Fremonts.

Chap. 12. *A New Bishop com-
ing into Ethiopia, Troubles and
Rebellions; a great Victory &c.*

The CONTENTS.

by the Emperor ; he
 Liberty of Conscience, and
 the Manner of his Fun-
 d. Cruelty of his Son and
 cesser Faciladas. p. 238.

11. Persecution of Catho-
 The Patriarch and Fa-
 banished to Frelimona.
 of the latter sent away to
 Their Journey and Voy-
 and a particular Descrip-
 of the City of Adem.
 p. 245.

12. The Patriarch and

Fathers dispers'd, most of them
 deliver'd to the Turks who
 put them to Ransom. Some pass
 over to Goa. One sent to
 Lisbon. Plague, Famine and
 War in Ethiopia. p. 252.

Chap. 13. Persecution and
 Slaughte in Ethiopia for
 Religion. Capucins sent thither
 murder'd. The Gallas ravage
 the Kingdom of Tygre. A short
 Account of Moca, and the
 Conclusion of this Work
 p. 259

THE INDEX.

A

- A** Byssinia, p. 7. *vid.* Ethio:
pia.
- Abyssines good Soldiers. p. 56.
Easily renounce their Faith.
p. 118.
Their Politick Fear. p. 136
- Abraham, an Ethiopian Saint.
p. 78
- Abunas, or Bishops, only one in
Ethiopia. p. 105.
Their Ignorance, Function, and
Manner of giving Absolution.
p. 106.
Their Revenues. They have no
Particular See. p. 108.
Encourage Rebellion. p. 171.
Excommunicate Catholics.
p. 205.
- Accidents that overthrew Reli-
gion. p. 236.
- Action with Rebels of Latta.
p. 240.
- Aezum, or Auxum Town.
p. 59.
- City and Temple. p. 71.
- Adem City describ'd, and how it
declin'd. p. 248.
Taken by the Arabs; its Situa-
tion. 249.
- Gates, Strength and Fertility. p. 2.
- Africk, its Division. p. 6.
- Agasus People in two Kingdoms.
p. 209.
- Their Customs, Habits and
Conversion. p. 210.
- Alexander Emperor. p. 114.
- Alexandrian Faith restor'd.
p. 242.
- F. Alvarez contradicted. p. 51.
- Amadmagdo Plains of great Fer-
tility. p. 34.
- Amahara Kingdom. p. 12.
- Amba Guexen Natural Fortress
describ'd. Its Barrenness. p. 47.
- Ancient Accounts of Ethiopia
false. p. 2.
- Arabia Felix. p. 153.
- The Country of Persians.
p. 70.
- Arms of Ethiopia. p. 71.
- Arquico Port. p. 217.
- Describ'd. p. 255.
- Ascent frightful. p. 32.
- Asinara Country. p. 218.
- Asnaf Segued, or Claudium
Emperor. p. 76.
- Affazum

The INDEX.

de Plant of great Virtue. Cafres, Barbarous People. p. 1918.
ie Wild Ass p. 34.
ateus, a Traytor escapes. Cambaian Friend to Jesuit. p. 250.
Death. p. 171.
Canaan; Capital of Xiomen. p. 155.
Account of it and the Country. p. 157.

B

Kingdom. p. 193.
of Ethiopians. p. 41.
ty of a Turk. p. 256.
(John de) his Mistake
z Ethiopia. p. 8.
us the Island Meroc. p. 22.
z Ethiopia. p. 40.
aten raw in Ethiopia. p. 42.
edes Kingdom in Ethio-
p. 11.
nin his mistake. p. 86.
, or Viceroy of Narea ;
behaviour. p. 193.
des (Don John) Patr
of Ethiopia. Confirm'd at
ie, and sent back. p. 119.
ets. Prime Ministers,
ess'd. p. 54.
of Ethiopia. *vid.*
na.
oes into Ethiopia. p. 137.
Reception at Debaroa. p. 138.
the Emperor's Court. p. 139.
ber gets into Ethiopia. p. 238.
ade of Rushes. p. 15.
of Ethiopians. p. 41.
z. p. 60.
very dangerous. p. 195.

C

Mm 2

Candace Queen, a Story of her. p. 79.
Captivity miserable. p. 157.
Capucins sent into Ethiopia ;
Ston'd to Death. p. 260.
Cataracts, or Falls of the Nile. p. 17.
Noise of them. p. 18.
Cathay not found. p. 5.
Catholicks persecuted. p. 205.
Cattel. p. 35. and 218.
Caves very remarkable. p. 94.
Cerca Christos rebels, is taken,
and executed. p. 239.
Ceremonies ridiculous. p. 184.
Chains of Mountains. p. 33.
Charity of a Turk. p. 157.
Children taught their Catechism. p. 164.
Churches hew'd out of solid Rocks. p. 77.
Of Monks. p. 99.
Built. p. 114, 184. 212, and 234.
Wealth and Beauty of one. p. 115.
Circumcision us'd in Ethiopia. p. 105.
Claudius, or Asnaf Segued Em-
peror. p. 76.
His Attendance and good
Qualities. p. 139.
Is defeated and kill'd. p. 141.
Clergy of Ethiopia marry'd and
poor. p. 109.
Cum.

The INDEX.

Commands all fold in Ethiopia. p. 53.
Confession how us'd in Ethiopia. p. 107.
Consent of Ethiopians and Europeans about the Conversion of the former. p. 83.
Conspiracy against the Emperor. p. 207.
Conspirators rebel; march against the Emperor; are routed and slain. p. 208.
Controversy about Religion. p. 135 and 140.
Conversions. p. 235, and 240.
Coronation in Ethiopia. p. 49, and 184.
Cosmography improv'd. p. 1.
Cotton. p. 34.
Covillam and Payva in Ethiopia. p. 113.
Court removes. p. 188.
Crown of Ethiopia. p. 185.
Cruel Custom. p. 200.
Cruelty of the Emperor Faciladas. p. 244.
Curia Muria Islands describ'd. p. 151.

D

Dambee Kingdom. p. 11.
Dambee Lake, wrong Names given it, and Islands in it. p. 15.
Gathering of Waters in it. p. 16.
Dancaly, its King. p. 227.
His poor Equipage and Behaviour. p. 228.
Dancaz Territory. p. 220.
David Emperor. p. 114.
Deacons of Ethiopia. p. 109.
Death of Jesuits. p. 149.
Dobra Libanos, and Debra Al-

lelo Monasteries. p. 10.
Declaration of the Ethiopian Faith. p. 1.
Depteras, their mad Ceremonies. p. 10.
Desert, a large one. p. 152 and 155.
Difficulties about the Conversion of Ethiopia reconcil'd. p. 83.
Discipline, none in Ethiopia. p. 57.
Disorders of the Army. p. 58.
Disposition of Ethiopians, good. p. 39.
Divorces allow'd in Ethiopia. p. 43.
Dofar Port. p. 214.
Drinking after Meals. p. 182.
Duties perform'd to the Dead. p. 44.

E

Eating, Manner of it in Ethiopia. p. 42.
Elephants. p. 36.
Elesbaan King of Ethiopia, otherwise call'd Kaleb. a. 9.
Embassador of Ethiopia sent for Portugal. p. 19.
His Progress. p. 19.
Is set upon. p. 20.
Is stopp'd; sends to the Emperor; proceeds to Alaba. p. 20.
Stopp'd there, forced back to Ethiopia. p. 20.
Narrowly escapes being robbed, conducted safe by a Galla. p. 20.
Embassy from Portugal and from Ethiopia. p. 11.
Emperors of Ethiopia how they march. p. 78.

The INDEX.

- many there were of them p. 74.
 our Saviour. p. 75.
 in their Dominions. p. 129.
 of the Daughters of Ma-
 jans and Pagans. p. 51.
 of Ethiopia's Title; the
 her honour'd. p. 52.
 ng, the Manner of it. p. 57.
 from. p. 35.
 ment made by the Em. p. 51 and 181.
 discover'd. p. 32.
 iopians. p. 41, and 242.
 Baptism and Penance p. 104.
 discover'd Its Name. p. 2.
 wal Names. p. 5.
 Ethiopia's. p. 6.
 by call'd the Upper. Its
 and Breadth. p. 7.
 North and South. p. 8.
 us in. its wrong Nam'd.
 c'd. What Kingdomes
 ly in it. p. 9.
 st Country converted.
 rfectly. p. 80.
 converted according to.
 p. 81.
 its own Books. p. 82.
 idia. p. 84 and 87.
 lly converted. p. 87.
 g is continu'd Orthodox,
 Reunion to Rome. p. 102.
 it. p. 120.
 where p. 162.
 l by the Rebels and
 Plagues, Locusts and
 p. 258.
 p. 261.
 call'd by the Emperor
 p. 52.
- Obtinate p. 73.
 Exasperated by the Portuguese. p. 103.
- F
 Fables about the Island' Metroe. p. 23.
 Concerning the Ark of the Co-
 venant. p. 69.
 Fabulous Stories. p. 72.
 Notion of hidden Treasure. p. 253.
 Faciladas Emperor of Ethiopia. p. 7.
 Murders 24 of his Brothers. p. 244.
 Takes the Name of Sultan
 Segued. p. 245.
 Famine. p. 258.
 Fasting of Monks. p. 98.
 Fertility of Ethiopia. p. 34.
 Frankincense. p. 215.
 Fremona Town. p. 10. and 219.
 Freyre (Brother Fulgentius) sent
 into Ethiopia. p. 144.
 Taken by Turks and ransom'd.
 p. 148.
 Fruits. p. 34.
 Frumentius Governs Ethiopia. p. 81.
 Is made Bishop and converts
 Ethiopia. p. 82.
 Call'd Abba Salama. p. 85.
 Funeral Obsequies. p. 150.
 Of an Emperor. p. 243.
- G.
 Gallas, where they live; sup-
 pos'd to be Jews. p. 64.
 Their first coming into Ethi-
 opia, Conquests, and Barbarity. p. 65.
 Manner of living; Policy to
 defend themselves; Cruelty to
 their.

The INDEX.

- their Children, and good Qualities.* p. 66.
Their Weapons, Horsemanship, Resolution and Government. p. 67.
Irruption made by them. p. 165
Gama (Don Christopher de) in Ethiopia with 400 Portuguese. p. 120.
Gains an impregnable Mountain. p. 121.
His two Victories. p. 122.
Blocks up Granhe and gains a strong Mountain. p. 123.
Is attack'd. p. 125.
Routed and beheaded. p. 126.
Ganeta Jesus. p. 220.
General of Monks. p. 99.
Geographers, their Mistakes. p. 8.
Georgijs (F. Abraham de) design'd for Ethiopia. p. 158.
Arrives at Mazua and is put to Death. p. 159.
Gingiro Kingdom, how that King gives Audience. p. 195.
His Presents to a Jesuit. p. 196.
The Kingdom describ'd; its King; his foolish State, and Ceremonies at his Coronation. p. 197.
His enthroning, and Burial of the dead King. p. 198.
His Favorites kill'd and House burnt, the new Palace. p. 199.
He sells and gives his own Subjects as Slaves. p. 200.
Giratacachem strange Beast. p. 37
Gojam Kingdom. p. 11.
Gold in Ethiopia. p. 33.
Granhe, the Moor, invades Ethiopia. p. 118.
Is twice routed. p. 122.
Reinforc'd. p. 124.
Defeated and kill'd. p. 128.
Great Men in Ethiopia all Decons. p. 52.
Fed by others p. 82.
Greece call'd Rum. p. 90.
Gualdames (F. Andrew) murder'd by the Turks. p. 145.
Guca Mountain. p. 33.
- ## H
- Habit of Ethiopians.* 40 and 232.
Of Monks. p. 97.
Hadramut Province. p. 154.
Hair how dress'd in Ethiopia. p. 41.
Haoax River. p. 21.
Helen Empress of Ethiopia. p. 113.
Heynan City. p. 152.
Histories of the Ethiopians. p. 68.
Theirs and the Europeans agree. p. 92.
Homely Service at the Emperor's Table. p. 181.
Horse of Ethiopia. p. 57.
Horses. p. 35.
- ## I
- Jacob declar'd Emperor.* p. 163.
Forsaken, flies, is taken and imprison'd. p. 164.
Proclaim'd Emperor again, and offers to compound with Socinists. p. 176.
Is routed, and kill'd. p. 177.
Jesuits, 12 sent into Ethiopia. p. 133.
Build a House at Dia. p. 160.
Two get into Ethiopia, and 3 others escape narrowly. p. 173.
Lands given them for ever. p. 180.
2 come into Ethiopia. p. 212.

The INDEX.

- into Ethiopia. p. 213.
 as Dofar. p. 214.
 red by a Bassa, their Pre
 o him. p. 236.
 Reception in Ethiopia. p. 219.
 mers. p. 220.
 ire go to Ethiopia. p. 221.
 Melinder returns to India;
 Death at Zeyla. p. 222.
 rger into Ethiopia. p. 235.
 and robb'd. p. 245.
 l; arrive safe at Fre-
 sent away before. p. 246.
 me to the Coast; sail for
 arrive at Adem; are
 d and cruelly m'd. p. 247.
 mbaiian Friend to them. p. 251.
 land embark for. Diu. p. 251.
 haps sent to the Sea. p. 252.
 withdrew to a Mountain,
 E confin'd. p. 253.
 scape; 4 protected by E-
 ans. p. 254.
 lollow'd to the Turks. p. 255.
 usage at Arquico. p. 255.
 Staquem. p. 256.
 d, and arrive at Goa. p. 257.
 in Ethiopia disfire'd;
 order'd, others wounded. p. 259.
 sent to death, 2 hang'd. p. 260.
 Ethiopia. p. 38.
 of Ethiopians. p. 103.
 Camp the only City in
 pia. p. 60.
 represents the Emperor
 his Disguise and Arts. p. 182.
 Three Times routed. p. 183.
 Hides in a Cave. p. 185.
 Taken and executed. p. 186.
 Indian Woman Captive. p. 153.
 Instance of Confession. p. 197.
 Invasion. p. 235.
 Inundation of the Nile, the Rea-
 sons of it, and extravagant
 Notions about it. p. 18 and 19.
 Johnson's Maps, the Errors in
 them. p. 9, and 10.
 Iron in Ethiopia. p. 34.
 Islands, a Chain of them. p. 215.
 Judistal, proceedings. p. 55.
- ### K
- Kaleb, or Elesbaan, King of
 Ethiopia. p. 92.
 Gains a Victory and becomes a
 Monk. p. 93.
 Kings of Ethiopia, how call'd. p. 5.
- ### L
- Lakibela; a famous Emperor;
 reckoned a Saint. p. 77.
 Lamalmon Mountain. p. 32.
 Lamentations for the Dead. p. 44.
 Lands, all at the Emperor's Dis-
 posal. p. 53.
 Languages of Ethiopia. p. 39.
 Latta Rebels, Actions with them. p. 240.
 Rout the Imperialists and are
 routed. p. 241.
 Lawyers, none in Ethiopia. p. 39.
 Lead in Ethiopia. p. 34.
 Letter to the Pope from the Empe-
 rer of Ethiopia. p. 169.
 Liberty of Conscience. p. 240.
 Liquor of Ethiopia. p. 43.
 Lobo (Fr.) embarks for Lisbon;
 his

The INDEX.

*Left 7 Months on the Coast of
Africk, Gets to Angola, thence
to Lisbon and back to Goa.*
p. 257.
Leonts. p. 234. and 258.

M

Ma'ga Territory. p. 219.
Mahometans in Ethiopia. p. 39.
Malac Segued Emperor. p. 145.
Leaves the Crown to Za Danguil
p. 163.
Marching, the manner of it.
p. 58.
Mareb River. p. 22.
Maronites. p. 158.
Manquer, a perfidious Ethiopian.
p. 201.
His Death. p. 204.
Marriages of Ethiopia. p. 43.
Martyrs, 340 of them. p. 92.
*Mats, Vekwents, Manner and
Hours of saying of it : Wine
and Communion; Hallelujas
at it.* p. 110.
St. Mathew. not in Ethiopia.
p. 80.
Mazua Island. p. 217.
Describ'd. p. 255.
Melquis Town. p. 155.
Mendez (F. Alfonso) Patriarch.
p. 223.
Goes to Dancali; his Company.
p. 224.
*Escapes Dangers at Sea; Ar-
rives at Baylur.* p. 225.
*Is well receiv'd, his troublesome
Journey.* p. 226.
*His Reception by the King of
Dancali.* p. 227.
His hard Fair. p. 228.
Honour done him. p. 229, and
233.

His Accipiter in Ethiopia
p. 232.
Lands and House given him.
p. 234.
Ransom'd for 4000 Pieces of 8.
p. 260.
*Menitehec, Son to the Queen of
Sheba.* p. 69 and 74.
Mercator, Errors in him. p. 16.
*Meroe Island; is the Kingdom
of Gojam.* p. 23.
Confirmation of it. p. 24.
*Minas succeeds Claudius in the
Empire.* p. 141.
Persecutes the Catholics.
p. 142.
Is routed by Rebels. p. 143.
Insults the Bishop. p. 144.
Miseries of Ethiopia. p. 261.
*Mistake in Europe about Pretter
John.* p. 4.
Mistakes of Ancients. p. 30.
Moca, wretched Country down.
p. 261.
Monasteries. p. 98, and 100.
Monks when first in Ethiopia.
p. 88.
Nine famous ones. p. 90.
Succession of them. p. 95.
Their Habit. p. 97.
*Their Rules, Fasting, and
Monasteries.* p. 98.
Their General, and Church
p. 99.
*F. Monferrate design'd for Ethi-
opia.* p. 150.
*Taken by the Moors and sent
to Xael.* p. 151.
Ransom'd. p. 158.
*Mountain Impregnable gain'd by
the Portuguese.* p. 121.
*Mountains, vast ones; serve for
Fortresses; their Shape.* p. 31.
Mules. p. 36.
Multitudes follow the Camp. p. 57.

The INDEX.

N

Emperor. p. 114.
the Advantage of clear-
dom. p. 3.
venly chang'd in Ethiopia.
p. 85.
al given to one Person.
p. 92.
Kingdom, the Way to it.
p. 190.
tion of it. p. 192.
in Ethiopia. p. 38.
River, Mistakes about it.
p. 12.
iver, Search after its
ce. p. 122.
ons concerning it, and its
source. p. 13.
use and Increase; cross-
Lake, and encompassing
kingdom of Gojam. p. 14.
is that fall into it, and
inding Course into Egypt.
p. 16.
is of it's Inundation and
vagant Notions concern-
p. 18.
rofit Source, and over
g discover'd; Impossibility
ring its Course. p. 19.
nation of it. p. 191.
Irregular Proceedings.
p. 147.
of Ethiopian Emperors.
p. 51.

O

Supremacy taken to the
p. 233.
p. 59.
the great ones. p. 55.

Ogat Province p. 235.
Oppression, no Redress against it
p. 53.
Odination in Ethiopia. p. 233.
Oviedo (Don Andrew de)
Patriarch. p. 143.
His Character and Death.
p. 148.

P

Patriarch of Ethiopia withdraws.
p. 131.
Patriarch and Bishop chosen for
Ethiopia. p. 233. *vid Men-*
dez, and Oviedo.
P. Pays design'd for Ethiopia.
p. 150.
Taken by the Moors and sent
to Xael. p. 151.
Ransom p. 158.
Convey'd by a Turk into Ethio-
opia. p. 161.
Comes to Fremona. p. 162.
Sent for to Court. p. 165.
Gains Friends. p. 168.
Builds a Palace. p. 206.
Persecution. p. 245.
Plagues. p. 258.
Plain on a Mountain. p. 32.
Plots. p. 235.
Polygamy allow'd the Ethiopian
Emperors. p. 50.
Portugueses, 400 of them sent to
succour Ethiopia. p. 120.
Their first and 2d Victories;
p. 122.
Those that are scatter'd assen-
ble and joyn the Emperor.
p. 127.
Defeat the Moors. p. 128.
Well rewarded p. 131.
Vicissitudes in their Fortune.
p. 132.
Captives.

N a

The INDEX.

Captives at Variance. p. 156.
Practices about Religion. p. 222.
Preaching propos'd with Force of Arms. p. 178.
Precipices destroy many Men. p. 146.
Prestor John, Mistakes about about him, and where he was. p. 3.
How misplac'd in Ethiopia; now extinct. p. 4.
Priests of Ethiopia. p. 109.
Princes of Ethiopia, why imprison'd. p. 45.
That Custom abrogated. p. 46.
Their poor Dwelling, rigid Refrains, and an Instance of it. p. 48.
How taken out to be enthron'd. p. 178.
Princess very leud. p. 237.
Proclamation for the Catholick Religion. p. 205.

R

Ras Prime Minister in Ethiopia. p. 54.
Ras Celta Christos, the Emperor's Brother converted. p. 189.
Defeats Rebel. p. 222.
Real Presence believ'd by Ethiopians. p. 204.
Rebellion of Cerca Christos. p. 239.
Rebellions in Ethiopia p. 142, 211, 212, and 235.
Rebels, two cut off. p. 185.
One defeated. p. 186.
Oibers routed. p. 237 and 241.
Red Sea describ'd. p. 25.
Its several Names, and Reasons for them. p. 26.
Objections about it answer'd. p. 27.

Its Redness from the Shores from the Bottom; from Red three Colours. p. 2.
Its Redness from Woods. p. 2.
Resemblance between Jews and Ethiopians in Customs. p. 72.
Restitution not enjoy'd in Confession. p. 72.
Restoration of the Right Line in Ethiopia. p. 75.
Revenge and unsteadiness of Ethiopians. p. 39.
Reverence of Ethiopia. p. 61.
Reunion of Ethiopia to Rome. p. 102.
The 2d. p. 103.
Revolutions in Portugal. p. 150.
River Horses. p. 181.
River, a pleasant one. p. 230.
River that fall into the Nile. p. 16.
Rodriguez (F. Gonzalo) in Ethiopia. p. 153.
His Account of Affairs there. p. 134.

Returns to India. p. 134.
Ruffinus, his Error. p. 86.
Rules of Monks. p. 98.
Rum, signifies Greece. p. 90.

S

Sabbath, or Saturday kept by Ethiopians. p. 109.
Sacrament how administer'd. p. 111.
Salt in Ethiopia. p. 34.
Some Red. p. 2.
Sanate Mountain. p. 231.
Saturday forbid to be kept Holy. p. 211.
Schism

The INDEX.

- Ethiopia. p. 102.
 is lashed. p. 103.
 is obstinate. p. 206.
 dangerous to travel. p. 232.
 first. p. 219.
 seen. p. 69.
 is concerning her. p. 70.
 several Names. p. 71.
 brought Judaism into Ethi- p. 72.
 of her. p. 74.
 Ethiopians, born. p. 42.
 or Sultan Segued; his p. 174.
 ; he aspires to the p. 176.
 before Jacob. p. 176.
 'a Zelasse, and his p. 177.
 for Jacob. p. 178.
 the Crown. p. 189.
 l Disposition. p. 190.
 an Ambassador to Por- p. 212.
 es the Catholick Faith. p. 243.
 th and Funeral. p. 54.
 ed. p. 196.
 ay of Crossing a River. p. 37.
 'amelus, a strange p. 217.
 Island. p. 34.
 'ued, vid. Socinios, p. 213.
 'adas. p. 159.
 Belchior da) gets into p. 155.
 'eb Charitable.
- Tabot, an Altar Stone. Rather
 a Chest to lay Mass on. Held by
 the Ethiopians. p. 73.
 Tacaze River. p. 20.
 Tarini City, p. 152.
 Tecla Haymanot, a holy Monk. p. 95.
 Yef, a small Grain. p. 34.
 Tigre Kingdom in Ethiopia. p. 10.
 Time the best Master. p. 29.
 Titles of the Emperor. p. 115.
 Torrid Zone, Temperate Regions
 in it. p. 30.
 Traitor kill'd. p. 212.
 Turkish' reputed Saints. p. 156.
 Turks enter Ethiopia. p. 147.
 Worsted in Arabia. p. 238.
 Two Kings reign jointly. p. 87.
 Tyrius trading to India. p. 84.

V

- Valleys of dreadful Depth. p. 32.
 Vestments at Mass. p. 110.
 Villages and no Towns in Ethi-
 opia. p. 60.
 F. Urreta's History Fabulous. p. 22.
 Condemn'd. p. 50.
 Usurpation in Ethiopia. p. 75.

W

- Water Horses. p. 20.
 Waters a mighty gathering of
 them. p. 16.
 Way into Ethiopia contriv'd. p. 160.
 Ways dangerous. p. 230.
 Weapons of the Abyssinians. p. 58.
 Wicked Policy. p. 47.
 Wild Asst. p. 36.
 Wild Beasts. p. 39.
 Wine.

The INDEX.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Wine, the Want of it.</i> | p. 35. | <i>Za Danguil confin'd.</i> | p. 168. |
| <i>Winters different in Ethiopia.</i> | p. 30. | <i>Made Emperor.</i> | p. 164. |
| <i>Women grind the Corn in Ethiopia.</i> | p. 40. | <i>His Bravery, Rents the Galas twice.</i> | p. 166. |
| <i>Women's Reigns not regarded in Ethiopia.</i> | p. 76. | <i>His Court, Reception of Jesuits, his Person describ'd.</i> | p. 167. |
| <i>Women in Arabia.</i> | p. 154. | <i>Letter to the Pope.</i> | p. 169. |
| | | <i>Is forsaken by many.</i> | p. 171. |
| | | <i>Is defeated and kill'd; his Burial, and Translation:</i> | p. 172. |
| X | | <i>Za Selasse, a Traitor, Conspires with others against the Emperor.</i> | p. 170 and 171. |
| <i>Xael King describ'd.</i> | p. 152 | <i>Submits to the Emperor Socinios.</i> | p. 175. |
| Y | | <i>Revolts again to Jacob.</i> | p. 176. |
| <i>Yemen Kingdom.</i> | p. 154. | <i>Again from Jacob to Socinios.</i> | p. 177. |
| Z | | <i>His many Villanies and deserv'd End.</i> | p. 179. |
| <i>Zabot Village.</i> | p. 218. | <i>Zebec River.</i> | p. 21. and 195. |

MEDITER

RANEAN S

Sea of Algier



10 20 30
Leagues

THE TRAVELS

OF THE

Sieur *MOUETTE*,

In the KINGDOMS of

FEZ and MOROCCO.

During his Eleven Years Captivity in
those Parts.

CHAP. I.

*My Departure from Diep, for the Caribbee Islands in
America, and how I was taken by two Pyrates of
Sale.*

I Set out from *Paris*, on the last Day of *July* 1670. with my
Cousin *Claude Loyer la Garde*, and a Friend of ours, design-
ing for the *West Indies*: Being come to *Diep*, we imbark'd The Au-
there, on the 16th; of *September*, paying 56 Livres each of thor im-
us, for our Passage, on a small Vessel of 120 Tun, and 6 barks.
Guns, call'd the *Royal*, and commanded by *Isaac Beliard* of *Diep*.
After us imbark'd *Madam de la Montagne*, whose Husband had
been Commander of the ancient Inhabitants of the *Island* of *S.*
Christopher, and she was returning thither with the Knight her
Son

B

The Travels of the Sienr Mouette,

Son, and some Men and Women Servants. The same Day the came aboard us a young Gentleman of that Country, who fl Brother whom his Father lov'd entirely.

The Wind coming up at East, in the Evening we set Sail; but about midnight it suddenly veer'd about to South-West, and rising every moment, the Sea run so high, that the Waves often breaking over our Deck, began to frighten. Our Sailers, being us'd to such Storms, laugh'd at us; however the Fury of it still increasing, oblig'd us to leave the Road of Fecam, where we lay upon a Bowling, to get under the Shelter of the English Coast, and came to an Anchor near Rye; but discovering there two Vessels sink, the Tops of whose Masts still appear'd, and the Weather continuing boisterous, it was thought safer to weigh and Sail to the Downs, where we should be better shelter'd from the Wind, which was then come into the West, by the high Hills on the English Coast.

Lands in
in Eng-
land.

There we Land'd, and stay'd four Days ashore. The Wind coming about to North-East and by North, on the first of October, a Fleet of Dutch and Hamburgers bound for the Levant, and the English Blue Squadron, set Sail, with whom we kept Company two Days, enjoying, during that time, the Diversion of the Trumpets, and frequent firing of Guns. Near the Isle of Wight we parted from them, and stood our Course with a fair Wind till the ninth, when the Wind veer'd to the South-West, which was right a Head of us, causing the Sea to run so high, that we were oblig'd till the twelfth to leave our Vessel to the Mercy of the Wind and Waves. One Night when we were all up the Deck, except the Master and Pilot, who were in the Round-house, a Sea breaking in over the Vessel half over-set her, and must have infallibly sunk us, had not Providence so order'd, that another Wave rais'd the Head of her, which was the saving of us. At length, on the thirteenth in the Morning the Storm abated, and a Rainbow appearing, brought fair Weather. The fifteenth about Evening we met three tall Dutch Ships, coming from the Coast of Barbary, where they told us they had burnt some Pyrates, and ask'd whether we had not seen a Flyboat belonging to those Parts, which had escap'd them, and they warn'd us to take heed, for it was not far off. Having saluted one another, each held on their Course.

The next Morning, being the sixteenth, whilst we were at Prayers, a Boy, who was at the Main Top Mast, cry'd out, he saw two Sail a Head of us, and not above two Leagues distant. As we stood towards one another, we soon came within Cannon

by they
ask'd
wer'd
told us,
we need
low his
know the
wer'd by
mak
might

Con
not t
that o
them be
had bet
to by
as
and

the
d,
ch
at
on
d.
and
of
a-
of

the
d,
ch
at
on
d.
and
of
a-
of

the
d,
ch
at
on
d.
and
of
a-
of

the
d,
ch
at
on
d.
and
of
a-
of

the
d,
ch
at
on
d.
and
of
a-
of

st, they bearing *Turkish* Colours, and we putting out ours-
 ey ask'd who we were; and whence we came? and being
 wer'd we came from *Diep*, and were bound for *America*,
 y told us, they were *Algerines*, at Peace with us, and there-
 e we needed not to fear; but that our Captain must go aboard
 show his Pass, and they would be satisfy'd. This was the
 ethod the *Sale* Men us'd to take our Ships, and the same is
 actic'd by the *Algerines* when we are at War with them;
 ick makes them Masters of their Prizes with much ease,
 d might be easily remedy'd, did Men but consider what they

Our Commander being either too credulous, or a Coward, Taken by
 ould not take the Advice of the Pilot and Sailors, who shew'd the *Moors*.
 n, that one of those Vessels was the Flyboat the *Dutch* had
 l him be aware of but the Night before, and therefore said,
 had better defend himself than believe them. He caus'd the
 at to be hoisted out, and taking six of our best Men with him,
 t us, saying, in Case those were Enemies Ships, he would
 row his Hat into the Sea, as a Signal for us to stand upon our
 ard. Instead of so doing, the Villain betray'd us; for ha-
 g contracted strictly for his Vessel, so that he enrich'd him-
 by the loss, instead of performing his Promise, he writ a
 te to the Pilot, bidding him to fear nothing; but to suffer the
Shometans to come aboard, for they would only search, to
 whether we had any Strangers conceal'd. The Pilot obey-
 his Orders, as soon as the *Moors* came aboard, they drew
 Weapons they had conceal'd under their Cloaths, and fell
 on all they met. When I perceiv'd they were in earnest, and
 e no Man offer'd to oppose them, I dropt a Firelock I had,
 or discharging it, and got down as fast as I could into one of
 our Boats, were a Devil of a *Black*, left to take Care of it,
 sently seiz'd me by the Collar, and held a Battle-Axe over
 y Head to scare me: However he made me understand by
 gns, that I should come to no harm, if I would be quiet and
 t him do his Will. Then he took all I had about me of any
 alue, and that done said no more to me.

In the mean while there was a dreadful Havock on the Deck;
 ie *Moors* meeting with no Opposition, kill'd a young *Hugonot*,
 out 13 or 14 Years of Age, shooting him in the Belly: The
 ight of *Malta*, Son to *Madam de Montagne*, had some slight
 ounds with a Cimiter. The Infidels being become our Ma-
 rs, carry'd us over to their Ships, where we were all stripp'd,
 d search'd narrowly, for fear we had conceal'd any Money.
 hen counting 40 of us, great and small, with four Women, they

divided us equally between the two Ships, as they did the rest of the Booty. The Knight, and his Mother remain'd with the *Reys* of *Courtebey*; and my Cousin and I were, with others, carry'd aboard *Mahomet Reys*, Captain of the other Corfair, being Runaway from *Algier*, who had join'd *Courtebey* some Days after the *Dutch* had chac'd the latter, who got clear of them in the Night; for *Courtebey* commanded the Flyboat the *Dutch* had warn'd us to beware of.

Carry'd
to Sale.

As soon as ever we came aboard, ten of us were fetter'd in one Chain. When they had examin'd what was in the Prize, and were satisfy'd, they made back for *Sale*, whence they came. We were in sight of that Place on the 24th of *October*: An *English* Ship, that expected the Return of those Vessels, and then lay at Anchor before the Bar, spying them, immediately set Sail; but having only 50 Men aboard, was satisfy'd with Cannonading, to oblige us to surrender. However the Corfairs came up to the Bar, and endeavour'd to get over it; but it being then Ebb, and the Water too low, put to Sea again, and kept along the Coast. The *English* Man pursu'd so close, and tore them in so many places, that he oblig'd the Pyrate, I was aboard, to run himself and his Prize upon the Rocks, where we had all like to have perish'd. *Courtebey's* Ship by the Favour of the Night, made her escape into the small Port of *Fidella*, 12 Leagues from *Sale*. As we were landing, a young and beautiful *Norman* Maiden Gentlewoman, that came with *Madam de Montagne*, fell into the Sea, as did her Maid: The Christian Seamen hastned to their Relief; yet could only save the Maid, the Mistress having sunk under the Keel of the Vessel; and being drowned, at our coming ashore we found her stark naked on the Sand, the *Moor*s having stripp'd her already.

C H A P. II.

How they sell the Slaves at Sale, and the Description of that Place.

Descrip-
tion of
Sale.

THE *Alcayde*, *Hamet Benyencourt*, Governour of the Castles, and the two Towns of *Sale*, with *Hache Abdelcader Marine*, Intendant of the *Marine*, came the next Day, being the 25th, to the Place where we were, to conduct us to the Town, from which we were about two little Leagues. It will not be here improper to

to give a short Description of *Sale*: It stands on the Banks of the *Guerou*, which falls from the Mountains of *Zaovias*, and divides it into two parts; That on the *North* side is properly call'd *Sela* in the Country Language, and *Sale* in ours; and there live the richest *Jewish* and *Mahometan* Merchants: It is encompass'd with good Walls, about six Fathom high, and two yards and a quarter, or a half, thick, made of Clay and red Sand, knit together with Lime, after the manner of the Country. They have Battlements on them, and are flank'd with good Towers; and were almost ruin'd, before the Reign of *Muley Archy*; who caus'd them to be well repair'd: That part of the Town which lyes to the *Southward*, is call'd *Raval*, and takes up a much larger Compass than the other: There are abundance of Gardens within the Circumference of this Town, and a great Field, where they might sow Corn enough to serve 1500 Men. Its Walls are very ancient, and there is a Tradition in the Country, that they were built by one part of the first *Christians* brought into *Africk*, by those Generals of *Jacob Almanzor*, King of *Arabia Felix*, who conquer'd *Spain*; the other part being carry'd to *Morocco*, to build those famous Aqueducts, which are still to be seen there. On the *South-East* and by *South Quarter*, stands a high Tower, call'd *Hafans*, which serves as a Land mark for Ships to come in; and at the foot of it are Docks to build Ships, and for them to Winter. A Man may ride a Horse-back up to the Top of this Tower, as easily as if it were a Hill, because the Ascent has no Steps. It was built by the same King's Order, with a *Misque*, now all in Ruins, by the same Architect that rais'd the famous Tower of the *Mosque*, that is now the Cathedral at *Sevil*, and that of the great *Mosque* at *Morocco*.

This Town, which was for several Years a Commonwealth, first settled that Government some time after it receiv'd the *Andalusians* and *Granadines*, expell'd by the King of *Spain*, on Account of their frequent Mutinies. Those *Moors*, who had been bred in Wars, and resolv'd to live free, finding themselves more numerous than the Natives of *Sale*, oblig'd them no longer to own any Sovereign; and to cast off the Obedience they had promis'd *Ben-bucar* when they came into his Country, besieg'd his Son Prince *Abdala*, who commanded in the Castle. That Prince, who was then but fifteen Years of Age, bravely sustain'd a Siege of several Years, being supply'd with Provisions and Ammunition, by the Duke of *Medina Celi*, Lord of *Port St. Mary*, near *Cadix*; and by the King of *Portugal*, who sent him several Caravels loaden with all Necessaries for the Support of Life and Warlike Utes; the Embassadors sent for that purpose by *Ben-bucar*,
so-

soliciting for it. The Inhabitants of *Sale* being excluded the Harbour, which the Castle Commanded, and having all the Country about for their Enemies, began to want all things: Several Christian Merchants brought them Corn, which was landed on the Coast between *Mamora* and *Sale*, where those Merchants made their Fortunes; for they carried off almost all the Gold and Jewels the *Moors* had brought out of *Spain* with them. Prince *Abdala* growing weary of living in a continual Prison, at last contracted with the Captain of an *English* Ship that was come into the Road, promising to make him Master of the Castle, upon Condition the King of *England* would give the King his Father a Thousand Quintals, or Hundred Weight of Powder, and the same number of Firelocks. The *English* Man readily comply'd, and was in the Castle with 200 Soldiers he design'd to leave with the *Moors* till he return'd from *England*. Having stay'd there Four or Five Days, and perceiving there were not Provisions enough for them, till he return'd from *England*, he told the Prince he would go home and transact that Affair with his Master. After he was gone Aboard again, the Inhabitants of *Sale* summon'd the Prince to Surrender the Castle, threatening if he did not, to Spring a Mine they had carry'd on in the Rock. An *Italian* Captive was the Contriver of that Invention, who found means to pierce into the Rock, and perfected that work in hopes of his Liberty which had been promis'd him. The Prince sent two of his greatest Favourites to view the Mine, who told him what it was, and that it had been carried on by the Direction of a Christian.

Abdala perceiving he must either depart or Perish, Capitulated the very next Day, and had all the Articles he demanded granted him; among which, was the delivering up of the *Italian* to him, whom he put to a most Cruel Death. When he was departed the Castle, the *Andaluzians* kept their *Divan* in it: *Hache Abdala Feniche*, and *Mahomet de Santiago*, assembled there in Council to Govern the People, with the *Marinos*, *Izquierdos*, *Ozaras*, *Pantojas*, *Zebedez*, *Tonjos*, *Courtebeyes*, *Valencianos*, *Blancos*, *Meninos*, and many more of the Prime of both Towns. They order'd a Ditch to be carry'd round the Castle, at which Work above 500 Men were employ'd for several Months; but being made in the Rock, and very much Money squander'd about it, they left the Work imperfect, as we see it at this Day.

Old Castle
of *Sale*.

There are at present two Castles at *Sale*, the old, I have last spoken of, is directly at the Mouth of the River *Guerou*, next to which, its Walls, standing on Rocks, are very lofty, and shelter the Governours House adjoining to them from any Cannon shot.

shot. There is nothing regular in the structure of this Castle, for it is neither Square nor Triangular; but they built it as the Ground would allow: The Walls fronting to the River, are for the most part of Square Stones, with several Towers newly built by *Muley Semein*. Within this Castle, and before its Principal Gate, which is almost all Rotten, is a Fort rais'd high, and on it several Culverins that Command the Town. Below, next the Sea, on the Point of the Rock, facing the Bar, is a Bastion, mounted with Five Pieces of Cannon, to secure the Vessels that Anchor in the Road, and cover the Retreat of the Pyrates, when pursu'd by any Christian Vessels. The Walls next the Sea are low, and very easy to be Scal'd; for as much as within they are fill'd up with Earth almost to the Top, and without there are many Heaps of Dung and Earth as high as they, which would render the entrance very easy: On that side of the Wall, there are above Twenty indifferent pieces of Cannon, which serve also to defend the Road; and there is a Subterraneous Passage from the aforesaid Bastion into the Castle. Within, it has no Water to Drink but what is preserv'd in a Cistern, which receives all that falls on the flat Roofs of the Houses when it Rains, and is convey'd to it by several Spouts. There is also a Well, but the Water of it is brackish, and only serves for Cattel.

The New Castle, on the South West side, was built by *Muley New Ca-Archy*, and is square, flank'd with good Towers, and has Battlements like the Walls. There is a Communication from the one to the other by a high Wall, flank'd with Two Towers, and built upon Arches, under one of which the People pass, to go walk on the Strand. When I was at *Sale*, there were Twelve Pieces of Brass Cannon of several sizes in this Place. On the West side, before the Breach in the Town Wall, on the Edge of the Sea, stands another Bastion on a Rock; but neglected of late, which renders the taking this *Raval* of *Sale* very easy, as well because of this large Breach, which Fifty or Sixty Men may enter abreast, as by Reason the Gates of this Town are never shut at Night. The Proper time for such an Enterprize is in *April*, when the Pyrates are at Sea, who take all the best Soldiers with them, and there are none left to defend it, but old Men, Women, and Children, unfit to make any Opposition. The Descent might be made at *Fidella*, which lies Twelve Leagues South-West from *Sale*, and the way thence to the Town is all plain.

The Country about *Sale* is very fruitful for Corn, and abounds in Cattel and Fruit-Trees. There is a great empty space within the Walls fit to sow Corn, and abundance of Gardens without; *Sale*. and if when taken, a Garrison of 500 Horse were kept in it, this

this Place would be as considerable as that of *Oran*, held by the *Spaniards* in the Kingdom of *Algier*, whither they Bannish young Gentlemen that deserve any Punishment, to serve at their own Cost for some years; for all the Province of *Temesona*, which has no Strong hold, and is one of the best in the Kingdom of *Fez*, might be brought under Contribution. If it should be thought fit to advance farther into the Country, to make any Conquests, it would be necessary to take the Field in *March*, to drive the *Arabs* towards the Mountains, and secure the Corn, which they begin to reap about *May*, lay it up under Ground, and Plow over it; for should an Army go after the Harvest, it must needs Starve, both Men and Horses, because they lay up no stores of Hay, and all the Grass is burnt up by the violent heat of the Sun. For the better securing of the Conquest, it will be convenient to leave no Enemies behind that may be troublesome; for the *Moors*, who daily expect either the Christians or the *Turks* should come into their Country, say, They had rather have the Christians, because they are more Merciful, and will spare their Lives; so that they may in Process of Time get the better of, and expel them, which they do not hope for from the *Turks*.

To return to our particular, as soon as we came to *Sale*, we were conducted to the Merchant, that fitted out the Privatier, who kept us till *All-Saints* Day, when we were sold. Our Captain was at first presented to the Governour, who kept him for the King. The Criers took each of us by the Hand, and walk'd us bare headed along the Market, which is kept under great Arches, call'd *Cananettes*, being near the River, next the Castle.

How

*Slaves are
Sold,*

Those who buy Slaves observe their Countenance, and look in to their Hands to see whether they are Labouring Men or Well Born: When they meet with one that has a curious Complexion, and soft Hands, they conclude he is Rich, and that makes them advance upon one another for the Poor Creature, hoping, when they have him, to exact a considerable Ransom; and therefore 'tis afterwards hard to get out of their Hands. Our Knight of *Malta*, and the Lady his Mother were sold for 1500 Crowns. I being left the last of all the Company, after the Cryer had well walk'd me about, and cry'd *Herech, Herech*, was bought for 360 Crowns, and deliver'd to my Masters who were Four in Number. One of their Servants carried me to a Publick House, where Strangers are entertain'd, as in our Inns, and which they call *Fondaques*. Three of my Masters, who had only one half of me, came thither immediately to see me: The Eldest of them was called *Mahomet le Moraxchy*, and was Farmer of the King's Weights. The Second, whose name was *Mahomet Liebus*, was a Mer-

They gave me a good Breakfast, and after it a Basket of Corn, to grind at a Hand-mill that was in their Kitchen. This is the most usual Labour of the Slaves in the Sea-port Towns, there being no other Mills. This toilsome Exercise requires much strength, and having never been us'd to work, I began to dislike it the first moment I was employ'd, and made such course Flower that they could not mould it. This mov'd my Mistress to give me a young Child she had, to carry about the Town: I made so much of him, that he would not go to any Body else, nor lye from me. My Mistress, who was young, and very handsome, and spoke excellent Spanish, perceiving how fond her Son was of me, got me Liberty to walk abroad with him where I pleas'd. She treated me with white Bread, Butter mixt with Honey, and such Fruit as was in Season; caus'd a Chain of twenty five Pound Weight her Husband had put on me, to be taken off; conjur'd me to be patient under my Captivity; saved me from her Husbands beating and reproaches, and often press'd me to turn Renegado, that she might have it in her Power to give me greater Tokens of her Affection, by marrying me to a very beautiful and rich Niece she had, whose Father Abdul Caderamer, had been fifteen Years a Slave in the Captain Galley of Malta. The better to please her, I answer'd, ~~That were she to be my Reward I could willingly incline to it;~~ ~~but I could never admit of such a Thought for any other.~~ Then I added the tenderest and most moving Expressions I could think of, which prevail'd with her to excuse me from going to lye in the Dungeon among the other Slaves.

Madam de Montagne having in fifteen Days concluded for her own, and her Son the Knight's Ransome, for Three thousand Crowns, the one half whereof the Sieur de Laubia, a Merchant of Bayonne, paid down; she went aboard a Dutch Ship the ready to sail, which landed her on the Coast of England. Then she went over to France to raise Money, and sollicite the Discharge of her Son and Servants, who were left behind; ~~but~~ soon after her Departure, Muley Archy, who then reign'd at Fez, being inform'd that the said young Knight of Malta was Captive at Sale, caus'd him to be remov'd to Fez, with a Resolution never to restore him to his Liberty, no more than he did any of those that fell into his Hands; he also took from his Master the Fifteen hundred Crowns he had receiv'd, and gave him Two hundred Bastonades for having releas'd his Mother. That noble Gentleman was, during all the Reign of the said Barbarian, put to all the Hardships of the meanest Captives; but after his Death, Muley Semein el Heusenin, his Successor, sold him

Cruelty of
Muley
Archy.

him to certain *Jews of Fez* for Two thousand Crowns, who to *Wicked* oblige him to give Three thousand for his Ransome, employ'd *Jews* him during Eighteen Months about the vilest Employments in their Quarter, putting him to carry out the Dirt of their Houses, and cleanse their Privies, adding a thousand Reproaches, which he bore with wonderful Patience: Yet at length he fell under the weight of so many Sufferings, and of his Chains, into a dangerous Sickness, which brought him to the Brink of the Grave, and oblig'd those Villains when he was recovered to let him go for Two thousand five hundred Crowns, in the Year. 1674.

For my part, I liv'd easy enough with my Master *Liebus*, for a year I was in his House, and he never press'd me for Money, the Renegado I spoke of having prepossest'd him in my behalf. The *Mouette* year being expired, *Hamet Ben Yencourt*, Governour of the *Slave* to Castle, who was my Fourth Master, and had a half share in me, *the Go-* ask'd the other Three, Whether I had not Treated with them a *vernour*, about my Ransom? They answer'd No; and told him, they perceiv'd they had been deceiv'd when they bought me. *Will you take your Money*, said he, *and resign me your share, and I'll find a way to make him speak?* They readily consented, and carried me to the Castle, where I was put to serve in the Stable. I soon found the difference there was between the Governour and *Liebus*; for with the latter I us'd to eat as he did, and with the other had nothing but Brown Bread and Water; and was forc'd to lie in a *Mazmorra*, that is, a Dungeon, so Filthy, Stinking, and full of Vermin, that it oblig'd me to get fresh Straw every Night; because about Thirty *Arabs* were kept Prisoners in that Place, upon all whose Ordure I was fain to lye at Night, with the other Slaves, as long as we continu'd there.

Whilst I was at Sale, there came in a Dutch Ship from *Amster-* *Story of* dam, which brought the *Jews* of the former Place, certain Pre- a *Messias* dictions sent them from *Holland*. The purport of them among to be born other things, was, *That the Messias they had expected so many Ages, would be born in Holland at the Beginning of the following year, which was 1672.* The *Jews* hearing this good News, made a second Feast of the Tabernacles, and kept a general Rejoycing and Treating for Eight Days together.

The chief of them being met one Day, at the House of *Jacob Breno de Mesquita*, the Richest of those that were clad after the Christian Fashion, having made his escape out of *Spain* from the Inquisition; the *Sieur L'Aubia*, a Merchant of *Bayonne*, went thither to Congratulate with them. He Drinking their Healths, and to the safe Arrival of their pretended *Messias*; *Mesquita*, who

C H A P. III.

Of the most remarkable Things that hapned in New Fez, commonly call'd Fez Gedide, till I was remov'd to Mequinez with the other Captives.

THE City of *Fez Belle*, being reduc'd under the Obedience of *Muley Semein*, all the Slaves belonging to the *Alicaydes*, and other private Persons, that had sided with *Muley Hamet* the King's Nephew, of which Number I was, were remov'd to *Fez Gedide*, to be put among the Kings. I might here describe the Cities of *Fez*, but having done that at large in another place, I shall not repeat it, but only insert what I there omitted concerning the Buildings, and some other particulars.

Some Accounts of Fez.

The Houses in both these Cities, and in other Towns of *Barbary*, are square, and terras'd at the Top: The Walls next to the Street, or other Neighbours, have no Windows. They have generally four Rooms below, eight or twelve Foot wide, and twenty five or thirty in length, some more, some less: The Doors of these Rooms are directly in the middle, that the Light which comes in at them, may equally reach both ends of the Chamber: The Courts are in the middle, in which there are commonly Wells, or if they be Houses of great Men, which are always very spacious, there are Marble Basins, with Spouts of Water, and some Fish ponds, about which they have Orange and Lemon Trees, with the Fruit hanging on them all the Year about. If the Houses be two Stories high, they have Galleries supported by Pillars of Marble, Freestone or Brick, with turn'd Wooden Banisters on them, painted of several Colours. The Joists and Girders are painted after the same manner, there being an Ornament all round the Room three Spans broad under them of Plaster Fretwork in Flowers, after the *Mosaick* manner. Under that is another Circle, about a Man's height, of curious Chequer Work painted of several Colours, and representing all sorts of Flowers. They have Folding Doors which are always open, there being colour'd Silk Curtains before them. At both ends of the Rooms there are *Estradoes*, that is, a par raised about two spans above the Floor, made of Fir painted. On these *Estradoes* the great Men have their Beds, which consist of a Mat of painted Rushes, and several Carpets like those of Turkey: On them they lay Quilts not above two Inches thick, cover'd on the one side with Silk cut in slips of several Colours, and

and on the other with Cotton-Cloth, and Pillows stuff'd with Wooll. By them they have *Haiques* of *Holland*, or *French* Linnen, which are Pieces of that Linnen, in which, after stripping to their Shirts, they wrap themselves up to sleep, and for the more Conveniency, they make their Wives Beds at the other end of the Room, whither they go to them when they have a mind. The Common sort have only the Carpets without Quilts, and the Poor, whose Houses are for the most part of Reeds, like Cottages, lye upon a Mat, with some Sheeps Skins on it in their *Haiques* of course Wooll. The Houses never have any Windows, unless it be to some Closet, where the Light cannot come in at the Door. They have no Chimneys in their Kitchens, but only several little Stoves made of Brick or Stone, under some part of the Roof, which is purposely left open for the Smoke to go out. The Entries into the Houses are always winding to the right and left; and there are often three or four Doors between the Street and the Court, and as many Passages, which are very dark. Between those Doors the *Maorish* Great Men usually feast with their Friends, or else they have some Chamber for that purpose at their Stables. I shall not here treat of their Manner of Eating, having elsewhere spoken of the Kings, which is much the same; but the *Consoufou* being their most usual Dish, the Reader will be pleas'd to know what it is, and how they make it.

They take a great Wooden Bowl, or Earthen Pan before them, with a Poringer full of Flower, and another of fair Water, a Sieve and a Spoon: Then they put two or three Handfuls of the Flower into the Bowl, and pour three or four Spoonfuls of Water on it, which they work well with their Fingers, every now and then sprinkling it with Water, till it all runs into little Lumps like small Pease, and this they call *Consoufou*. As it rolls up they take it out of the Bowl and put it into the Sieve to separate the Flower that may have remain'd loose; and there are some Women so expert at making of it, that it is no bigger than Hail shot, which is the best. In the mean while, they boyl a great deal of good Meat, as Pullets, Beef and Mutton, in a Pot that is not above a Span over at the Mouth. They have another Copper Pot made on purpose, very wide at the top, and so narrow at the bottom, that it may sink two Inches within the Mouth of the other, the bottom whereof is full of holes like a Cullender: Into this last Pot they put the *Consoufou* over the other Pot the Meat boils in, when it is almost ready, leaving it so about three quarters of an Hour, close cover'd with a Napkin, and a wet Cloth with a little Flower, being wrapp'd about

about the Mouth of the other Pot, that no Steem may come out that way, but all ascend to pierce the *Concoufou*: When ready, they turn it out into a Dish, and stir it about, that it may not cling together, but lye loose in Grains; then they Butter it, and lastly pour on the Broth and all the Meat.

To return to my self, having no Acquaintance in *New Fex*, so that I must have lain on the Ground, the *R. F. Gregory Rippert*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, a Religious Man of singular Piety and Charity, since Guardian of the *Franciscans* of *St. Remy* in *Provence*, and then a Captive, with the *Sieur Cassel* a Surgeon, and Virtuous Person, gave me what was necessary to make me a Bed of Canes, as the others had. The next Day after my Arrival, I was put to the Labour that all the other Captives were about, which was *Masons Work*, the hardest of any, for their way of building Walls differs much from ours in *Europe*. Tho' never so high they are made of Earth, temper'd with Lime, and they are so hard to raise, that I admire how it is possible to hold long at that Toil; besides that the Water is to be brought a great way to mould the Earth. The difficulty still lies in carrying it up, for that they having neither Scaffolds nor Ladders, it must be drawn up by a Pulley, with a small Cord, which burns and cuts the Fingers of such as pull at it. If those who work above, cease but one moment pounding the Earth, that is between the Planks with heavy Rammers, the Overseers, who have quick Ears, throw Stones at them to continue their perpetual Labour; which they dare not give over to eat a bit of Bread, but are to hold it in one hand, and to work with the other. Thus we toil'd all the Day till Night, and when the Stars began to appear, the Slaves were conducted back to their Prison, and shut up after being counted over and over again: The next Morning at break of Day we were to return to our Labour. Some time after, I was a while imploy'd in grinding of Colours under a Painter, who was also a *Talbe*, or Dr. in the *Alcoran*. This *Talbe*, whose Name was *Bougimon*, told me several Particulars concerning the Manners and Religion of the Country, which I give an account of elsewhere. Then also was I acquainted with the Cruelty of *Muley Archy* towards the Christian Slaves, and it being my main design to make known the Miseries the poor Slaves endure in that Country, I could not forbear relating the Inhumanities of that Barbarian towards them, or mentioning them in the next Chapter.

C H A P. IV.

The Persecutions under the Reign of Muley Archy.

TH O' that Prince, at the beginning of his Reign, behav'd himself mildly enough towards the Christian Captives, yet he afterwards became extraordinary Cruel to them, on the following account. The Soldiers that were in Garrison in those Places the King of *Spain* was possess'd of along the Coasts of the Kingdom of *Fez*, being very ill us'd, Deserted in great Numbers to *Muley Archy* : When they came to *Fez*, they there soon committed many disorders, which on a sudden alter'd the King so much, that he chang'd the Kindness he before shew'd to the Christian Captives, into the utmost Rage ; so that he order'd one *Ardouan*, Son of a *Spanish* Renegado, to load them all with Irons, and appoint Guardians who should not suffer them to go any where for the future, but make them Work continually : Thus they all receiv'd the Punishment due to some few, which is usual enough in those parts.

The King one Day suspecting a young *Spaniard* call'd *Francis Carrion*, was guilty of a very slight Fault, notwithstanding all the Captive could say to clear himself, he caus'd him to be walk'd in shameful manner through all the Streets of *Fez*, to make sport for the Boys, who strove to out-do one another in pricking him with sharp-pointed Reeds, which he endur'd with a true Christian Fortitude: He was carried back half Dead to the Palace Gate, where the King order'd the Butchers to Murder him, and bring him his Head to see, his Body being cut into Fourteen pieces, and then thrown to the Dogs.

Another time, the Inhabitants of *Tetuan* having petition'd him to deliver one of their most noted Pyrates, call'd *Seth Ben Hendon*, out of the Gallies of *Genoa*, he having been taken by those People ; he sent a *Jew* to demand him, offering to give in exchange, all the Captives that were of that Nation in his Kingdom. The *Genoese* knowing there were very few of theirs, sent him word, *They would exchange him for a Dog* ; to signify, That they valu'd a *Mosometan* no more than they did a Dog. This so far incens'd the King, that he swore, He would never give Liberty to any Christian, for any Price whatsoever ; and at the same time, sent Orders to the Inhabitants of *Sale* and *Tetuan*, to make their Excursions against the Christians with more Vigour

gour than ever : He built Two Vessels himself to the same purpose, and directed the Governours of the Two Places aforelaid, to send him all the Captains and Officers of Ships, with the principal Passengers and Merchants they should happen to take, that he might destroy them in his Gallies at *Fax*; meaning the Works he employ'd them on.

Some time after, he had Thoughts of burning all his Slaves, *Villany of which hapned upon this Account : A Moor came to him one a Moor.* Day, begging an Alms, and saying, He was a poor Slave that had made his escape from among the Christians, and that in Spain, where he had been a long time, they had practis'd many Cruelties upon him; all which he invented to put him in a Passion. The King pitying such mighty Sufferings, cry'd out, *Is it possible that my Brethren should be so us'd in Europe, and that these Dogs of Christians should live so easy under me!* What I say is so true, answer'd the Wicked Fellow, that they knowing very well we have an abhorrence for Swines Flesh, and are forbidden to eat it by our Law; they compel us to it by main Force, and make us drink the Milk, and lie with those Creatures. The King easily gave Credit to all his Relation, and in that Fury call'd the Blacks of his Guard, whom he order'd to bring together all the Slaves into a large Square behind his Palace, call'd *Mechonal*; but before they came, to load them all with Wood. All those Innocent Creatures being there Assembled, ty'd by two and two, and the Fire ready to be set to the fuel they had brought, expected nothing every moment, but to pass out of this Wretched Life, to another more Glorious, Blessing God, who that Day call'd them to the Crown of Martyrdom. Some of them who were more fond of Life, tho' theirs was but miserable, were concern'd to dye so Young; but resolv'd to suffer for their Religion. The old Men exhorted the young to Suffer Manfully as other Martyrs had done, and after long waiting the Cruel Execution, God deliver'd them after this manner: A *Cherif*, or *Moorish* Prince, upon the Report of what was doing, went to the King to represent the Injustice of that Execution, telling him, He had been above Twenty Years a Captive in Spain without receiving the least ill Usage; that on the contrary, many *Mahometans* he had seen there, look'd upon their Slavery as very supportable; yet if he desired to be more fully satisfy'd, he might give order that they should let him know all Persons that had been there as well as himself, who would convince him how falsely he had been inform'd by that *Moor*, only to get the better Alms from him. The King being somewhat appeas'd, order'd that Imposture to be found out, that he might confront him

him with the *Cherif*; but there was no meeting with him; However the King sent for all those that had been in *Spain*, to enquire how they had been used, who assured him, That what the *Cherif* said was true; so that coming a little to himself, he was sensible he had been too easily put into a Passion, and therefore order'd the Christians to be sent back, and their Captivity from that time forward began to be more tolerable.

There is nothing more remarkable among the Cruelties of *Muley Archy*, than the Tragical, and at the same time Glorious end of *Don Pedro Lopez*, a *Spanish Gentleman*: He was *Com-Bravery of* mander in Chief of the Cavalry in *Melilla*, a Garrison held by a *Spanish* his Chatholick Majesty on the Borders of *Alcaladia*, which *Captive.* is at the Mouth of the River *Meluya*, that parts the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Tremecen*. This Gentleman making frequent Ex-cursions against the Barbarians of this Province, had oblig'd them to retire for Safety to the highest Mountains. At last, having laid an Ambush for him, with the Assistance of the People of *Riffe*, a Neighbouring Province, they took him and his Brother, who was his Lieutenant, after they had both bravely withstood all their Power for a long time. He might have made his escape if he would, as many of his Men did that were well Mounted; but could not think of leaving his Brother who was Wounded, and whom he lov'd better than himself. The Barbarians were for Sacrificing him upon the Spot, but the Governour of *Riffe* interpos'd, and admiring *Don Pedro's* Valour, treated him in his Tent, and caus'd his Brother to be carefully dress'd. The very next day he sent them towards *Fez*, to be presented to the King: *Muley Archy* was very joyful for having that Commander in his Power who had made so great a noise, and took such a liking, as to make him a Thousand obliging offers, and promise to adopt him for his Son, if he would change his Religion. Perceiving after several Days that he was not to be mov'd, he sent him to the Captives Prison to be employ'd at the common Works, thinking he would grow weary and alter his Tone; but the Hardships of Slavery only serv'd to strengthen his Faith, and give greater Proofs of his Constancy. The King pretended to be taken with his Resolution, and after other tokens of Affection, gave him the Post of *Alcayde* of all his Captives, which *Don Pedro* could never prevail with himself to accept of.

During the whole time of his Captivity, which lasted six years, he gave a Thousand Proofs of his Generosity and Virtue; for not wanting Money, whether he had any given him by the King, or receiv'd it of his own, he kept the Poorest of the Slaves in Cloaths, and his Alms were so private, that those

Two Con-stant Chri-istians. As for the other Two that would not renounce their Faith; one of which was an *English* Protestant, and the other a *French* Catholick born at *Diep*, who came Aboard with us to learn Navigation, the King practic'd all that *Mahomet* could dictate upon them; perceiving that his Cruelty did not prevail upon their Resolution, he sent them to serve in his Stable, ordering the *Alcayde*, or chief of it, to allow them no Rest: This continual Fatigue soon threw them into a desperate Sickness, which made the King send them to the Prison among his other Slaves, and afterwards thought no more of them. The rest of their Captivity was easy enough, till they recover'd their Liberty, in the year 1676.

Cruelty to Women Captives. This implacable Enemy of our Faith, was not satisfied with Persecuting those of our Sex, who would not renounce their Faith: Several Women and Maids, who had been unfortunately taken at Sea, or in their own Houses on the Coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, were shut up in the *Seraglio*, and put to the meanest Employments, being subject to the Inhumanity of a Thousand Black Women that are the Queen's Slaves, as the Men are the King's: Those Poor Creatures were to be Servants to them all, and if they were not able to go through whatsoever was enjoyn'd them, the King had order'd they should be beaten. If they hapned to complain to him of their ill usage, he gave them no other Answer, But that they must change their Religion if they had a Mind to be better us'd. He promis'd such as were Handsome enough to please him, That, if they would become *Mahometans*, he would raise them to a high Pitch, and they should be his chiefest Favourites. However, God be Prais'd, he could not prevail upon any of them; but they all rather chose to Suffer for the Profession of their Faith, than to enjoy all sorts of Riches and Pleasures, by imbracing the Absurd Law of *Mahomet*, which is so full of Fables and Follies, that I admire how any Men can suffer themselves to be deluded.

C H A P. V.

Of the Persecutions and Troubles we went through at Miquenes, which the King caus'd to be rebuilt to keep his Court there. The Description of Morocco and Sus.

Muley Archy, having given *Miquenes* to his Brother *Muley Semein*; for his Appanage or Support; that young Prince made it his usual Place of Residence, tho' he had the finest Palace in all *New Fez*. That City being seated in a delightful Plain, shaded with abundance of Olive Trees, he resolv'd to remove his Court thither; but the buildings being all old, he would have them rais'd anew, before he went to settle there. To this purpose, the Structures he had began at *Fez* being now finish'd, he caus'd his Slaves to be sent thither to Work. We were receiv'd there at the Castle Gate, by a Black of a Prodigious tall Stature, of a frightful Aspect, and a Voice as dreadful as the Barking of *Cerberus*: He had a Staff in his Hand proportionable to his bulk, with which he Saluted every one of us, and then led us into the Store House, to chuse Pickaxes of an extraordinary Weight, which when every one was furnish'd with, we were conducted to old Walls to pull them down. This was our first employ there, which began at break of Day, and held on till dark Night; and if any Man ceas'd but never so little, he receiv'd his reward immediately. That Black would not allow us time to Eat, and never went from the Work, without leaving one in his Place, which change was always to our Disadvantage; for those new Executioners, did not only beat us themselves, but when the Black came again, told him who had not work'd to their Mind, and he thereupon redoubled the Strokes, which he always took care to bestow on those parts where he thought they would do most hurt. He struck most at the Head, and when he had broke it, Counterfeited the charitable Surgeon, applying some unslack'd Lime to stanch the Bleeding. When he perceiv'd any one had been so beaten, that he could not go, he had a dreadful way of enabling him, by redoubling the Stripes, so that the new ones made him forget the old.

*Captivity
at Miquenes.*

The King coming one Day to lay the Foundation of the *Seraglio*, some that had yet the Blood of their Hearts about them, cast

call themselves at his Feet, offering their Complaints in the most moving Manner, to incline him to Compassion. He look'd earnestly upon them, but afford us no Redress; which made the *Slave* still more cruel. After the King was gone to make War on his Nephew *Muley Hamet*, who had been chosen King of *Morocco*, where he continu'd three Years, the *Black* grew so enraged, that he never gave over, till he had sent above twenty to their Graves. Nothing was to be heard at Night in our Prisons, but dismal Groans, occasion'd by the violent Pains proceeding from our beating. The very sight of that Devil made us quake; his Voice put such Life into us, that the moment we heard him in the Morning, cry out at the Door, *Eoua-y-alla cruison*, that is, come out quick; every one throng'd to be foremost, for the hindmost always felt the Weight of his Cudgel.

Slaves attempt to kill their Keeper.

In short, our Misery was so great, that we resolv'd to make away with him, tho' it cost us our Lives. He us'd to come to our Quarters at Night to get drunk with Brandy, at our Cost, it was resolv'd to make an end of him the first Night he was there alone; but when it came to the Point, no Man would strike first: However we prepar'd for the Execution, and the *Spamiards* advis'd the other Nations to provide Knives to cut him in Pieces: He understanding a little of their Language, drew his Dagger, fled, and never came again at Night. This Design failing, we thought of another Way, and got some *Arsenick* to give him in his Brandy. We know not whether he had Notice given him, but from that Time he never drank any, till he that gave it him had first tasted. These Attempts of ours against his Life, only serv'd to make him the more our Enemy, and to redouble his Cruelty; besides, that he was put on by the Overseer, and rewarded by the Governour of the Place, who were earnest to see the Works advance. We complain'd again to the King, who was then in the Kingdom of *Morocco*, by Letter, and that it might not fail of being deliver'd into his own Hands, sent it by an Express to the Christians, that serv'd in his Train of Artillery, who gave it him: It produc'd no Effect, tho' at his Return we again went to pray he would do us Justice, and he promis'd it. On the contrary, a few Days after, he with his own Hand kill'd a young *Spamiard*, whose Name was *Bartholomew Tin*: He had appointed him Chief of those who serv'd in his Stable, and cut off his Head, because he was not quick enough in bringing him a Pail of Water he had call'd for to one of his Companions. Tho' the King refus'd to do us Justice on our *Black*, God did it soon after, delivering us from him, by means
of

of the Plague, which began in the Year 1678, and destroy'd the one half of those Barbarians.

Some of us were not exempt from that Contagion, which *Plague in* seiz'd about fifty, of about two hundred we were, the third part *Barbary.* of which escap'd ; for tho' we were all shut up together, the others were all well, whereas when it enter'd any *Moor's* House, it left no living Creature there, which is a plain Demonstration of God's Goodness towards the Faithful. We doubled our usual Prayers at that time, and for eight Days, said the whole Rosary, instead of the third Part we repeated before ; besides other Prayers during the whole time of the Contagion, which lasted three Years.

The first Year I was chosen Treasurer of the Brotherhood, *Charitable Brotherhood.* that had been erected under the Title of, *Our Lady of Mercy.* The Design of this Brotherhood was to relieve the Sick, and the Fund was rais'd out of a Duty taken for every Kettle of *Aqua Vita* we made, and sold privately to the *Moors*, and what the Brothers begg'd every Night after Prayers. The Charge of the Light in our Chappel was also defray'd by the Brotherhood, which consisted of a Treasurer, a Clerk, and twelve Brothers, who were chang'd every Year, and the Treasurer was accountable to his Successor. This Brotherhood began in the Reign of *Muley Archy*, after the following manner :

That Prince coming one Day to see some old Walls beaten down, wonder'd that the Christians did so little Work, and ask'd the Reason of those about him? The *Alcayde Cidon* told him, "That the Christians being us'd in their own Country to drink Wine and Brandy, and then reduc'd to only Bread and Water, it made them weak, and unfit for hard Labour: That if he would have the Pleasure of seeing them work to the Purpose, he need only order every one of them three or four Glasses of Wine, and he would see how they Labour'd. The King smil'd, and sent for the Clerk of the *Jews*, whom he order'd to bring four great Pitchers of Wine, which being distributed among the Captives, the King went a walking, and at his Return, was amaz'd to see, that the Christians had done more in two hours he had been gone, than *Captives why allow'd Brandy.* in three Parts of the Day before. This made him give an Order under his Seal, enjoining the *Jews* to furnish every Week ten *Quintals*, or a hundred Weight of Raisins, and as many Figs, for the Christians to make Brandy ; forbidding them, at the same time, under severe Penalties, the selling any of it to the *Moors*. This was at the Time when he made *Don Pedro Lopez*, before spoken of, Chief of the Captives, and laid hold of the Pretence of their having transgress'd his Prohibition, to murder him.

Whilst the King was at Sea, the Jews continu'd what he had order'd: But as soon as he took the Field, they got themselves off, by means of a Summ of Money they gave *Ardeman*, the *Alcayde* of the Christians. However, some *English* and *French* Captains, and *Don Pedro Lopez*, having furnish'd Money to buy Figs and Raisins, they continu'd the making of Brandy, appointing a certain number of Persons for that purpose, and the Keepers, and *Ardenas* himself, notwithstanding the King's Prohibition, for a little Money suffer'd it to be sold to the *Muslimans*: The Profit of it being considerable enough, the Brotherhood I have spoken of was crech'd. To advance the main flock, the *Spaniards*, who were most numerous, and the Directors in all Affairs, set up a Table to play at Dice, and another for Cards; and appointed that the Winners should pay the Tenth Penny to the Brotherhood, all which was a great Relief to the Sick; who soon after receiv'd it accordingly, by means of a Religious Priest, the Divine goodness sent them in this manner.

Certain *Recolets* sent at *Morocco* by the Kings of *Portugal*, went one Day to Compliment *Abney Archy*, when he was in that City: They presented him with a little Portable Organ, which the King took, without considering what it was. At his return to *Fez*, looking into that Present, and seeing it was an Organ which no Body knew how to play on, he ask'd a Captive Spanish Gentleman, call'd *Don Rafael de Veras*, whether he understood any thing of it, because he play'd well on the Harp and Lute? He told him, *He did not; for in his Country none but Church-men play'd on it.* Some of the King's Guards, who were lately come from *Tetuan*, hearing talk of Church-men, said, They had seen a Religious Man, who was a Slave in that Town. *Abney Archy* order'd them immediately to go for him. They return'd Eight Days after with the *R. F. Gregory Rippart*, a *Franciscan*: The King ask'd, Whether he could play on the Organs? And he answering, He could not; was immediately sent to work among the other Slaves with a Chain at his Heels. When the King took the Field, he was exempted from Labour for Two Crowns a Month given to *Ardeman*. He said Mass every Night, and those who would live like good Christians, had the opportunity of Confessing and doing Penance. He continu'd in Captivity till the year 1674, when the Religious *Mercenarians* came to *Sala*, and pay'd part of his Ransome, which was very considerable; the rest being sent by his Monastery. Two years before his departure, the *Recolets* of *Morocco* came to settle at *Fez*, in our Prison, and one of them serv'd us at *Miquinez* when we were remov'd thither; which continu'd in the same manner, till the Religious

Priests among the
Slaves.

foot Trinitarians of Madrid took their Place, in the year 1676, Recolets returning to Spain, whence they afterwards retired to *Monasterio de Ceuta*. Thus from the coming of *F. Gregory*, till my departure in 1681, their never wanted Priests to Administer the Sacrament.

In May 1678, the King, to avoid the Contagion, retired with his Wife and Children up to the High Mountains, that run along the *Or Meluya*, and are part of the *Atlas*: There it was he meditated to take all the Slaves of private Persons, upon a Report spread abroad, That the Fathers of the Redemption would soon come. Here he took up about Two Hundred, whom he employ'd at Tents, his Stables, and Artillery, and design'd they should be as Pioneers, to demolish the Castles of the Barbarians he expected to take. Being one Day near the high Mountain of *Itata*, which is one of the highest part of the *Atlas*, he sent for Forty Slaves, who had the Care of the Tents, to put them to the work; among whom was my Cousin *Claude Loger la Garde*, and because his ordinary Tent was not set up as it us'd to be. They came to the Place of Execution, and the Blacks were loading Firelocks to shoot them, when some *Alcaydes* fell at the King's feet and begg'd their Pardon: He recall'd them, but to satisfy his curiosity in some measure, took a Mallet, that serv'd to drive the Tent-pegs, and bruiz'd all their Heads, and some of their Bodies. My Cousin avoided being struck, by being close to one that was all over his face with which he Blooded his Hands, and daub'd all his Face, at the King seeing him so Bloody did not strike him. He afterwards sent these Forty Christians, and the rest he had taken from the other Persons, to Trading People at *Fez Belle*, who kept them at exercising a Thousand Cruelties on them; for being mostly *Magado Jews*, there is no sort of Torment they do not invent to torment a Christian. After this, *Muley Semein* set out to return to *Miquenas*. He pass'd by *Morocco*, but enter'd not, because the Plague was there, which swept away the greatest part of the Inhabitants of that City, the largest and beautifullest of those Parts. Tho' I have not been there, I have had the Description of the whole Kingdom from Persons of Credit, which I deliver in this Place.

The City of *Morocco*, which gives its Name to all the Kingdom, as does that of *Fez*, is seated in a large Plain, cover'd with an abundance of Palm-Trees, bearing very good Dates, according to the *Adoors*, it was founded by *Muley Jacob Alman-Miramamolin*, King of *Arabia Felix*, who Conquer'd *Spain*, and his Generals. It is two Thirds bigger than *Fez* in Compass, has Sixteen Gates; but is not so Populous as *Great*, the

Plague and War having destroy'd most of the Inhabitants. It has a good Castle, in which is the *Seraglio* for the King's Women, and the stateliest in all *Africk*. *Muley Hamet Deibit*, caus'd all the Gold he had to be beaten out into Leaves to cover the Walls and Cielings of the Rooms: The Nails, Hinges, Bolts and Locks were all of Silver Gilt. On the Top of the Great Tower, there are Three very large Golden Apples, shot through with Musket Balls in several Places, and thought to be enchanted. In the *Seraglio* there are such spacious Rooms, that they have large Fish-Ponds in them, and the Fishes may be seen Swimming about in the Great Looking-glasses fix'd on the Roof. All the Celestial Signs are so lively Represented in one of those Rooms, that the beholders think they look upon the Firmament: The *Moors* believe, that God Condemn'd that *Muley Hamet* who made this Work, to suffer the Pains of Hell till the end of the World; for having endeavour'd to imitate him in the Structure of the Heavens. That Magnificent Palace is embellish'd with abundance of Columns and Shells of White Marble, with much delicate Plaster Fret-work, and Chequers Painted and Carv'd. The Gardens are the finest in the World, and full of Orange and Cypress Trees. The Castle, Palace, and Gardens, are all enclos'd with strong Walls, flank'd with good Towers and Bastions, but without any Cannon. The Famous Aqueducts, which bring Water to the City, from a large Days journey Distance, pass by the Castle, to supply it as well as the Town.

This Kingdom contains only Five Provinces, which are *Morocco*, *Tadela*, *Duquella*, *Haha*, and part of Mount *Atlas*: This Country abounds in Corn and Cattle, and is hotter than *Fez*, as being more Southerly. The other Towns beside *Morocco*, are *Azamor*, *Valdidil*, and *Saphye*. There are several Castles where the *Arabs* live in common, as the *Barbarians* do in other Places. The Twin-Rivers call'd *Gouders*, swallow up those of *Rasselayne* and *Louidin*, coming from the North-East side of *Morocco*, with those of *Mephis*, *Mel*, *Lequera*, and *Mefenes*, which fall into the first of them; and those of *Fistella*, or *Tadela*, *Tasaut*, *Derna*, *Oumana*, *Louet*, and *Sera*, into the other: The *Portugueses* have the Town of *Mazagam*, on the Coast of this Kingdom, and is but Two Leagues from *Azamor*.

*Description of
Sus.*

The Principality of *Sus*, was formerly a part of this same Kingdom, from which it is divided by a long Chain of Mountains running from the Edge of the Sea to the *Atlas*: On the South East of it is the Province of *Dras*; the Kingdom of *Sudan* on the South-West; the Sea on the West, and North-West; and the Kingdom of *Morocco* from the North to the East. It contains but Two Provinces, which are *Sus* and *Schel*, the Towns whereof

whereof are *Tarudant*, *Agader Aguer*, or *Santa Cruz*, and *Illec*, which was the Capital of the Country, when *Cid Haly* was Prince of it. At present *Tarudant* is so, where *Muley Hamet Meheres* keeps his Court as Sovereign. The River *Sus* gives its Name to all the Country, which has but one more call'd *Mofa*. This Country is full of strong Castles; its Inhabitants are reckoned good Soldiers, and the most expert at their Weapons of any *Majors*. Their Mountains are fertile in Grain, and produce much Fruit and Wax; besides they have plentiful Copper Mines, and some of Gold; and they only want Wooll. There are Abundance of Lions on these Mountains, who in the Day Time withdraw into Caves, whence they Sally at Night to seek their Prey. The Barbarians being well acquainted with their ways, lay Snares to take them alive after this Manner.

They dig a deep Pit, over the Mouth whereof they place a *Lions*, Trap Door made fast to a Pin, equally poiz'd; and to that Pin ^{bow Ta-} or Plug, they tie a Dead Sheep: When the Lion comes down ^{ken.} from the Mountain and smells the Flesh, he makes up to devour it, but as soon as he sets his forefeet on the Trap Door, he slips into the Pit, the head foremost. On the side of this Pit, is another, made like a Ditch, and as deep as the first, in which is a great Chest like a Mouse Trap, and in it a Quarter of Mutton: There being a Communication from the one Pit to the other, by means of a Hole or Passage made on purpose, the open end of the Chest is set right before that Gap or Opening, to the end, that when the Lion is Hungry, he may go in, where he is taken as a Mouse is in a Trap. There are great Iron Rings at the Four Corners of the Chest, for the Cords it is to be drawn up with to run through, and then to fasten it upon a Horse, so to carry the Lion to the next *Alcayde*, who takes the Pleasure of Killing him; or if they have a mind to destroy him upon the Spot, do it with their Spears in the first Pit he falls into.

CHAP. VI.

The Persecution at Alcaffar.

THE King, at his return to *Miquenes*, perceiving the Contagion still continu'd, and fearing to lose all his Slaves, and in them the Ransoms he expected; caus'd us to be call'd one Day, and said, *He would give all those their Liberty that could provide The King Money.* Having been inform'd by *F. John de Jesus Maria*, a offers to *Spanish Religious Man*, who liv'd with us, That the *Sieur Messen-Ransom* *men, his Slaves.*

nier, a French Merchant at Cadix, and trading to *Alcazar*, had
 just him word, that *Don Pedro Catalan*, the French Consul at
 Cadix, had order'd him to lay out Two Hundred Crowns the said
 Consul freely gave for my Ransom, I appear'd before the King
 with Thirty five others, among whom was my Cousin, who
 offer'd him, some Two Hundred, others Three Hundred, or Three
 Hundred and Fifty Crowns. He sent us to *Alcazar*, to *Amar*
Haden el Hammun, Governor and Viceroy of the *Algerias* in
Africa, for him to receive the Money of our Ransom: We reach'd
 that Place on the 15th of June, 1680; but *Amar Haden* resolv-
 ing to make his own Advantage, would not let us go for the
 Sums we had promis'd the King, and demanded a Thousand
 Crowns of every one. Perceiving we would not give it, that
 Barbarian put Two great Chains of Eighteen or Twenty Pounds
 Weight upon each of us, linking us by Two and Two, with ano-
 ther a couple: In this Condition he set us to work at the Com-
 mon Sewers he was making to carry off the Filth of the Town.
 For Three Months, he allow'd every one of us but four
 Ounces of Barley Bread a day; appointing Twelve Guardians,
 or rather Executioners, who beat us unmercifully, telling us for
 our comfort, That if we did not give the Thousand Crowns demand-
 ed, we must expect to die under their Cudgels. When the Sentries
 were finish'd, they made us empty all the Privies, and remove all
 the Dung-hills in the Town, carrying all the Filth in Wicker
 Baskets, so that it ran through and fell upon us. Our Guardi-
 ans made us go bareheaded most of the time, and never fail'd to
 thrust us if we stood one Moment; placing themselves within
 Twenty Paces of one another, that we might not Rest, and laying
 us on with Rods of Pomgranate or Quince Tree, which are very
 Weighty, and cut our Legs and Backs: Two English Men died
 in a few Days, and all the rest were in a miserable Condition.
 The *Alcayde Amar* came often to see us at Work, and when we
 ask'd him for Bread, said, Eat Stones you Sons of Dogs, for I will
 not give you as much Bread as is requisite, till each of you lays me
 down a Thousand Crowns. Being one Day press'd with Hunger,
 we all cast our selves at his Feet, begging he would either
 allow us Bread or Kill us; but he that spoke for us, and was
 a Spaniard, had his Head broken with a Stone by the *Alcayde's*
 Order, and had been Kill'd, were it not for his Brother-in-Law
Hemaden, who interceded in his behalf. At Night they made
 us go down a ladder of Ropes into a deep Dungeon, where we
 suffer'd all sorts of Miseries, and had no other Comfort, but
 the Liberty of Complaining; our Hands were all cut with the
 Weight of our Chains, and some of them as well as mine,
 were a Finger deep in the Flesh; yet all this did not move
 them to Compassion.

A Cruel
 Alcayde
 keeps and
 oppresses
 them.

At

At this time, the Messengers sent by the *Chavalier de Chateau Remond*, one of the King's Admirals, came to *Alcassar* to treat of Peace: *Amar Hadou* would never suffer us to see them, for fear we should make our Complaints. We had no way to let them hear from us, but by writing a Letter, which I did, and a French Captive, who made the Bread those Messengers had from the Jews, put it into the middle of a Loaf. When they open'd it they found the Letter, which inform'd them what a miserable Condition we were in, and they offer'd as many *Moors* of Sale, they had taken, in exchange for us. Only my Cousin prov'd fortunate, being at the last Audience of our Envoys taken out to serve as an Interpreter, instead of a Jew, who had impos'd upon them in all their former Audiences, explaining what they said, quite contrary, to the *Alcayde Amar*. A false Merchant of *Marfeilles*, who had his Ransom, being among those Messengers, pleaded so well for him to the *Alcayde*, showing how long he had been a Captive, and that it was impossible for him to give the 1000 Crowns demanded, that the *Alcayde* at last complying, dismiss'd him for 200, which the Merchant paid down. He went aboard the *Chavalier de Chateau Remond's* Ship, where he met the *Chavalier de Mont-louet*, who was Son to his Godmother, and furnish'd him with all he wanted.

The King growing weary of expecting the Money of our Ransoms, sent *Cid Celemin Quetip*, his first Secretary, to *Alcassar*, to receive it; with Orders, that in case the *Alcayde Amar* had not yet been paid it, he should lay down 14000 Crowns of his own Money; which was the Summ they amount'd to; and *Amar* was fain to comply. The next Day after the Secretary was gone back to *Misquenes*, he sent us word, That being now his, we must either resolve to die, or to give him a 1000 Crowns a piece. Then he sent us a great Days Journey from the Town, to dig Ditches in Fields that were all Scorching Sands, where for Eight Days we had nothing to eat, but what we found by chance. We lay on the bare Ground in the open Field, and tho' we had Bolts on our Legs, and were fetter'd by Two and Two, yet at Night they link'd us all together in one long Chain about our Necks. Our unmerciful Keepers dayly press'd some Youths that were among us to turn Rengadoes, but in vain; and as it was plain that we could not live in that manner above Three Days longer, having scarce any Blood left in our Veins, and the Skin extended on our Backs, we ceas'd not to pray for our Persecutors, and to resign our selves up to Providence, which did not forsake us in that Extremity; for the Secretary, who came from the King to *Alcassar*, having told him what we had suffer'd, and were still'd doom'd to endure; *Muley Samoin*, who thought most of us had been at liberty, was so enrag'd, that he immediately sent Four Blacks

Backs of his Guards to *Alcassar*, to seize the *Alcayde Amar*, and carry him to his Presence in Irons. They arriv'd there on the 14th of November, and allow'd him no more time, than to mount a Horseback, and give orders to go fetch us. We set out for *Miquenes*. Three Days after him, where being brought before the King, he found us in such miserable Plight, that he ask'd the *Alcayde Amar*, *Is better we were the same Christians he had sent him?* Then giving him a severe Check, he said, *He would not send us any more to his Governors to pay our Ransom; but that, when we had Money, we should have it secur'd at Miquenes, and he would set us at Liberty.* Thus *Amar* Hadou lost his Money for tormenting us, which was no small Affliction to such a Covetous Man. I have not given an Account of this Persecution, out of Vanity, because I had so much share in it; but to show the Miseries the Captives endur'd in my Time, and what those who still remain there, are expos'd to; that the Reader may be mov'd to relieve them.

Alcassar
describ'd.

Before I conclude this Chapter, it will be proper to say something of *Alcassar*, having had Time to view it during my three Months stay there; for there is no Place I have more cause to remember, on Account of my many Sufferings in it. This Town, which is the Capital of the *Algarves*, was founded very long since by a Shepherd, call'd *Bacharou Rey*: It stands on the North side of the River *Loucours*, in a marshy Ground, five Leagues from *Larache*, which is at the Mouth of the same River; 30 Leagues from *Sale*, 25 from *Miquenes*, 37 from *Fez*, 25 from *Tetuan*, 20 from *Tangier*, and 7 from *Arzila*. They reckon it 110 Leagues from *Fez* to *Tafilet*, 100 to *Morocco*, 60 to *Tetuan*, 18 to *Fez*, 12 to *Mequenez*, 35 to *Sale*; from *Sale* to *Azamor* 30 Leagues, to *Paladye* 40, to *Saphye* 60, and to *Agader Aguer*, or *Santa Cruz* 90. About *Alcassar* there are abundance of fine Meadows; as also many curious Gardens on both Banks of the River, which overflows them and the Town, in the very rainy Seasons. The Walls of it were old and defenceless; the Inhabitants are all Straglers brought together, who have no Respect for Strangers, and may amount to about 6000. The Houses are ill built, intermixt with many Cottages of Reeds, in which the Poorer Sort live. There is a considerable Number of Jews dwelling about Prince *Gayland's* Palace, which is now a Storehouse, and the Habitation of the Sieur *Messonnier*, a Merchant Trading to *Cadiz*. There is great Plenty of Corn, Butter, Wooll, Honey, Hides, Wax, Fruit and Flesh. The Rivers of *Taguedar* and *Magazin*, are not far from it to the Northward. On the latter of them which falls into the *Loucours*, above *Larache*, *Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, lost the great Battel against *Muley Abdelmelec*, King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, in which both those Princes perisht, and the prime Nobility of *Portugal* dy'd with their King. The

The Town of *Alcassar* is only considerable, for having been the Residence of Prince *Gaylan*, who had usurp'd it and all that Province from *Ben Bucar*, King of *Zaovias*, the rightful Sovereign. He had been that Prince's General, against the *Barbarians* of the Mountains of *Tetuan*, who had revolted from him; and whom *Gaylan*, after Conquering and Disarming them, caus'd to own him for their King. *Ben Bucar* being inform'd of the Treachery of his General, March'd against him, with an Army from *Zaovias*; and in a few Days came upon the Banks of the River *Sebon*, where he found *Gaylan*, Encamp'd on the other Side, and expecting him, which oblig'd *Ben Bucar* to return, without doing any thing. It was Prince *Gaylan*, who gave the famous Assault to *Larache*, which I shall speak of in the Adventures of *Don Raphael de Veras*. He was overcome by *Muley Archy*, after the loss of which Battle, he left him the Province, with the Towns of *Alcassar*, *Tetuan*, and *Arzila*, retiring to *Algier*, where he liv'd as a private Person, till the Year 1672, when he was recall'd by the People of the Country. This was at the time when *Muley Semein*, King of *Fez*, was busy at the Siege of *Theza*. He was receiv'd with much Joy; but *Muley Semein* marching against him with an Army, they basely forsook him in Time of Battle, where he was slain after having given Proofs of an invincible Courage, and 5 Horses kill'd under him. His Head was cut off by a Black, who presented it to *Muley Semein*, and he immediately sent in to his Brother *Muley Achen*, Victory of *Fez*, as an authentick Testimony of his Victory. Thus ended that brave Prince, after many Heroick Actions perform'd. He was by Birth an *Andalouz*, that is, descended from the *Moors*, who came out of *Spain*, after the Conquest of *Granada*; as to his Person, well shap'd, his Countenance pleasant, and his Behaviour affable to all Men; wearing large fair Whiskers, was a good Soldier, and brave Commander, of the noble Family of the *Zegris*, so renowned in the Civil Wars of that Kingdom, on Account of their Opposition to the *Aben-Cerrages*, thier irreconcilable Enemies.

the least Immodesty, she had gain'd the King's Affection, who granted her whatsoever Favour she ask'd, either for *Moor*s or Christians. She was call'd the common Mother of all Persons in Distress, for she never thought much to sue for them. Her Husband, whose Name was *John de Carmona*, and she, had the Charge of the King's Pigeons, and fed the Lions. The King having a Kindness for *Bausset*, was pleas'd she should intercede, and gave Orders immediately to have him taken out. No sooner had he spoke the Word, than all the Pages ran, striving who should be foremost, and left the King alone, at the first Entrance into the *Serraglio*, which so highly offended him, that he call'd them back, and laid eight of them on the Floor, all bloody and wounded with his Cimeter.

Inhumanity.

However, when his Wrath was appeas'd, the Captive Woman redoubled her Intreaties so earnestly, that he could not refuse her, but order'd that she should go with her Husband and one *Priest*, a Surgeon of *Poitiers*, to take *Bausset* from among the Lions; which was accordingly done, when he had been there five Hours; for he leap'd in at four, and came out at nine. Some Days after, the Lions shew'd not the same Respect to three *Fequers* or Doctors of the Law of *Mahomet*, who took upon them to reprove the King for his Cruelty, and were therefore cast into the same Place, and immediately torn in Pieces by the Lions.

Mahometans disapproved.

I thought this Accident well worth having an Authentick Attestation made of it, the Original whereof was brought into *France*, which I put into the Hands of the Reverend Fathers, the *Mercenarians* of *Paris*, to satisfy such as may call the Truth of it in Question. It was taken at *Tetuan* in *Africk*, on the 18th of *April*, 1681, and sign'd by *Bernard Bausset* of *Aubagne* in *Provence*, Brother *Bernard Monel*, a Religious *Mercenarian*; Brother *Ignatius Bernede*, a *Mercenarian*; *Toussaint Boyer*, Merchant of *Tetuan*; *Nicholas Boyer*, Merchant; *G. Mouette*; *Noel Pinot* of *Casalle*; *Marc. Bandonin*, of the same Place; *Nicholas Gaillard*, of *S. Malo*; *Peter Hazort* of *Rouen*; *M. Milland* of *Rochelle*; *N. Blaque* of *Rouen*; *M. de Romigni* of *Nantes*; *C. Penamen* of *Audierne*; *C. Lamurel* of *Brest*; *Josseline Mingard* of *S. Malo*; *Paul le Vasseur* of *Pontoise*; *John Le Conte* of *Rouen*; *Francis Pasquier* of *Harfleur*; and *Julian Chevalier* of *Paris*. Those who have sign'd after me, were all Captives at *Miquenes*, when the thing happen'd. *Bausset* was eight Days after deliver'd with us by the *RR. FF.* the *Mercenarians*, and since my Return, I have been inform'd by *F. Monel*, that he had desir'd to take the Habit, in a Monastery of their Order, which was promis'd to be given him, as soon as he return'd from Monsieur *Amand*, the Kings Embassador to him of *Alger*, who took him for his Interpreter.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Miseries of the Slaves in general.

THE Story abovemention'd, and most of the Contents of this Book, plainly shew the miserable Condition of the Slaves in *Africk*, and the Dangers they are daily expos'd to of renouncing their Faith, or perishing by the Cruelty of their Masters and Keepers. Nothing can be more deplorable than their Case; for the greatest Penalties inflicted in *France* on the worst of Criminals, can scarce equal the Sufferings of those innocent Creatures. Our Galley Slaves are nothing near so unfortunate as those who work in the Cattle of *Miquenes*. The Dungeons of *Sale*, *Alcassar*, and *Tetuan*, are worse than the darkest and most loathsome of our Prisons; and the Punishments the Law appoints in *France* for Murderers and Assassins, are not to compare to those the Moors invent, either to make the Captives renounce their Faith, or to satisfy their own Malice.

Miseries of
Captives.

They are no better us'd in Sicknes than Health. The common Allowance to the King's Slaves, is only a Porringer of black Meal, and a little Oyl. No Rest is allow'd them, till they see they are not able to wag Hand or Foot; for their merciless Keepers, encourag'd by the chief Overseers of the Work, who are for advancing apace, never excuse them from the daily Labour till they cannot rise thro' Weakness, and as soon as they can go, they are oblig'd to do like the rest. All the Favour shewn them, is that at first they put them upon the least toilsome Employments, as making of Mortar, sweeping the Streets, and serving in the Stables. If any dye, they value it not; for those who have the Charge of them, only give the King an account, at the Year's End, that such a Number is dead, and both he and his Subjects being Predestinarians, believe they could not have liv'd any longer, tho' never so much Care had been taken of them.

Usage of
Sick.

When in Health, they never have any Rest, but seven Days in the Year, which are the three first of *Mahomet's* great Festivals. The first is call'd *Eide Serein*, being the Day after their *Ramadan* or Lent ends. The second, which is two Moons and ten Days after the other, they call *Eide Cubica*, or the Great *Easter*, when they sacrifice as many Sheep to *Mahomet*, as there are Male Children in every Family, in Commemoration of *Abraham's* Sacrifice. The third call'd *Moulut*, or the Birth of *Mahomet*, is three Moons

Three Ma-
hometan
Festivals.

and

These Days were the same. All these Festivals are moveable, and the number of Days which they consist but of 12. The first of the three Fair Days, which are *Christmas, Epiphany, and the Feast of our Lady*, we begg'd them to send them singing Hymns and Litanies, and they were granted it. And if it was either Summer or Winter, they did not complain, thus answered, as has been said, by experience, which is the more true in Winter, when the Earth is so cold, that it makes any thing more, and even when that happens, the poor Creatures may not be cold, they make them clean the streets, and sweep the like, alleging that if they were not employ'd, they would think of nothing but of making their *Boys* *Wives* being always married, they do not mind to at-

As to the *Parliament* of running away, I have known above a hundred of these *Wives* to which purpose, they gather'd as many *Wives* as might be they could, and dry'd them in the Sun: And when they had got enough, we bury'd these Persons in Ditches, having the *Wives* without the Circle of *Marys*, all but their *Wives*, which we cover'd with *Wives*, that they might breath, and then all of us went to see our *Wives* round about them, that the *Wives* might call to some near the Place. At Night they set out, returning themselves to God. *Prayers* being the proper Days to do this. Because then the *Wives* that work'd with us, went to see in the afternoon to the *Marys*, to their *Sals*, and *Prayers* giving one of the *Keepers* with us; and whilst these were talking to us, were bury'd two or three kept him in *Prayers* gave him *Prayers*, or told him some Story, so that the *Wives* was near till Night, when they counted us.

One Day we found out bury'd then lives above after this manner, in a Prison or Dungeon behind the *Wives*, and out of the Way. One of their *Comrades*, who there was privy to it, cover'd the Prison with a Board, and Earth upon it, leaving a Hole to give them some Air, and the Weather being excessive hot, and the Air that came in not refreshing, it weaken'd them so much, that when they would have come out, their Strength fail'd, and falling back, they were stuf'd in the Place. The next Day their *Comrades* went to see whether they were gone, and perceiving the Hole had been open'd by them, concluded they were fled, without saying down. Eight Days after, another Christian looking for Wood to burn his Pot, and spying the Board, pull'd it off, and found a terrible stench, and drawing near to see whence it proceeded, discover'd these two Carcasses, cover'd with Rats and *Wives*. He gave notice of it to the R. F. *John* of *Jesus Ma-*

by a Spanish Religious Man of the Order of the Bare-foot Trinitarians of *Madrid*, who liv'd with us, and thought fit they should be left in the same Place, filling it up immediately with Earth, that the *Moors* might know nothing of it, for fear if they did, they might search all such Places for the future, when any happen'd to be missing.

When any Slave fled, the Governour presently sent Horsemen to scour the Country, and order the *Arabs* and Governours of the Places near those the Christians possess, whither they must of necessity repair, to stop and examine all they found making towards them. Thus so many Sentinels were posted in all Parts, and the Ways so strictly guarded for a Fortnight, that it was a sort of Miracle when any escap'd; and generally they were retaken in sight of those Christian Towns, because there the strictest Guard was kept. As soon as taken, they were brought back to the Place from whence they fled; and tho' the King would not have those ill us'd, who endeavour'd to get their Liberty, and commonly pardon'd all such as were brought before him; when he was not there, the Governour who had charge of us, and was oblig'd to pay the King for any that escap'd, would cause those Wretches to receive two hundred Bastinadoes, in the Presence of us all, for a Terror to us, then he put two great Chains on their Feet, and an Iron Bar fix'd to those Chains, betwixt their Legs, which did so obstruct their going, that they would be commonly a Quarter of an Hour advancing twenty Paces, and yet they were put to the hardest Labour. I have seen Christians at *Salé*, who had their Ears cut off for attempting to get away; and at *Fez*, Don *Raphael de Veras* and several others, had Pieces of dead Flesh taken from their Backs, as big as a Man's Fingers, occasion'd by five hundred Bastinadoes they had receiv'd. To shew how difficult it is, even for Renegado Slaves to make their Escape out of that Country, I will here give an Account of the Flight of two I knew in the Castle of *Salé*, when I was there, how they were retaken, and the Punishment inflicted on them.

The Names of these Renegado's were *Ramadan* and *Abdalla*; *Ramadan* the first a *Spaniard*, and the other, tho' brought out of Spain, attempting a *Moor* by Birth. He had in his Youth been taken by the *Spaniards*, with his Father and Mother, and having been some Time in Spain, was instructed in Christianity, and Baptiz'd. He belong'd to an Inhabitant of *Gibraltar*, who had put him into a Farm, near the Sea. The *Moors* of *Tetuan* making descents on those Coasts frequently, by Night, they went to this Farm, where there were but 4 *Spaniards*, this *Moor* became a Christian, and two Women, who were all taken, after a vigorous Resistance, and wounding several *Moors*, who carry'd them to *Tetuan*.

Companion they were lost, if they did not kill him. *Abdalla* appeas'd him, saying he had sworn to him by the *Alcoran*; that no Harm shall come to them. They refresh'd themselves with what *Abdalla* brought, and then went to the Ferry, to cross the River. As soon as they were in, the *Moor* told the Ferry Men, those two were the Renegado's that fled from *Sale*, which he spoke by Guess, for as soon as a Christian, or Renegado flies Expresses are sent all about to give Notice of it, as has been said before.

In short, they were seiz'd, carry'd to the Castle of *Azamor*, and thence sent back to *Sale*. There the *Alcayde* Order'd his Soldiers to beat them, then findg'd their Faces with Wipps of Straw, and *Ramadan* crying out in *Spanish* upon the Blessed Virgin; some *Anduluzian Moors* that were by, inform'd the Governor, what he said, who believing before, they had fled only to make themselves the King's Slaves, and now perceiving they had Christian Thoughts and design'd to return to *Spain*, not satisfy'd with what they had suffer'd, caus'd them to be kick'd about the Ground for above 50 Paces, after which they were deliver'd up to the Boys to be tormented, who us'd them so barbarously, that they were left for Dead in the Street. At Night there being some Life in them, they were cast into our Dungeon, and confin'd there above two Months, without any Relief, but what we could afford them, and mult have starv'd, had not they been brought out, when my Master sent us to *Fez*, after *Muley Semein* had taken away his Government. At *Fez*, their Masters presented them to the King, who put them into a Bastion on the East South East of *Fez Belle*, whence they deserted to Prince *Gayland*, at *Alcassar*, and *Abdalla* endeavouring to make his Escape to the *Spanish* Garrison at *Larache*, was taken and brought back to *Gayland*, before whom he boldly own'd he fled to Embrace Christianity. Neither Threats nor fair Means prevailing to alter his Resolution, he was burnt on the Bridge that is before the Market of *Alcassar*, in April 1673. His Companion *Ramadan* fled to *Tetuan*, and thence to *Algier*.

To return to the Christian Slaves, those that belong to private Persons, being most Seafaring Men, in the Towns along the Coast, are generally put aboard the Pyrates, where they continually abuse them, and expose their Lives, employing them in Time of Fight on the Mails, and Yards, to hand the Sails, and splice any of the Riggings, that is cut. Those that stay at home, are always Grinding Corn for the Family, carrying Water, Working in Gardens, and Vineyards, cleaving Rocks, to make Lime, and have slender feeding. I have seen Slaves in *Sale* har-

One burnt
the other
escapes.

Employ-
ment of
Slaves at
Sea Ports.

make red hot, and burn the wretched Patient in several Parts, as we do Horfes, which they force him to endure; and for this Reason, they are often very ill, before they dare complain for Fear of that Cure, which the *Moors* reckon as wholesome, as it is Cheap.

When there happens to be a Wedding, they take ten of these Moorish
Wedding. Slaves of private Persons to carry the Bride about in her Litter, which is made like a little Throne, cover'd with Silk, and thus they bear her on their Shoulders through the Streets, with Drums beating, and Hautboys playing. The Bridegrome, attended by all the Guests, goes at the Head of them behind his Spouse. Then they carry her Home, where all the Women, Friends and Relations on both Sides are met. These Women shut themselves up in a Chamber and come not out till some Hours after, during which Time, the Husband receives his Wife, and conducts her into the Apartment she is to possess. Then he returns to the outermost Door, to treat his Friends with a small Collation, which they take between the Doors, and that ended, withdraw. When they are gone, the Husband returns to see his Bride, and try whether he finds her as Chast as she is represented by the Articles of Marriage. After which, having given his Female Friends, who are at the Door a Signal, that he receives her for his Wife, they spend the rest of the Night in Dancing and Singing, at the said Door, whilst the New Marry'd Couple lyes abed. If he finds her not a Maid, he takes off the Cloaths he has given her, and without seeing her Face, restores her to the Kindred, who conduct her back to the Father, and it is in his Power to strangle her, if he will go to the Rigour. When the Matches are among Relations, those Ceremonies are seldom practis'd, for Fear of disgracing the Family; but for saving of the Formalities, the Husband kills a Pigeon upon a Pair of Drawers, which he throws out, and then unveils his Wives Face, to take the Satisfaction of admiring her Beauty. As for the Slaves that carry'd the Bride, as soon as they have left her at home, every one has a white Loaf, and a Porringer of Soupe and Flesh given him for his Pains.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Food allow'd the Slaves, their Habit and Beds.

Food and
Habit.

Bread.

Cooks.

TO conclude with what belongs to us the Kings Slaves, our Food, as has been said, consisted in a small Porringer of black Meal, and an Ounce of Oile each every Day, both in Sicknefs and in Health, and great, or small. Our Habit, was a woollen Sack, with a Hood to it, and Sleeves like an Anchorites Habit and this serv'd us for a Cap, Shirt, Coat and Breeches, with four Pair of wretched Pumps, which in eight Days working among Lime and Mortar, were worn and burnt away, and consequently our Feet for the most part gaul'd, yet nothing must be abated of the Work, on that Account. We made Bread of our Meal, and one in 30 of us was allotted to go to the Stores for the Meal, to make the Bread, Bake and Distribute it. All that were of the same Nation herded together, the better to help one another. We *French* had 3 Bakers, the *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* 6, and the *English* and *Dutch* 4. Our Bread was made into little Cakes, half Bak'd; because the Oven was heated only with Bean Straw, or small Reeds. Our Bakers brought us the Bread thus bak'd to the Works, where we devour'd it hot, for it was often 10 of the Clock before we broke our Fast, expecting the Bread, and having none left from the Day before, for in that Country they Bake every Day. We generally eat ten or twelve together, and sold our Oil, to buy something to make us Pottage at Night, which was commonly the Fat of Salt Beef, or some small matter of Meat and Herbs. We had two Cooks, the *Spaniards* two, and the *English* two. They were like the Bakers, allow'd by the King, at our Choice, continu'd in their Posts, as long as they behav'd themselves well, and when they were faulty we appointed others. It was the Duty of the Cooks, to sweep the *Bitte*, or Prison, to keep the Pitchers full of Water to drink at Super, and dress the Pottage, against we came at Night. Those poor Cooks were subject to be affronted by all the Gang, because sometimes the Pot was too Salt, or too Fresh, or not well Boil'd, and every one had something to say to vex them, so that sometimes, no body would serve the Office.

Our

Our Beds were made of thick Canes interwove together, on which we laid some Mats and Sheeps-Skins, instead of Quilts. The Rooms we lay in being very lofty, and terrass'd at the Top, we made four of these Bed-heads or Ranges, one above another. For my part, I was one of the best accomodated; for when we came into the new *Bitte* at *Miqueues*, there were but 35 French-men of us, and they gave us a Chamber, in which there was Room enough for above 60. One *John Colombet* and I plac'd our selves at the very Top, and made us a little Chamber, resting on a substantial Piece of Timber I brought, with some other Bits of Wood, so that we laid a good Floor, and had a Trap-door to it, and made our selves corded Beds, which were softer than what the others had. That little Room, which cost me much Labour and some little Money, sav'd me several Days Work, keeping my self up close in it, with such of my Comerades as I thought fit to let in; for when the Door, which our Keepers did not know, was shut down, there did not seem to be any or the least Separation. Besides I had a Communication by a Window into the *Spaniards* Quarters, whether I withdrew whilst they search'd ours, and return'd as soon as they had done.

Beds.

There were Christian Surgeons among us, who look'd to the Sick; Bleeding, and giving them Physick; and most of those that were taken at Sea, being sent to the King, we never wanted. I was particularly oblig'd to one above the rest, a good, virtuous, and charitable Man. He got Money enough by his Practice to give considerable Alms, and pay Part of his Ransom. His Name was *William*, now *Joseph Cassel*, generally belov'd by all Men, for his Goodness and Charity. He work'd some time among the rest, till having perform'd several considerable Cures, and particularly one upon *Abdrahaman Fillely*, the King's first Secretary, whom *Muley Mimon Ambarque*, Uncle to *Muley Archy* had made an Eunuch, because he lay with a Maiden he committed to his Custody; he gain'd the Favour of the King and all the Great Men, and was exempted from the Work. When *Muley Semein* made his first Campaign in *Morocco*, after his Brother's Death, he attended him, as Surgeon to the Army, and saw all that happen'd, whereof he afterwards gave me an Account. He was ransom'd by the Fathers of the Redemption in 1676, and got off in time from *Sale*, or else he had been brought back, and never obtain'd his Liberty, *Abdrahaman Fillely*, then Prime Vizier and Viceroy of *Fez*, being angry that he had been dismiss'd, and sending after to stop him, but by good Fortune he was gone. Returning to *France*, he left the World, and enter'd himself into the Religious Order of the *Mercenarians*, to labour for the Redemption of those he had left behind

A good Surgeon.

Religious hind, as he did very effectually. I cannot here but admire the
Redeemers. Charity of that Religious Order, whose Members endure so many Toils, and run such Hazards, both by Sea and Land, out of meer Charity to redeem those unfortunate Captives in Distress, without knowing any thing of them. So great is this Charity of theirs, that when their Money falls short, they often remain themselves as Hostages for the Ransom of such Persons as they understand may be in danger of renouncing their Faith, or upon other Occasions. During that time they are subject to all the Miseries of the Slaves, being often loaded with Chains, made to work, and sometimes upon false Accusations of the Renegadoes, who are their mortal Enemies, they have suffer'd Death.

C H A P. X.

The RR. Fathers Mercenarians come into Barbary, they redeem the Captives. The Author's Return into France, and Description of Miquenes.

*Fathers
come to
ransom
Slaves.*

ON the 19th of February 1681, the RR. FF. Bernard Monel, Bernard Mege, and Joseph Cassel, French Mercenarians, arriv'd at Miquenes, and were presented to the King, bringing considerable Presents, without which nothing would have been done. They had a favourable Reception, and were put into the Hands of Amar, Alcayde of Alcazar: He with much Haughtiness ask'd them, how much Money they brought; to which they answer'd, 10000 Crowns: Next he inquir'd whether that Money was given by the King of France, or collected by Charity; for if given by the King, his Master he would afford them a good Reception, and ransom the Slaves they desir'd; but that he could not believe so Great a King would bestow so small a Sum, considering how many Slaves he had formerly deliver'd from Algier. F. Monel boldly reply'd, That the King of France did not give Money to ransom his Subjects, but did it with his Canon, and that the Money they brought was all rais'd by Alms. After some other Discourse, he sent them to lodge at a Jew's House, that was hung with Cobwebs, where I went to visit them, with two of my Comerades, and was inform'd that the Bishop of Chartres, a special Friend to our Family, had promis'd to allow a Sum of Money, if they could procure
my

my Liberty, which he paid the next Day after my Arrival in France. On the 23d of February, in the Afternoon, the King came on Horseback to our Prison, where he ask'd the Fathers, what was their Request? Who answer'd, they came to ransom Captives, if he pleas'd. He call'd our Keeper, and ask'd him what Number of French Slaves there was? Who told him 130. Then he demanded of the Fathers whether they would buy them all? And they reply'd, they had but 10000 Crowns in ready Money; but if he would release them all for 20000, they would leave one of their Number, as a Hostage for the other 10000, whilst they went to France to raise them. The King demanded 30000 Ducats, as the Spanish Redemption Friars had given for 200 of their Nation. After much Haggling it was agreed they should have 50 Slaves for their 10000 Crowns. His Guards were sent to bring the French from the Works, and being drawn up in a Line, he chose himself such of us as God directed him, designing to part with those that were most unfit for the hard Labour he put us upon: But *Benecha*, whom he had by him on purpose, because he had taken most of us, pick'd out several, who he told the King were Captains and Merchants, and able to pay a greater Ransom. Perceiving he did not take me out to be ransom'd, I made bold to creep on my Knees to his Horses Feet, kissing the Ground, letting him know that I had been 11 Years in Captivity, and was of a longer Standing than any in the Company, and being poor could expect no Relief, but from God and himself. He heard, yet order'd me to be put away; yet I return'd again in the same Manner: Then he call'd the Keeper, and ask'd him what I did? Who told him I ground Colours and sometimes made Plaister for the Painters. What, says the King, has he learn'd no other Employment in 11 Years; he is a Dunce, a new one will do as much in a Week. Go thy way, said he to me. I kiss'd the Ground to return Thanks, and went over to those he had cull'd out before. Presently after he came to me again, and order'd his Guards to take off a Handkerchief I had put on my Head, because it was cold, and I had but little Hair, and then order'd me to be carry'd back among those that were to stay; yet I falling down again before his Horse, he again ask'd some Questions about me, and then let me go.

When the King had pick'd out those he design'd to part with, he made us walk before him to the great Gate of the Castle, and counted us over again, being but 45, tho' he had promis'd 50, and then play'd a pleasant Game, tho' it put me into a Fright, to save parting with any more. He set by 5 of us who had begg'd most earnestly, of which Number *Bernard Bausset* was one; and said to the Fathers; Restore me these 5 Slaves I have made over to you,

Fraud of the King.

you, and are the eldest, and I will give you 10 others for them, to make up the 50 I promis'd. The Fathers knowing this was a Wile, to avoid delivering any more, told him they would be satisfi'd with us, since he was so pleas'd. Hereupon he quitted us, after asking *Bausset* to stay, and he would make his Fortune; for which he return'd Thanks, and so he and we went with the Fathers. The next Day the King refus'd to release some others that had been well recommended to the Fathers, under 500 Crowns a Man; and several of those that were left behind, being in Despair, treated those Religious Men very rudely. We departed *Miquenes* on the 25th of February 1681, with Father *Monel* and Brother *Cassel*; F. *Mege* going with *Benefcha* to *Sale*, where he stay'd a Month to ransom 16 Slaves, whom he afterwards carry'd to *Tetuan*. Before we depart *Miquenes*, I will give an Account of the Condition I left it in.

Miquenes
describ'd.

Miquenes is 12 Leagues from *Fez*, 3 from the high Mountains of *Serhon*, which lie North from it; 6 from those of *Safaro*, being Part of the *Atlas*, and South from it, and 25 from *Sale*, which is to the Westward. The Soil is fertile, and abounding in all sorts of Grain, Cattle, Olive Trees, and Gardens. The Air is temperate, and much more healthy than at *Fez*; for which reason *Muley Semein* now reigning, has built close to the City a Castle, a Palace, and *Seraglio*, after the Model of those at *Fez*. They are adorn'd with several Stately Square Towers, cover'd with green Tiles, which make the Prospect very delightful at a Distance. This Castle on the North East Side has 3 Walls; the first is 6 Handfuls broad, and above 6 Fathom high without, flank'd with square Towers with Battlements: Between this Wall and the second is a large square Spot of Ground, call'd *Roua Mezir*. The second which is 30 Handfuls thick upon the Level, is 8 Fathom high and made with a *Talus*, so that at the Top it is but 10 Handfuls thick, and on the Edges of it there are 2 little Walls, 3 Handfuls thick each, and above the Height of a Man, and serving to cover the Blacks of the Garrison, who live in the Towers, both within and without, so that they may walk round the Castle without being seen. The third serves for a Wall to the *Seraglio*, and is much higher than the others, being at least 12 Fathom, and having Battlements and Embrasures, and the Eunuchs stand Sentinel at Night. The other Sides have but one Wall 6 Handfuls over, flank'd all about with strong, lofty and square Towers, and two Bastions on the East and South East. There are 3 Gates: The greatest, which is on the South East Side, they call *Bebe-El-Cala*, or the *Field Gate*, on the Sides whereof there are 2 lofty square Towers and on each of them 3 *Flower de Lucies*, set up there by us in the Year 1677
the

the Burial Place being right before them. The second call'd *Bebe-le-Hajar*; that is, the *Stone Gate*, because made of square Stone, goes out to *Roma Mezir*. And the third opening to the City bears the Name of *Bebe-del-Medina*, or the *City Gate*. They are all guarded by Blacks, except the great one, which the King commits to the Care of his Renegadoes, when he is not in the Field. This Castle is not so broad as long, and much narrower on the South West Side than on the North East. Here are bury'd the Treasures of *Muley Semein* and *Muley Archy*, being very considerable. On the *South East*, beyond the burial Place is another small Castle, built in the Year 1680, and call'd *Ludeya*, the Walls whereof are six Handfuls thick, flank'd with square Towers, having Battlements on them.

The City of *Miquenes* is directly under the *North West* Side of the *Miquenes* great Castle, about the bigness of *Chartres*, and stands in a very delightful Plain, in the Province of *Asceis*, as well as that of *Fez*. Its chief Trade is in Corn, Hides, and Wax, of which Sorts the Inhabitants have great Stores, as also of Wool. The People are very Peaceable, and more Loyal to their Princes than those of *Fez* and *Salé*. The River *Beth*, which is six Leagues from it, on the Way to *Salé*, and that of *Bouamaire* running about a Musket Shot North East from the City, mix their Waters in a Lake, on this Side the Province of *Algarve*, near the *Sebou*. Close by, on the Side next to *Fez*, is a pleasant Wood of Olive Trees, with abundance of Gardens on both Sides of the River, which employ the People in looking to them, and produce Plenty of the following Fruit and Plants. Oranges, Pomgranates, sweet and sower Lemons, and Citrons, Quinces, Nuts, Almonds, Olives and Figs, grow without any trouble, because they need no Watering; as do the Pear, Apple, Plumb and Apricock Trees, as also Cabbage, Coleworts, Turneps, Carrots, Raddishes, Purslane, Parsley, Melons, Cucumbers, Pompions, Onions, Beans, Pease, Garlick, and other sorts too tedious to mention. The Neighbouring high Mountain of *Serhon*, produces abundance of Raisins of the Sun and Olives, which are the principal Commodities the *Barbarians* inhabiting three or four Villages at the Foot of it, drive a Trade with at *Miquenes*.

Whilst we are still at *Miquenes*, where the King's Court is, it will not be improper to speak a Word concerning that Prince's Person, whom I had but too much leisure to observe, as also his Train. *Muley Semein el Heusenin*, King of *Fez*, *Morocco*, and *Tafilet*, is thirty seven Years of Age, indifferent tall, but very slender, tho' his Cloaths make him look more spread. His Face, is of a bright Chestnut Complexion, longish and the Features not amiss.

The Emperor Muley Semein

H

He

He wears a long Beard, a little forked. His Aspect, tho' seemingly mild, is no Token of his Goodness, for he is cruel to such a Degree, that his own Subjects say, they never had any Prince like him; besides that he is one of the most Covetous that ever reign'd, and takes himself an Account of the Horse-shoes, Nails, Spice, Drugs, Butter, Honey, and other inconsiderable things that are in his Stores, more like a poor Trader than a great Monarch. In other Respects, he is well Skill'd in War, brave in his Person, always marches at the Head of his Troops, draws them up himself, is always the first at charging his Enemies, and never flies. He is extraordinary undaunted in Adversity, and tho' he has been several times upon the very Brink of losing all his Dominions, he never said any thing when talk'd with concerning his Misfortune; but, that if God had appointed him to be a King, and to have a long Reign, no Man could obstruct it. He has a peculiar Dexterity in mounting a Horseback, and managing a Spear, and I have seen him several times, run a long Carrier, holding one of his Sons in one Arm, with a Spear in the other Hand, without suffering his Horse to commit the least Fault. There are always above two hundred Persons about him, as well *Cherifs* as *Alcayds*, handsomely clad in the Fashion, who attend him a Horseback Night and Morning, when he rides out, besides 4000 Blacks that are his Guards, and live in Tents about *Miquenes*.

Extor-
tion as Te-
tuan.

To continue our Journey, *F. Mege* having joyn'd us again at *Tetuan*, where *F. Ignatius Bernede* had stay'd with the Money, belonging to the Redemption; it was there deliver'd to *Mahomet Lebache Tomin*, Lieutenant to the *Alcayde*, *Hali Ben Abdalla el Hamemin*, Governor of that Town, who was this Year the Kings Embassador at *Paris*. When we had staid there three Weeks, and bought up all the *French* of the Governor, that wicked Man kept us all Prisoners, and would not release either Fathers, or Captives, till we had paid him the Duty of the Gates, after the Rate of 26 Crowns a Head. Having receiv'd that Money, he bannish'd us to a Place on the Shore, call'd *Martin*, above a League from the Town; forbidding both Fathers and Captives to return any more upon Pain of being made Slaves. Thus were we expos'd for 20 Days to the Inclemency of the Weather, without any Shelter against the Rain, which then fell in abundance, but only Huts cover'd with Grass, which were wet through in a Moment, and all that time, we had no other Sustenance, but a very little Bread. This covetous Governour, who is Brother to *Amar Hadou*, came one Day to demand of the Fathers 300 Crowns, for 3 Months they had been in the Country; which they refusing he made us immediately go on Board a scurvy Vessel, and the Tide being out and an East Wind coming

coming up on a sudden, we must have been lost upon the Bar, had we gone out, which oblig'd the Fathers to give him the 300 Crowns he demanded, to save us from perishing.

I was one of the first aboard the Bark that was to carry us off, where a Jew sent by the *Alcayde*, seeing me take some Notes, he went away and told the Governour what he had seen, perswading him I must be some Person of Note, that could give a greater Ransom. Hereupon I was brought before the said Governour who examin'd me, and finding I had been 11 Years a Captive, and there was nothing to be expected, he left me and I return'd aboard. We departed *Tetuan* on the 13th of May, of which Place I will give some Account before we leave it. *Tetuan* is built on a Rock along the Side of a Hill, the Walls are not very strong of themselves; but the Rocks they stand on render them more Defensible than they would otherwise be. The Town is in the Shape of a St. *Andrew's* Cross, and the Castle seated on the midst of the Hill to the Westward, has full Command over it. The Inhabitants are Wealthy, both on Account of their following Piracy, and the Trade they drive in the Kingdom of *Algier* and the Towns of *Tangier* and *Cen'a*. Below the Town is a curious Plain, about 5 Leagues in compass, enclos'd with high rocky Mountains, fruitful at the bottom, as bearing all Sorts of Fruit, and in the Plain there are many Gardens and Vineyards. A considerable River runs through the midst of it, into which their Brigantines, Frigats and Gallies draw up. From this Town great Quantities of Wax, Leather, and Raisins of the Sun are transported into *Europe*; and in the middle of it is a large *Mazmorra* or Dungeon, which serves to shut up the poor Christian Captives, and has always a considerable Number of them. The Inhabitants are for the most part those they call *Andaluzians*, being the *Moors* expell'd *Spain*, with many *Jews*, who live towards the Sea Gate. Being 2 Leagues from the Sea, when any Ships appear on the Coast, the Inhabitants have notice given them by Beacons, or Fires made on Towers, that they may Arm and come down to the Shore.

The next Day after our Departure, we arriv'd at *Malaga* on the Coast of *Andaluzia*, where we made the usual Procession of Thanksgiving, being receiv'd in triumphant Manner by the R.R. Fathers *Mercenarians* and all the *Spaniards* in general, and after being well treated, we set Sail again for *France*, on the 15th and came to *Marseille* on the 26th of the same Month. After our private Procession, we met in the great one of *Corpus Christi* Day, where there were above 2000 People with lighted Tapers, the Sighs and Tears of those who had any Friends or Relations in *Barbary* afflicting us amidst so much Joy. In fine we travell'd

his Master's Dogs, and what made him go in that Disguise. The *Morabite* believing him to be some Renegado, was a little daunted but soon recovering himself from the Fright conceiv'd, because he had been heard to speak any Language but *Arabick*, answer'd in these very Words, *A ben queleb liache t'queta lia, anan Morabite*, That is, *Thou Son of a Dog, how durst thou affront me who am an Anchorite*. No such Matter, answer'd the *Spaniard*, in *French*, you must not think to lurk under that Disguise; I know what you are, and unless you own it frankly, I'll cause you to be punish'd. You do not know who I belong to, since you call me Son of a Dog; but you must understand that the *Cheque* of the Mountains is my Master, who upon a Words speaking of what I have seen, will put you to Death: Confess you are but an Impostor, that wander about in that manner to deceive the *Moors*; and if you do, I promise on the Faith of a Christian, as I am, that no Harm shall come to you, which if you fail of, you shall certainly die. The *Morabite* was overjoy'd to meet with a Christian in those Desarts, and having recover'd himself and look'd about, for fear that any Body should hear, declar'd to the *Spaniard* that he was a Christian, and then they embrac'd. After some other Questions on both Sides they agreed to speak *Spanish*, and to tell one another all their Adventures; for the better doing whereof, the *Spaniard* conducted the false *Morabite* to his Mill, gave him to eat and drink, and after some Repose, led him into his little Garden, desiring he would proceed to his Relation, which he did to this effect.

The false
Morabite

Sir, said he, I am a Christian by the Grace of God, as I told you upon our first embracing, and was born at *Bordeaux*, where I spent my Youth in the Study of Humanity. At 18 Years of Age, my Father who was a Merchant, and would breed me up to it, sent me to live at *Malaga* in *Spain*, where I stay'd a Year, and then went to *Granada*; in which Place, during my 7 Years abode, I had a great Affection for a beautiful Widow, but it ended unfortunately. That young Lady who had more Wit than Wealth, tho' of good Quality; and knew that I wanted not a Fortune, first express'd a Kindness for me, and knew so well how to manage my Heart, that she gain'd an entire Ascendant over it, being before altogether disengag'd. For a long time we had no Communication but by Letters; for she being closely observ'd by her Kindred, and particularly by *Don Emanuel Marrique*, her Cousin German, I could never get Admittance into her House. She never went abroad but to Church, and that with *Don Emanuel's* Daughters, and therefore made use of a *Moorish* Woman Slave to convey her Letters to me, and receive my Answers. To be short, the Intrigue went on so far, that it cost the poor Lady her Life, and

The Mora-
bites Story.

dues, which appear in sailing up it, departing from the main Body, to fall into the Sea in different Places, and contribute much to fertilize the Country, helping the Inundation, which happens every Year. Having no Acquaintance at *Cairo*, I went to the Consul's, who was then *Monsieur de Beruine*. Two Days after my Arrival, *Osman Bassa*, coming to succeed *Amurat*, then removing to be Governour of *Aleppo*, made his publick Entry into *Cairo*. All the Troops and *Faniliaries* with Colours flying and Martial Music, went out to meet him, about a League from the City: The *Turks* shut up their Shops, and made Lanes in the Streets he was to pass through, to express their Joy for his Coming, because he had the Reputation of a good Man, whereas *Amurat* was covetous and cruel, for which they hated him. I saw this Solemnity and thought it very Gallant, all the *Turks* being finely clad. When *Osman* came to the Palace Gate, he distributed some Bounty, and the *Turks* continu'd bestowing Blessings, and wishing him a happy Government.

Nile River.

Entry of a Bassa.

The following Days I walk'd into the Gardens that are on the Banks of *Nile*, in which there are whole Woods of Palm, Orange, Lemmon, Fig, Olive, Almond, and Pomegranate Trees; and I went a hunting the Wild Boar with the Consul's Secretary. The fourth Day after the *Bassa's* Arrival, the Consul attended by all the *French* Merchants, among whom I made one, went to the Palace to welcome and make him the usual Presents. The *Bassa*, who was a Man of a good Presence, receiv'd us courteously, and after some Complements we all return'd to the Consuls, who treated us. Before I leave this City, I will speak a few Words of it in my Way: I shall not pretend to give an ample Description either of the Lakes or Palaces, which ennoble and make it one of the most considerable in the World; it may suffice to let you know it, is divided into three Towns with a slight Enclosure, but so large, that one of them contains 80000 Houses: That in the middle, seated on an Eminency, is call'd *Caire* or *Massar*; one of the others is according to some the ancient *Memphis*, or in the Opinion of others *Babylon* in *Egypt*; and the third, that formerly call'd *Babacum*. This City, which for many Ages had been the Capital of the *Egyptian* Empire, was reduc'd under the Obedience of the *Turks*, by the Emperour *Selim* the first, after three bloody Victories gain'd over the *Mamaluks*, in which two of the *Sultans* perish'd, the last whereof was *Thomun Bey*. After the Conquest, the *Ottoman* Monarch made it a *Beglerbegship*, which is a general Government over several *Sarginacks*, who are smaller Governours. This was the Post *Osman Bassa* came to take Possession off, instead of *Amurat* remov'd to *Aleppo*.

Cairo City.

Our

the Tribute, I drew near to make much of her, to which she readily consented, and allowing me to hold my Mouth to hers a considerably time. Whilst we were in this Posture, a pleasing Silence best expressing our Affections, a black Woman coming in surpriz'd and put us out of Countenance. We earnestly intreated, and brib'd her, not to make any Discovery; but as soon as ever she had got what she came for, and receiv'd two Ducats in Gold I gave her, she ran to the *Bey's* Aunts, to tell the Widow the Posture she had found us in. That Woman taking her Leave of the Company, came away in great Hast, and meeting me by the way, threatned no less, than that I should be burnt alive, when the *Bey* return'd. Being come to the Tent, she pull'd down her Daughter by the Hair of the Head, trampled on and beat her till she was left for dead. At the same time, she writ a Letter to the *Bey*, acquainting him with what had happen'd, and demanding Justice. Her Daughter protested, we had been guilty of no Crime, but a loving Kiss, owning she had a Kindness for me, in Hopes I might change my Religion and Marry her; but the Mother, would not believe her, and resolv'd to be reveng'd, at the Expence of my Life. Considering therefore, that it would fall heavy upon me, when the *Bey* return'd, I resolv'd to fly for Safety.

Betray'd.

By good Fortune the Pilgrims of *Tafilet*, *Fez* and *Morocco*, came within a League of our Tents, in their Return from *Mecca*, I sent them the Refreshments the *Bey* us'd to allow, and being my self perfect in the *Arabick*, and all their ways, bought the Habit of a *Morabite*, or Hermit, for a Sack of Dates, and taking Provision along with me, and all Necessaries to strike Fire, travell'd after them four Days alone, without meeting any Creature. The fourth Night I overtook the Pilgrims, who flock'd about to kiss my Hand, and ask'd my Blessing. I said a short Prayer; as I well knew, and then they conducted me to the chief Tent, where their *Alcayde* said to me, Father, so they call the *Morabites*, how dare you travel these Deserts alone, are not you afraid of the Lions? The Lions, said I, will not meddle with me, and in *Egypt*, where I was born, and in great Reputaion, I made one of them serve a poor Woman, instead of an As of hers, he had devour'd, and which carry'd Wood for her to *Massar*, that is *Cairo*. This mov'd the *Bassa Amurat* to build me an Hermitage, two Leagues from the City, by the Name of *Cede Boisa*. (Then I describ'd a place I had seen when I went a Hunting there, with the Consuls Secretary) *Osman Bassa*, visited me every *Friday*; but I despising those Honours, rather chose to wander about as you see. I added more Fables about my Travels, saying I was going to visit the

Pilgrims.

His Flight.

Tombs of *Mahometan* Saints, which made all that heard the Story look upon me as one of the holiest Men upon the Earth. The *Alcayde* thought it an Honour to treat, and lay me by him in his Bed; and the next Day they mounted me on a Camel, on which I was carry'd to *Tafiler*, always talking to them of spiritual Affairs. The Viceroy met and conducted us to his Palace, where being told who I was, he kiss'd my Hand, and ask'd my Blessing. Here I fell sick, and was carefully attended by the Viceroy and Pilgrims, till being recover'd, I retir'd into a Grove of Palm Trees, which having yielded little Fruit for some Years, and being very full at this Time, it was attributed to my Sanctity, and my Reputation rais'd so high, that all the great Men carry'd me to Bless their Families, and therefore, for Fear of being discover'd, I resolv'd to go away to *Morocco*, thence to make my Escape to some Christian Sea-Port Town. I have now rambld 2 Months through the Territories of *Loudga*, *Gurify*, *Sedrat*, *Terquela*, *Hadet*, *Mougouna*, *Magaram*, and others on Mount *Atlas*, where we now are.

The *Spaniard*, who had listned attentively entertain'd the false *Morabite* at Supper, telling him his own Adventures, and they resolv'd to go away together to *Morocco*, as they did accordingly. The Mountainiers they met were extremely Courteous, and they arriv'd at *Morocco* in a few Days. Entering the Gate the *Spaniard* was known by some Mountainiers of the Guard, who saluted him civilly, and would have suffer'd him to pass, had he answer'd them in the same manner; but he pretending not to know them, they conceiv'd some Suspicion, and carry'd both him and the *Morabite* before the *Cady*, who hearing them both speak *Arabick* so perfectly was at a stand, till they search'd whether they were Circumcis'd, and finding they were not, the *Cady* carry'd them himself to *Mulay Hamet*, before whom the *Morabite* gave an Account of his Adventures, and they were both put to serve in his Stables. The King of *Fex* afterwards taking that City made them Gunners. The false *Morabite* coming to *Miquenes* told me all this Story, which I have deliver'd from his own Mouth. There he was set to the Works, among the Rest, which he misliking, made his Escape to *Tangier*, where a drunken *Irish* Soldier of the Garrison, shot him in the Shoulder, as we were inform'd by a Deserter, who left him in that Condition, his life being despair'd of at the first dressing; but whether he recover'd, or no I did not hear. This Story, and those that follow are inserted to divert the Reader, after the dismal Relations of the Sufferings of the Captives in *Barbary*.

Is taken
and flies
again.

C H A P. XII.

The Captivity of Don Raphael de Veras, a Spanish Gentleman, and the amorous Intrigue between a French Captive Surgeon, and a Lady of Sale.

DON Raphael de Veras was Born at Toledo, where his Father had been three times *Corregidor*, or Chief Magistrate; but having some Difference with the Marquis de Aitona, and a Son of that Nobleman hapning to be murder'd soon after, *Don Lewis de Veras*, Father to *Don Raphael*, was accus'd of the Murder, spent all he was worth in Law, and at last dy'd in Prison. After his Death, *Don Raphael* being left Fatherless, at 15 Years of Age was Page to the Cardinal of *Aragon*, who gave him to his Brother's Wife. There he became perfect in all Exercises becoming a Gentleman, and being himself a graceful Person was admir'd by the Ladies, and particularly by an Heiress of one of the Prime Families, who declar'd her Affection, and resolv'd to Marry him privately. This Secret was betray'd by one of her Maids to a Duke she was design'd for by her Kindred, who all conspiring together seiz'd *Don Raphael*, and sending him down to the Sea, he was thence carry'd over to the Garrison of *Larache*, on the Coast of *Africk*.

He found Means there to convey a Letter to the Lady, who us'd all possible Means to get him enlarg'd, but in vain; yet on her Account the Governour gave him all the Liberty, and good Usage the Place would allow of; six Months after his arrival there, Prince *Gayland*, hearing the Garrison was weak, thought to surprize it; but was so vigorously receiv'd, that after two resolute Attacks he drew off, with the loss of above 2000 Men. *Don Raphael* behav'd himself very bravely in this Action, and was wounded, whereof he sent an Account to his Lady, who made Application to the King for his Discharge, without the intended Effect, because many great Men oppos'd it. Finding no Possibility of obtaining his Liberty that way, she writ a Letter advising him to desert to *Gayland*, and she would give his Weight in Gold for his Ransom. *Don Raphael* having receiv'd this Letter, readily obey'd, and swimming over the River in the Night, was shot in the Thigh, from a Tower, as he reach'd the other Side. The Moors there dress'd and sent him to *Alcazar*, where *Gayland* being defeated by *Muley Archy* King of Fez and *Tafiler*, he was taken among the rest of that Prince's Slaves, and sent to Fez, without any Hopes of being ransom'd.

At first they put him to work with the rest, till *Muley Archy* being inform'd that he could play well on several Instruments took him to Court, to divert him at his Meals and other leisure times, which was then all his Employment.

Here he receiv'd a Letter from his Ladies Steward, with the Account of her Death, occasion'd by Grief, for his Misfortunes, and that there was now no Hope of ransoming him. He was much concern'd at this News, and resolv'd to attempt making his Escape; to which purpose, the King often giving him Money, he discover'd himself to a Renegado, he had known at *Larache*, promising him 100 Crowns for a Horse, Arms, and Cloaths. The Renegado agreed, and having receiv'd the Money, furnish'd what he had promis'd; but went and gave notice at the Gates to stop him as he went out. *Don Raphaël* was accordingly taken and carry'd before the King, who ask'd him why he fled, and who had furnish'd him with the Horse and Arms. He knowing the Renegado had betray'd him, accus'd that Wretch, who by the King's Order was immediately hung upon the Iron Hooks at the Place of Execution. *Don Raphael* had no hurt done him, but continu'd as before till the Death of *Muley Archy*. His Brother and Successor *Muley Semein* being advanc'd to the Throne, and having Conquer'd *Morocco*, he gave *Cheque Amar*, General of his Horse eight Christian Slaves, for his good Service in that War. *Ardovan*, then *Alcayde* of the Captives allow'd him his choice, putting *Don Raphael* among the rest, because he had attempted to make his Escape. *Cheque Amar* carry'd him to old *Fez*, where he liv'd some time easy enough; but the City being besieg'd, and he continually working at the Mines carry'd on, to take a Castle that did the Town Harm he thought to fly to new *Fez*, and was taken and brought back to his Master.

Amar being a merciless Man order'd he shou'd receive 300 Bastonadoes in his Presence, and 100 more every Morning for 3 Days following, so that the dead Flesh came off several Parts of his Body in bits, like the top of a Mans Finger. Then they wash'd his Sores with Salt and Vineger, and sometimes with Brandy to prevent a Gangrene, there being no Surgeon, or other Medicines. When he was better, *Cheque Amar* ask'd him one Day in Derision, whether he would run away again, and he not valuing his Life, boldly answer'd, That since he had us'd him so barbarously for so slight a Fault, God who was just, wou'd let him see himself reveng'd. This prov'd Prophetical; for *Amar* was kill'd, and cut in Pieces by the King's Blacks the last Campaign at *Morocco*, where *Don Raphael* then was.

After

After the Rebellion of Fez was suppress'd, *Don Raphael* fell into the Kings Hands, and was with others employ'd in the Train of Artillery, where he suffer'd very much, there being a great Scarcity in the Army; but he still designing to make his Escape, and *Maragam*, a Portuguese Garrison being but 6 Days Journey off, he communicated his Intention with a Portuguese Captain, who was also in the Army, and being to Travel at Night and both ignorant of the Way, *Don Raphael* perswaded a Moor whom he had known in Spain, and who was willing to return thither to be their Guide. The Moor agreeing, for the greater Expedition undertook one Night to steal some Horses in the Camp, but being taken in the fact was cut in Pieces by the Blacks of the King's Guard. This did not discourage *Don Raphael* and his Companion, who left the Camp the next Night, and went to hide themselves at the Foot of a Mountain 6 Leagues off.

There were several Caves with the Mouths to a Brook, in one of which they rested themselves, where hearing some Noise and fearing it might be made by Soldiers sent after them, they went farther in; at which time a Fox that kennell'd within, being frightened, leap'd over their Heads, they filling all the Space below. *Don Raphael* went out to see what that might be, and spy'd the Fox near the Brook, whereupon he went in again, and they rested till Sun set, when they travell'd on again without meeting any thing remearable that Night. The next, they discover'd by the Light of the Moon, a Place where the Kings Army had encamp'd on its March, and found several Granaries under Ground full of Corn. Going a little farther they heard a Lion roar, that was seeking his Prey directly before them, and therefore they struck off to the left, and had not gon 40 Paces before they heard another on that Side, which so frightened them, that they thought of nothing but saving themselves in some of those subterraneous Granaries they had left behind. The Lions pursu'd, and they both leap'd into the same Place, that they might help one another out again. The Mouth of it was cover'd with a thick Bush, about which the Lions walk'd and roar'd till Mornng, when they heard no more of them. However their Fright ceas'd not, for all the Day they heard People moving about, Horses Neighing, Tents Pitching, Sheep Bleating, Cows Lowing, and Men and Women Singing; which made them suspect, that some Herd of Arab was come to encamp there, and they should soon be discover'd. Whilst they were in this Fright, a young Arabian Maid that Sang very well, came near the Bush that clos'd the Mouth of the Cavern Singing some Couplets, and complaining to one of her Companions, that her Parents would not bestow her on a Kinsman she was passionately

ately in Love with. Then they discours'd of the News, that *Muley Semein* would take *Morocco*, and lastly she said, two Christians were fled from the Camp, and there was search made after them. When they had ended their Discourse, a Flock of Goats drew near these Maids, who vanish'd in a moment; and as they brouz'd on the Bush, one of the He Goats fell into the Cave and Skipp'd out again, as if he had flown, which made them believe, the *Alcayde Benjanja* had practis'd some Piece of Sorcery on their Cloaths since they left the Camp.

*Practise
of Sorcery.*

It is to be observ'd, that when any Christian runs away, his Master sends for a *Talbe*, that is, one of their Priests, who is Conducted to the Place where the Slave us'd to lye, or has some Garment brought him, that he frequently wore. He mutters over the Place, or Cloaths, then takes two Yards of Packthread, on which he makes several Knots, muttering on all the while, and nails it down to the Place, or fastens it to the Christians Garment, who they say is thus bewitch'd and can never get away. Several Captives against whom this has been practis'd have travell'd all the Night, and found themselves the next Morning in the same Place they set out from. This made *Don Raphael* and his Companion believe, that all they had heard the Night before and that Day was a mere Illusion. Having therefore recommended themselves to God, *Don Raphael* look'd out, and perceiving all was clear they help'd one another up, and travell'd all the Night till break of Day. Having been two Days without Water, they were necessitated to drink their own Urine; but passing by a Castle, they there ask'd for some Drink. The *Arabs* directed them to a Spring they would find on their way, where they only stay'd to quench their Thirst, and fill a Bottle they had for that Purpose, and then hasten'd out of the way, which was well they did, for the *Arabs* believing they were Deserters pursu'd to strip them. Travelling very fast, the *Portuguese*, who was beside himself with Fear, dropp'd the Bag their Bread was in, and having still three Nights Journey before they could reach *Masagaon*, they were two Days without eating any thing, but some Palm Tree Roots, which they could scarce get out of the Ground, by reason of their Weakness.

Hunger obliging them to travel by Day, they found some Relief, meeting with a flying Party of *Muley Hamet's*, that was abroad to Plunder the Convoys going to the King of Fez's Camp, then about *Sancta Cruz*. Those Soldiers being told they were Deserters from *Muley Semein's* Camp, and had eaten nothing in 3 Days, gave them some Raisins and Dates, and let them proceed on their Journey. That same Night meeting some *Moors* of *Azamor* going to *Supbia*, they

they were discover'd to be Christians, secur'd, and carry'd to the Governour of *Saphia*, who put them into the Dungeon of Criminals, where they liv'd 11 Months upon Bread and Water; being taken but 4 Leagues from *Matagaom*, after so much Fatigue endur'd to no purpose. *Muley Semein* having again taken *Morocco*, the Governour of *Saphia*, at his going to Court carry'd the 2 Captives along with him. The King forgave them, knowing they only fled to get into their own Country, and being put in among their Companions, they soon recover'd their Strength, and prepar'd to fly again. They did so, and *Ben Janja* who was their *Alcayde* sent Soldiers after, who travell'd with them some time before they knew them, till perceiving they endeavour'd to shun their Company, they began to enquire whether they travell'd. The Captives answer'd, they were *Moors* of *Tremezan* and had their Captains Discharge, intending for Sale to go a Privateering. The Soldiers demanded to see their Discharge, and none appearing, carry'd them back to *Morocco* as Deserters. At the City Gate *Don Raphael* confess'd they were the Christians that had fled from the Camp. You told us you were of our Religion, answer'd the Soldiers, and now you declare your selves Christians again, you must go before the *Cady*. Having given that Judge their Reasons for what they had said, he discharg'd them, telling the *Moors* there present, that all Christians who declar'd themselves *Mahometans*, and had not made a publick Profession of that Religion, but did it to save their Lives, or gain their Liberty, ought to be allow'd to recant within three Days, and therefore those could not in Justice be punish'd. The *Cady* having given this Judgment, sent the Captives to the Camp, where those who conducted them, gave the King an Account of all that had happen'd, and he order'd the *Alcayde Ben Janja* to keep them in Irons Night and Day, till the Army broke up. That Barbarian made them endure much Hardship, and more they must have gone through, had not the King, who was going to *Fez*, caus'd them to be unchain'd. When that Prince fought the Barbarians of *Zaousias*, who had revolted, the *Portuguese* Captain, and a *Spaniard* were kill'd by the bursting of a Cannon, and *Don Raphael* returning to *Alquenez*, had the good Fortune to be one of those the *Spanish* Redemption Friars ransom'd in the Year 1680.

The *African* Women are generally incontinent, either naturally or because they have but one Husband to several of them. Yet it is very difficult for them to have any Intrigues with *Mahometans*, because the Men being extraordinary jealous, never suffer them to go abroad. However they find more Conveniency with their Slaves, whom the Husbands do not so much suspect, either
that

that they think the Christians blind, or believe that Burning which is the Punishment inflicted on them, when taken with *Mahometan* Women, is sufficient to deter them from attempting any such thing. Thus they take all possible Precautions on the one Hand, and none on the other, carefully avoiding the less Danger, and easily fall into the greater, as will appear by the following Story.

Intrigue of
a French
Captive.

Mahomet le Maraxchy, who was one of the Prime Men of *Sale*, and the Kings Secretary for Marine Affairs when I was there, had a very beautiful Daughter call'd *Fatma*, marry'd to *Mahomet Abdalla Tonsy*, a wealthy Inhabitant of the same Town. This Woman was of a very amorous Disposition, and had us'd all her Endeavours before she was marry'd, to debauch a young handsome *Gascon* Captain, who was her Father's Slave. The Captive being proof against all her Allurements, and ransom'd soon after, she still held on her lewd Inclination, and tho' marry'd prov'd never the more continent. It is true her Husband *Tonsy* was to blame; for tho' good natur'd and complying with every thing she requir'd, yet he was too fond of Boys and Wine. This cast *Fatma* into such a Fit of Melancholy, that it turn'd to a languishing Disease, which it is thought would have kill'd her: However she was perfectly recover'd by a *French* Surgeon, who was Slave to *Cantillo Reys*, her Husband's Brother in Law, and had been sent for to her, having before given good Proofs of his Skill. The Surgeon was a handsome young Man, likely to please any Woman less amorous than *Fatma*, and therefore no Wonder that she soon took Fire.

He coming one Day to visit her, and inquire whether she felt any Remains of her Distemper, she told him her Obligations to him were so great, for the restoring of her Health, that she could requite him with nothing less than her self; adding that her Eyes had before declar'd her Affection, and bidding him now shew himself worthy of the Esteem she had for him. The Captive, tho' he had gue's'd at something before, was a little surpriz'd and at a stand, considering the Danger he expos'd himself to; but Love prevailing above Fear, he resolv'd to comply with *Fatma*, and accordingly after many Acknowledgments of the Favour she did him, declar'd she might absolutely dispose of his Person. This was sufficient to conclude the Match; and from that time forward *Fatma* entirely devoted herself to the Captive. He visited her frequently when the Husband was abroad, without the least Suspicion on his Side, because he had a Kindness for the Man, on account of the Cure he had effected on his Wife. No Jealousy had perhaps enter'd into his Head; but that some *Jews* who had Shops near his House, seeing

ing the Slave go in most Days, acquainted him, that every time Surgeon came, a black Woman Slave of his Wife's stood Sentinel at the Street Door. Hereupon *Tonfy*, the next Day, instead of going abroad, hid himself in a Closet which was divided from Wife's Chamber by a Wainscot, thro' the Crannies whereof could see all that was done; but the Black Slave, who was ry to her Mistress's Offence, happening to hear some Noise in t Place, and suspecting what it might be, gave *Fatma* timely tice.

When the Christian Captive came, *Fatma* instead of caressing as she was wont at other times, said, she thank'd him for his re in coming to see her, but that she fear'd her Husband might be ill of it, and therefore he would oblige her in coming on- when he was sent for: That her Obligations made her very willing to dismiss him in that manner; yet she could do no less fear of disgusting a Husband that was so dear to her. The xive who by a Wink she gave him, understood all the Cheat, wer'd accordingly with the greatest Respect, and went away. soon as he was gone, *Tonfy* came out, and embracing his Wife, g'd her Pardon for giving so much Credit to ill Tongues, as suspect her Vertue, and declar'd he was now fully convinc'd it, and therefore the Slave might come as often as she pleas'd, hout giving him the least Umbrage. She pretended to be an- that he should entertain any such Thoughts of her, and he ing many more endearing Expressions, they were perfectly re- cil'd. Two Days after, she told the Captive all that had hap- 'd, and he having learn'd the Names of the *Jews* that had 'd the Jealousy in *Tonfy*, resolv'd to be reveng'd, and com- 'd it thus: He desir'd his Master *Cantillo* to give him leave to : some things of Value out of his Houle, and sell them to those s, whom he would afterwards impeach for receiving of stolen ds; and *Cantillo* complaining to the Governour, they would be l and bastinado'd; and this he said he did to be reveng'd of n, for an ill Turn they had done him. *Cantillo* consented, the Goods being found with the *Jews*, they receiv'd 200 Ba- adoes, paid 100 Crowns each as a Fine, and were sent to Pri- for 3 Months: Thus were they punish'd for going about to rrupt the Captive's and his Mistress's Pleasure, who held on ir Intrigue, till in the Year 1678 they both dy'd of the Plague.

CHAP. XIII.

The Strange Adventures of the Sieur de la Place, a Gentleman of Normandy, and how Justice is administered in Barbary.

THE *Sieur de la Place* was of the Dutchy of *Longueville* in *Normandy*, and being of a haughty Temper, could not endure that his Father should shew more Kindness to his Elder Brother, who was more discreet and better qualify'd. His Father sent him very young into *England*, and he at his Return finding his other Brothers still preferr'd, had several Quarrels with the Elder, whom he one Day unfortunately Shot, as they were abroad a Sporting; for his Piece only flashing in the Pan, when he level'd it at a Hare, it went off as he rested it on his Arm to prime again, his Brother standing just before the Muzzle. Tho' this was merely accidental, he durst not return home, for Fear his Father should think it had been design'd, and therefore fled to *Diepe*, where his Uncle who was Deputy Governour, put him aboard the same Ship I design'd in for *America*, when taken by the *Sale Men*, as I said at the Beginning of this Work. When we landed at *Deal*, his wild Temper prevailing, he rush'd into a Room where he heard some Women singing, and beginning to be as familiar with them, as if he had known them to be fit for his Turn, their Brother who was present, drew and wounded him, and the Women crying out, so many more came in, that had he not got aboard by the Help of our Sailors, he might have there been torn in Pieces. In fine, he was carry'd with us to *Salé*, where in the Year 1671, *Muley Archy* took him from his Master, and gave him to the *Alcayde Abdalazize Arafé*, by whom he was carry'd to *Morocco*. Being a good Performer on several Instruments, and having an excellent Voice, *Lella Rahema*, his Master's Wife, us'd often to call him into her Chamber, when her Husband was at Court, to hear him play, and to make her perfect on the Lute, at which she had already some Skill. She often treated him with Dates, Raisins of the Sun, Honey, and white Bread, and gave him Money to buy Linnen, that he might appear the better, and perswaded her Husband to give him a Suit of Scarlet, with a green Silk Girdle, and not to put him to do any thing but carry his Spear, when he went abroad with *Muley Hamet* the Viceroy of *Morocco*.

A Kinswoman of *Rahema's* call'd *Zayda*, marry'd to her Husband's Secretary, was generally with her, and liv'd in a House close by. This Woman who was young, beautiful, and very witty, being charm'd with the *Sieur de la Place's* Voice, one Day desir'd him before her Kinswoman to come sometimes to her House, and teach her to play on the Guitar. He having nothing else to do, and being willing to be treated when Opportunity offer'd, told her, He thought himself happy in being a Slave, since it enabled him to do Service to the most beautiful Ladies in *Morocco*. *Rahema* smil'd at the Compliment, and modestly signify'd she was well pleas'd with his good Opinion. One Day he went to wait upon *Zayda* at her House 'as she had desir'd, she acquainted him with her Affection, that he might make a suitable Return. He answer'd with his usual Gaiety, that she should always find him ready to serve her; but that he fear'd her Husband who was old, would grow jealous of their frequent Visits; yet if she could contrive it, he would not fail to pay his Respects to her every Day. *Zayda* being willing, told her Husband what a great Value the *Alcayde Abdalazize* and *Rahema* had for that young Man, on account of his excellent Qualities: That he had taught his Mistress to play on the Lute and Guitar, and she was willing to learn, that she might divert him; but that having propos'd it to him before her Cousin, he answer'd he would not do it without his Consent, lest he might in time conceive some ill Opinion of them. The Moor believing his Wife was real, commended her for desiring to learn to play on the Lute, and to oblige her the more, went himself immediately to invite the *Sieur de la Place* to his House the next Day.

Matters being thus order'd, they had the Opportunity of being as familiar together as they pleas'd. However, on a Day when *Zayda* was affording him all the Favour she cou'd, the Black Woman Slave that us'd to stand Sentinel at the Door, happening to go into a Neighbour's House, to speak to one of her Acquaintance, the Husband came in, and catch'd them in the closest Embraces. He ran immediately for his Scimeter to revenge that Wrong; but whilst he brought it, they had the Opportunity of escaping; *La Place* getting out of the House, and *Zayda* on the Top of it, to go over that Way to the *Alcayde's*. The Moor pursued the Christian with Sword in Hand; but not being able to overtake him before he got into his Master's, he return'd home, where meeting the Slave as she went in, and believing she was privy to the Lover's Crime, he cut her in Pieces. In the mean while, the *Sieur de la Place* and *Zayda* having made their Escape, as has been said, told *Rahema*, that as they were singing, the Husband rush'd in

with a Dagger in his Hand, and would have stabb'd them; but that the *Sieur de la Place* holding his Hand, she got over the House, and then he fled Home, where they were both come for Sanctuary against his undeserv'd Fury. *Rahema*, who was ready to burst with laughing at this Account, still held her Sides, when the *Alcayde* came in and ask'd the Occasion of her Mirth. She told him, and he not being altogether so credulous as his Wife, sent for his Secretary to be better inform'd; but the Messenger brought word he was not at Home, and he saw none but the dead Black all bloody. *Zayda* told the *Alcayde* that her Husband had certainly taken too much *Opium*, which is frequent among the *Moors*, and disturbs their Senses. Then the *Alcayde* believ'd what was told him, not questioning but that the *Opium* had turn'd his Secretary's Brain. Just then came one of the *Cady's* Officers, to bring him the News that his Secretary was before the Judge, publicly demanding Justice against his Wife, whom he said he had taken with his Christian. *Abdalazize* admiring his Folly, mounted on Horseback to go hear what he had to say, and found him in Court, telling the *Cady* before all the Company, that he was a Cuckold, and had catch'd a Christian in his Wife's Arms. The *Alcayde* could not forbear laughing to hear how earnestly the Old Man spoke those Words, and calling him by his Name, said; *Zabiney*, What are you doing here? Sir, answer'd *Zabiney*, Behold here a Cuckold, the Son of sixteen other Cuckolds (this is an Expression the *Moors* use when in a Passion) who am come to complain to the *Cady*, and demand Justice, and if he refuses it, I'll right my self. *Zabiney*, reply'd the *Alcayde*, you are certainly mistaken; the *Opium* you have taken this Morning has disturb'd your Brain. Your Wife is too honest, and my Christian too discreet to be guilty of so base an Action, after the Liberty you have allow'd him. Believe me, do not mind those Fancies, and forbear *Opium* for the future. Then *Abdalazize* told the *Cady*, how the Black had been kill'd, which made him conclude the Man was mad, and dismiss'd him as such. Afterwards the *Alcayde* and *Rahema*, made up the Business; and thus the Secretary was deceiv'd, and believ'd he had been mistaken.

Admi-
nistration
of Justice
in Barba-
ry.

Since we have been before the *Cady*, who is the chief Judge, and I could not find a fitter Place to insert what I am about to say, it will not be improper to give an Account how the *Moors* decide Law Suits, and how Criminals are punish'd among them. When any Difference arises between two Persons or more, whether in Civil or Criminal Affairs, the Plaintiff by Word of Mouth summons his Adversaries to appear at a certain Hour that same Day, or the next, before the *Cady*, the Governour of the Town,

or

certainly a good Custom, to prevent Frauds. The Butchers, and those that sell Oil and Butter, are oftneft taken; and the Price being daily fet upon the Flefh, the firft of them are oblig'd to have the Rates appointed by the *Haquem* expos'd before their Shops to publick View, and this is in Scores, or Streaks, each Stroke standing for a *Felou*, or Farthing; fo that if there be Nine Scores on the Paper, it is worth fo many Farthings a Pound, more, or lefs, according as it is in Goodnefs. It often happens that the Flefh of the Day before has been better, and confequently valu'd higher, then they put out the Rates of that Day, which are very often found out, by fuch Perfons as the *Haquem* fends on purpofe to examine them. Every buyer may caufe his Meat to be weigh'd by another Tradesman, and if he finds it fhort, he may make his Complaint, and the Seller will be punifh'd upon the Evidence of him that weigh'd it. This *Haquem* fets the Price on Corn, and on all Provisions fold by Retail, according to the Seafon of the Year, and the Plenty, or Scarcity, there is of every Sort. This may fuffice as to the Adminiftration of Juftice, let us return to our Lovers.

Tho' they came off fo well, The *Sieur de la Place*, and his Miftrefs durft not continue their Amours, notwithstanding both were inclinable enough; and as they never came together, but in the Prefence of *Rabema*, who was very modest, they durft not exprefs their Affection before her. Some time after *Muley Hamet*, Viceroy of *Morocco* revolting againft his Uncle *Muley Archy*, the *Alcayde Abdalazize*, retir'd to *Fez*, with all his Family. After that Prince's Death, *Muley Semein*, his Succelfor, fent him to govern the Province of *Algarve*. He took all his Family along with him to *Alcaffar*, except the *Sieur de la Place*, whom he left in his Father the *Alcayde Mahomet Arafes* Palace, who had ask'd for him to look to his Stores. That old Man had 3 Beautiful Daughters, a and fourth Marry'd to *Muley Archy*. Thefe Ladies had been inform'd of all that happened at *Morocco*, in Relation to the Lovers, by their Sifter in Law, the Wife of their Brother *Abdalazize*, who highly commended the Slave. They were eager enough, to learn of him, to play on the Lute, and ask'd Leave of their Father, who confented, and the *Sieur de la Place* had nothing elfe to do for 14 Months, the War between the two Towns of *Fez* lafted. Thofe Ladies going every *Friday* into the publick Baths of the City, to divert themfelves there, with the other Women; that they might have the more Sport, they took along with them the *Sieur de la Place*, disguis'd in Woman's Apparel, who whilft they went alone into a feparate Bath, remain'd among the other Women, that bath'd ftark Naked before him, whilft

whilst he play'd on the Guitarre, expecting the Return of his Mistress. If any thing more particular happen'd in this Recreation, it never came to my Knowledge.

It is here to be observ'd, that the Christian Captives after Leave once given them, are free to go into all Parts of their Masters Houses, the Law of the Country being no way against it. The greatest Men do not disallow of it, and should their Wives, or Daughters happen to be in any indecent Posture, when they come in, they would not offer to hide themselves; alledging, that the Eyes of our Bodies are blind, as well as those of our Souls, and therefore it signifies not much if we see them in any Posture.

Liberty
allow'd
Christians
Captives.

When *Muley Semein* had pardon'd the Inhabitants of *Fez Belle*; and releas'd the *Alcayde Abdalzize*, whom he had confin'd, during the War, because his Father and Brothers were concern'd in the Rebellion, the *Sieur de la Place* return'd to his House, where he continu'd till his Death, which happen'd in the Year 1675. After his Death *Muley Meherex*, the King's eldest Son, being inform'd by several Persons, of his good Qualities, took him into his Service, and grew fond of him, ordering he should do nothing but carry his Spear, when he went abroad. That Young Prince being Viceroy of *Fez*, had him decently clad, and gave him a Room in the Apartment of the Christians, that serv'd at the *Seraglio* Gates, which is in the Eunuch's Quarters. That Apartment is old and ruinous, very dark, with great Holes in several Parts of the Walls, through which they may go out upon the flat Roof of the *Seraglio*. At Night, when the *Arifas*, which are the Governants, under the Queens, had shut up their Apartments, and all was hush'd, they came by Consent over the Tops of the Palace, to pass the rest of the Night with our Slaves, who had always *Rosa Solis* to treat them, and some of the best *Brazil* Tobacco, which they are very fond of. Those *Arifas*, who never go out of the *Seraglio* were glad to meet the Slaves, being generally Young handsome Fellows, and she that took to the *Sieur de la Place*, had Charge of the Young Prince, and govern'd his Mother's *Seraglio*. Had their Intrigues lasted any longer, they must certainly have been discover'd; but the King sending *Muley Meheres* Viceroy to *Tafilet*, that Young Prince took the *Sieur de la Place*, and 10 other Slaves along with him. He writ a Letter to me from thence, which I receiv'd a Month before my Departure from *Miquenex*, wherein he acquainted me that all his Comrades had renounc'd their Faith; but for his Part, he was resolv'd to do Penance, and persevere in Christianity.

C H A P. XIV.

Of two Renegadoes, whereof the one was burnt alive at Tetuan, and the other at Sevil.

TWO Spaniards, the one 29 Years of Age, born at *Murcia*, the other 24 Years old, of a Farm near the Town of *Tarifa*, which is upon the Mouth of the Streights, were for some Offences banish'd to the Fortres of *Perron de Velez*, in the Province of *Riffe*, near *Tetuan* in *Africk*. Soon after they agreed to desert to the *Moors*, and renounce their Faith. Being both one Night upon Sentinel, they put their Design in execution, and went over to the Enemy. In the Morning being found by the *Barbarians*, they were carry'd to *Tetuan* to be sold. The Governour caus'd them to be brought before him, as well to get some Information of the Condition the *Spanish* Garrison was in, as to know what they intended. Having inquir'd after the State of the Garrison, he ask'd them what they meant to do, how they design'd to bestow themselves, and whether they came to work, or become *Moors*.

*A Moor's
Zeal for
God.*

He that was born at *Murcia* being the most extravagant, impudently told him, that he was come purposely into that Country, to renounce God, his Baptism, Kindred, Friends, and Country, and to embrace the Law of *Mahomet*. When he had done, the *Alcayde* ask'd the other whether he said the same: But he being more confederate, answer'd; He was come to follow the Law of the *Alcoran*, and to renounce Christianity, which he was weary of. As soon as he had spoken, the Governour stood up, and looking furiously on the other, said; *Thou Villain! How couldst thou be so wicked in my Presence, so freely to renounce thy Creator, but for whom thou hadst never had a Being, and who is still so good as to permit thee to live, after uttering such Words against his Adorable Majesty, and the Sanctity of his Prophet? Do you think the Moors do not own God; and that Mahomet is his Prophet? Since you renounce the first, who is Author of all things, to follow the second, who, according to your Saying, can be no better than an Imposter; if it be as you testify by your Words, and that only the Christians have the Advantage of adoring him you renounce: Why do you, wretched Creature, forsake their Religion, which must needs be Holy, to embrace another you are a Stranger to, and which you do not think has God for its Object? You are a miserable Soul; for there*

is

is no Punishment on Earth severe enough to chastise the Crime you have committed: Yet do not believe it shall pass unpunish'd; for I will be the Avenger, that your Example may inform such as may come hither hereafter to embrace our Law, that we believe in one God, without any Trinity of Persons, whose Power we adore, and that Mahomet is his greatest Prophet.

The Alcayde having sent for the Cady, who came to him, gave him an Account of the whole Matter, whereof he was Judge; and after examining the Criminal, it was decreed by way of Satisfaction, that they should spit in his Face; that he should be dragg'd about by the Hair, till it all came off; that he should be led about all the Streets of the Town; that 12 burning Tapers should be fasten'd on his Shoulders and Breast, and then he should be conducted to the Soc or Market-place, and there burnt alive. The Sentence was executed as soon as pronounc'd, and all the People vy'd in carrying Wood to the Place of Execution to punish his Impiety.

After this Execution, which was not very long performing, the Alcayde caus'd the other Renegado, who still quak'd to see what was become of his Comrade, to be richly clad, to mount on Horseback, and to ride all about the Town, and round the Walls; attended by the Drums, Hautboys, and other Musick going before, and all the Horse following. When heald of the Circumcision, the Alcayde kept him near his own Person, gave him considerable Posts, and caus'd him to be instructed in all the principal Points of his Religion. When the Kings Taxes were gather'd, he was always sent about, and got considerably, so that he grew very rich. His Master dy'd at that time, when he had gather'd much Wealth, and not only left him his Freedom but also a fine House to live in. After his Death, being entirely at his own Disposál, he joyn'd in Partnership with some Inhabitants of Tetuan, to build a Frigat, to go abroad a Pirating. When she was fitted, and the Command bestow'd on him, he put to Sea, and acquir'd much Treasure and great Reputation by the many Prizes he took, and the frequent Descents he made in Spain. All Men respected, and the Prime Persons in the Town desir'd to be ally'd to him. When it was known that he intended to marry, several good Matches were offer'd him, and among the rest, one with the beautifullest Maiden in Tetuan, who had rejected divers good Offers, being of a very haughty Temper. He desir'd of those that mention'd her to him, that he might see her walk in some Garden, being himself in the next to it, disguis'd like a Woman, the Law forbidding the seeing of her any other Way. This was accordingly done, and the Gardens being parted

Honour
done to a
Renegado.

parted but by very thin Hedges, he had a full View of her, and was highly pleas'd. Next he sent her a Compliment by his Pilot's Wife, whilst he ask'd her of the Father, who gave him a Promise, provided she consented, and afterwards made her several considerable Presents, till she at last sent him word it was all in vain, for she would never marry him by her own good Will; and if she was forc'd to it, he should always have a mortal Enemy by his Side; and yet the Pilot assur'd him all this was only to try his Constancy.

Barbarous
Proposal of
a Moorish
Woman.

Some time after this Answer, he went out a roving towards *Almeria*, on the Coast of the Kingdom of *Granada*, in *Spain*, where he landed and took several Shepherds he found in Huts, by their Flock, among whom there happen'd unfortunately to be two Women that came the Night before with their Daughters, to see their Husbands. Having put them all aboard, he return'd Home with his Prize consisting of 10 Persons, and immediately sent the handsomest of the two Maidens to serve his Mistress as a Slave. All the Thanks she return'd was bidding the Messenger tell him, that she could not believe him to be so much in Love with her as he pretended, or that he was a real *Mahometan*, unless he gave her some undeniable Proof of his Sincerity, without which he must never expect to gain her Favour. As soon as the *Remegado* receiv'd this Declaration, he sent the same Person back to assure her, he was ready to perform whatsoever she should command. Well, said that Devil of a Woman, tell my Lover he must never expect to enjoy me, unless he brings me his Father, Mother, and Sisters, who I know are still living, that they may be our Slaves when we are marry'd: If he does so, he may assure himself I will refuse him no Satisfaction, the very next Day after his Return, without which he is to expect nothing from me.

Having receiv'd these Commands he fitted out his Frigate, putting into her 100 of the best Men in the Town, and set sail four Days after; taking the Advantage of a Fog, that he might not be discover'd from *Ceuta*, which is but 7 Leagues distant, and where there are always Sentinels looking towards *Tetuan*, to observe whether any Pirate comes out, that they may send their Gallies after them. He stood over for the Coast of *Spain*, which he reach'd at Night, and anchor'd at some Distance to prevent Discovery. He cloath'd himself and 10 more that promis'd to stand by him, in the *Spanish* Habit, and landing close by the Place where his Father liv'd, took four of the Men with him, leaving the other six to secure the Boat. When they had travell'd about half League, he hid the four Men among the Rocks there were by the Way that led to his Father's Farm, and went up to it also

Be

Being come to the Door, he declar'd who he was, that they might open it to him. His Father who was then abed, overjoy'd to have his Son again, whom he tenderly lov'd, and had continually lamented since he became a Renegado, had not Patience to put on his Cloaths, before he ran to receive and embrace him: His Mother and Sisters shed such Tears of Joy as would have mollify'd the most inhuman Heart. After many false Embraces, the better to deceive them, and Promises of amending his Life for the future, he desir'd his Father to dismiss the Servants, because he had something of Moment to impart.

When they were gone, he told him he had made his Escape from *Touan*, with 4 Captives in a Boat, which brought several Bags of Gold and Silver, and some Bales of Silk he had left them to unlade; and desir'd they would assist him to conceal them there by, lest the King's Officers or those of the Inquisition should seize them, on pretence of his being a Renegado. His Parents suspecting nothing after so many Expressions of Repentance, agreed to follow him; the Father hastening forwards with him, and leaving the Mother and Sisters to follow. When the Renegado came to the Place where his Men lay conceal'd, he caus'd them to bind his Father, ordering he should be carry'd to the Boat, and murder'd if he offer'd to make the least Noise that might discover them; and then return'd himself to bring on his Mother and Sisters. The Father, tho' his Life was in such imminent Danger, yielding to his Sorrow gave full Scope to his Voice, rending the Air with Cries, which reach'd the Ears of some Shepherds, that were abroad with their Flocks.

Villany of a Renegado.

It is to be observ'd that in *Andalusia* and some other Parts of *Spain*, the Flocks and Herds of Sheep, Kine, Goats, and Swine, lye out in the open Field Day and Night, by reason of the Temperature of the Air, all the Year about; and the Swains that look to them, make Huts in the Plains, where they lye at Night all together, to be the better able to defend them, either against the Wolves or Robbers, as also to secure themselves from the *Moors* of *Tetuan*, who often land on those Coasts. These Shepherds being alarm'd by the old Man's Cries, laid hold on their Firelocks and Swords, and shot towards the Place whence the Noise came. Soon after, they heard the *Moors* who were loath to kill their Captain's Father, dragging him along, and threatening to kill him if he continued to cry out. At first they believ'd them to be Robbers that were stripping Travellers, or ravishing some Maid they had stolen from *Tarifa*, and having enclos'd them on all Sides, drew near and secur'd them, before they could make any Opposition.

The Old Man overcome with Joy, for his Deliverance, could not speak at first; but, as soon as recover'd, told them, how his own Son had betray'd him, and was gone back to conduct his Mother and Sisters to him, that they might all end their Days in miserable Captivity, in *Barbary*. The Shepherds, who knew him, desir'd he would be silent, and some of them lay down flat on the Ground, whilst the others led the *Moors* bound to their Cottages, where they left them under a Guard of their Fellows. It was now past Midnight, when the Renegado, believing his Father was aboard, press'd his Mother and Sisters to make Hast, that they might remove all the Booty, before it was Day; but was much surpriz'd, when a little beyond the Place where he had deliver'd up his Father, he was seiz'd and put himself into the same Condition. Those who had conducted the *Moors* to their Cottages returning, they went all together, without any Noise, to the Shore, where they found the other *Moors* lying on the Sand, to wait for their Comrades, and believing they had now brought their Prize, instead of making to their Boat, they deliver'd themselves up to the Shepherds.

Those that were in the Frigate, perceiving the Day drew near, and that their Companions did not return, set Sail for *Tenun*, fearing they had miscarry'd. As soon as she came into the Road, all Men ran down to the Shore, believing she had made a good Prize, and the Musick came to receive them in Triumphant Manner, but when they understood what had happen'd their Joy was turn'd into Sorrow, and even the cruel Fair, who had occasion'd the Misfortune, could not but lament the Loss of a Man, who had ventur'd all, to gain her Favour. The Tide being out, when the Frigate came into the Road, she was oblig'd to Anchor, till the Flood; during that Time the Sentinels at *Cana* having discover'd her, the Galiot of that Place set out and soon came up with, and endeavour'd to board her. The *Moors* defended themselves bravely, for about two Hours, when having lost above 30 Men, they cut their Cables, and ran a ground. The *Spaniards* slew many more, as they got to Shore, and reach'd some of the Townsmen, who came to see the Fight, rather than assist them. This done the Galiot return'd, without being able to do any more.

The Shepherds, who had return'd to their Cottages to spend the Rest of the Night, as soon as it was Day carry'd the *Moors* and Renegado to *Tarifa*, where they deliver'd them to the Inquisitors. These being only subservient to the great Inquisition at *Sevil*, gave Notice to the Chief Inquisitor at that City, who sent a Guard to conduct them to his Court. The *Moors* that appear'd to be such, and no Renegado's, as they had been suspected to be,
were

were sent to the Gallies; but the Renegado was kept in Order to his Conversion, or Punishment. That Wretch continu'd so **O**bstinate, that notwithstanding his Parents Tears, and the Perswasions of the Inquisitors, he declar'd, he would dye a *Mahometan*, for the Sake of one of the beautifullest Ladies in *Africk*. Then he revil'd his Father, Mother, and the Inquisitors, which oblig'd them to desist from all Hopes of his Conversion, and to condemn him to be burnt alive. Thus ended that miserable Apostate, as unhappily as his Companion had done about 10 Years before at *Tetuan*. This Story I had from several *Spaniards*, and a *French Man*, call'd *James Tesson*, born at *Havre de Grace*, and who had liv'd 20 Years at *Tetuan*, during which Time all that has been said happend. The Names of the *Spaniards*, who had been there near as long, were *Francis Garcia*, of *Tarifa*; *John de Ossuna*, of *Gibraltar*; *Matthew Vasquez*, of *Xerez de la Frontera*; *James Morales*, of *Cadiz*; *Dominick Diaz*, of *Ceuta*; and *Francis Ortiz Ximenez*, of *Malaga*, who were also Captives at *Tetuan*, when this was done. They were afterwards carry'd to *Fez*, by *Muley Archy*, when he overthrew *Gayland*, and oblig'd him to fly to *Algier*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Trade of this Country.

Barbery being one of the Fruitfullest Countries in the World, and the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, the richest Part thereof, and where Trade may be best settled, I believe it will be very acceptable to give an Account of all that relates to Trade, as being an Affair of such great Consequence, and Advantage. But before I speak of the Commodities exported from those Kingdoms, and imported from abroad, it will be proper to mention the Sea Port Towns, to which Ships resort, and where our Merchants reside, and to declare what Precautions are to be us'd, as well in regard of the Governours, as of the Inhabitants of the said Places.

I will begin with *Tetuan*, which lyes upon the *Mediterranean*, 7 Leagues from the Streights of *Gibraltar*. They go up to it on a little River, call'd *Martin*, the Mouth whereof is barr'd with a Dangerous Bank of Sand, to go over which Barques, and small Vessels must unlade, greater Vessels lying out in the Road, whence the

Ports of
Morocco
and Fez,

Tetuan.

the East Wind obliges them to retire to *Gibraltar*, or *Tangier*, for Shelter against its Violence.

Arzila. *Arzila* is a small Town, built on a Rock, at the Edge of the Sea, and at the Foot of it is a small Creek, that serves instead of a Harbour, to receive some Fishing Boats; and small trading Vessels that resort to it.

Alcassar. *Alcassar*, which is 7 Leagues distant, stands on the Bank of the River *Loucoux*, 5 Leagues above the Town of *Larache*, the Mouth of the said River being secur'd by the Spanish Garrison in the last Place. The River *Taguedart* running 12 Leagues to the Northward, and carrying 12, or 13 Foot Water at the Flood, brings the Country Barks, and other Vessels trading to the Town, whence the Goods are brought on Camels, or Mules.

Mamora. *Mamora* is at the Mouth of the River *Sebou*, built on an Eminence, and was taken from the Spaniards, by *Muley Semim*, in the Year 1681. It is the most commodious Place for Trade, in the whole Kingdom of *Fez*, and can receive laden Vessels, of 300 Tun Burden. For the better settling of Commerce there, the King of *Fez*, as I was told by some Servants of *Flache Mahomet Tummin*, his Ambassador, was building two Towns, on the two Sides of the River; as also that it might be a place of Retreat for his Pyrates, because they will be there near a great noble Forest, and the Province of *Algarve*, which abounds in all things necessary for the Support of Life.

Sale. *Sale* is the Place where the English, French and Dutch Consuls reside, with the Christian Merchants, and such Jews as come from Europe. In this Town has hitherto been the chief Trade of the Kingdom, and the Entrance into the River *Gueron*, on which it stands, is indifferent, tho' there be a Bank of Sand, which often removes, especially when the Wind blows stormy, at West, and North West. The Consuls, and Merchants I have mention'd, chiefly grow rich with the Prizes the Corsairs take from Christians, of whom they buy them at a very inconsiderable Rate, and send them back into Europe, where they get four hundred per Cent. I mean those things that are not of Use in the Country, as are most of the Commodities sent into America, Wines, Brandies, Beer, Oranges, Oil, Salt Fish and Flesh, and the like. These Merchants for the most Part trade with the Ransoms sent them to deliver Slaves, which is so certain, that I have known Renegado's, who have assur'd me, some of those Merchants had receiv'd their Ransoms above three Years before they renounc'd their Faith, and never told them of it, till after they had become *Mahometans*. That then they were forc'd to have Recourse to the Law to get their Money, with which they purchas'd their Liberty; for those

Cheat of
Merchants

those wicked Men rather chuse to be thus compell'd than to return the Money to those that sent it, because by that means they avoid paying Interest for the time they have kept it, and get something over and above promis'd them by way of Assurance, and then they tell the Kindred of the Renegadoes, that they renounc'd their Faith, only to get the Money into their Hands.

In regard that the same thing is still practis'd to the Detriment of the poor Captives, in favour of whom I have compil'd this Work: And because I know the abominable Methods those Merchants use among themselves, I am glad to have an Opportunity to lay it open in this Place; because the thing is frequent, and practis'd to the Dishonour of Christianity; to the end that those who shall hereafter happen to have any Friends in *Barbary*, may use those Means I will here prescribe, and take the necessary Precautions to have them speedily redeem'd. When any Men considerable, or of wealthy Families fall into the deplorable State of Captivity, they presently write home for their Ransom, which their Kindred or Friends immediately pay to Merchants that have a Correspondence in those Parts: Those Merchants lay out the Money on Goods, and send them to their Factors at *Sale*, *Tetuan*, *Algier*, or other Seaport Towns, where the said Captives are. The Factors being for the most part poor Scoundrels or Bankrupts, dispose of those Commodities and buy others, which they send to *Spain* and *Portugal*; and whilst they drive a Trade with *us*, write to their Correspondents, that they use all their Endeavours to redeem the Captives; but must act leisurely, and not seem too hasty, for fear the Masters should insist upon greater Sums. The Merchants in *Europe*, who are consenting with their Factors, and share the Profit with them, shew the Letters they receive to the Kindred of the Captives, to satisfy them that they use all possible Endeavours for their Deliverance. The Relations thus impos'd upon, write back often to the Captives, to encourage and acquaint them that they have sent their Ransoms by such and such Merchants as they name; but the Letters being deliver'd to those same Merchants, they suppress them, that the Captives may not know they have their Ransoms; and do the same by those they send back to their Kindred, so to conceal their Frauds and base Practices. Whilst they drive this unjust Trade, the poor Slaves overcome by their many Sufferings often despair and renounce their Faith. This is most frequent among the Merchants trading to *Barbary*. I knew several that us'd this Method when I was there, and among them the present Consul of *Sale* has got an Estate by this, and buying of Prize Goods, having kept in his Hands for above 2 Years the Ransoms of my
Cousin

Cousin *Claude Loyer de la Garde* and the *Sieur Paul le Vasseur* of *Pontoise* without owning them; notwithstanding the *R. F. Lartignes* a *Mercenarian*, and Superior of the Monastery of *Marseille*, who sent them, told it to other Captives that had been set at Liberty, and they writ to acquaint them with it, by the Way of *Tangier* and *Cema*. It will therefore be convenient to do the same upon the like Occasions, and to write to the Captives by those or such Ways, that these Frauds may not be practis'd for the future: For preventing whereof, those who pay Money to Merchants, ought to contract with them for a certain time, more or less, according to the Distance of Places, wherein they shall be oblig'd to deliver the said Captives, in the Place where the Money is laid down; and that in case of Failure they shall pay Interest for the said Sums, unless they produce Letters from the Captives themselves, testifying that they have us'd their Endeavours for procuring of their Liberty, and the Fault lyes not at their Door. This will be an effectual Method to prevent their Trading with the Captives Ransoms; and it is but reasonable that such Precautions should be taken with them, since they gain considerably by their Bills. What I have said is not design'd to lessen the Reputation of any honest Persons trading in those Parts, but to lay open the Frauds of the Wicked, and warn those concern'd to beware of them.

Azamor. *Azamor* is 30 Leagues South from *Sale*, on the Mouth of the River *Marbea*, has no great Trade, because of a Bank of Sand, which almost shuts it up without, so that only Barks can enter.

Saphya. *Saphya* is still 30 Leagues South from *Azamor*, and stands on the very Edge of the Sea, at the Mouth of the River *Gondet*, and not inferior to *Sale* for Trade.

Santa Cruz. *Agader Aguer*, or *Santa Cruz*, belonging to the Principality of *Sus*, and under the Dominion of *Muley Hamet Meheres*, surpasses all the others; because the Commodities brought from thence, are more choice and have a better Vent in *Europe*.

Inland Trade. These are the Ports our Merchants settle in, and where they have their Warehouses to sell their Commodities by Whole sale to the *Moors* and *Jews*, who send them to their Correspondents at *Fez*, *Miquenes*, *Morocco*, *Tarudant*, and *Illec*, the Capital Cities. They transport a great Quantity into the several Provinces of the Kingdom of *Taffilet*, as *Sara*, *Dras*, and *Touet*, whence they bring Dates, Ostrich Feathers, Indigo, and Gold Dust, which they call *Tibir*. The *Arabs* of those Provinces, trading into the Kingdoms of *Sudan*, *Guinea*, and *Tomboutou*, make use of Dromedaries, which are Creatures of an incredible Swiftneſs, whom they load with
white

white Salt, to trade with those Blacks for Gold Dust. Their Way of Dealing is very odd, and it being forbid to speak a Word, I will here describe it, as told me by divers *Moors* of *Dras* and *Tafflet*, who had been there several times.

When the *Arabs* have pass'd the Sandy Desarts that divide the Kingdoms abovemention'd, and are come upon the Frontiers of the Blacks, they travel along them till they come to one of those Places, where the Meetings us'd to be for Trade. That Place is generally about a Cannon Shot from the Dwelling of the *Alcair* or Commanding Officers on those Frontiers: There they meet an *Arab*, who is kept by the *Alcair*; and who only has the Privilege of Speaking, to inform them what they are to do, and how they are to trade, without speaking to the Blacks. This *Arab* writes down the Names of all the new Comers, and what Quantity of Salt they bring, that those who come first may sell before the last. The Exchange is made twice a Day, Morning and Evening, the Sun being too hot all the middle Part of the Day. At the appointed Hour the *Alcair* sends some of his Guards, who walk along some Mats that are laid on the Ground to put the Salt on. The Sellers make several Heaps, greater and smaller, on those Mats, and then draw back at a Distance, that their Chapmen may come up: Then the Blacks draw near the Mats, and having view'd the Heaps, leave the Quantity of Gold they think fit by those they like, and then retire in their Turn. If the Heap of Salt does not please them, however they lay down their Gold by it, and by a Sign understood among them, the *Arab* who owns it, comes up to add or diminish. When they are agreed, the *Arab* takes a Handful of Salt, and lays it by the Gold: Then they make a Signal to the *Alcair's* Officers to come and measure the Salt, who take the twelfth Part of it for the *Alcair*, and an Ounce out of every Pound of Gold. This Barter is carry'd on without speaking a Word, or the least Disorder committed on either Side. If it happens that the Blacks are guilty of giving any Offence, the *Alcair* causes them to be punish'd immediately, hanging them by the Chin on very sharp tall Poles, where they remain for an Example to others, till their Limbs drop off. The *Arabs* are adjudg'd to lose their Salt and Beasts of Burthen, which are forfeited to the *Alcair*, besides 500 Bastinadoes the *Cheque* orders them to receive on their Buttocks, after the Manner of their Country. These *Arabs* returning home sell their Gold Dust to *Moorish* or *Jewish* Merchants, who send it with other Goods to *Morocco* and *Tarudant*, and these convey it on to *Santa Cruz*, *Saphya*, and *Sale*.

Manner
of barter-
ing with
the Blacks.

M

Besides

Besides these Commodities of Gold Dust, Ostrich Feathers, Dates and Indigo, they send down to the Sea Ports abundance of tanned and raw Hides, of Rattins of the Sun, of Copper made in Pigs like Bricks, of Wax, of Tin and Wool, as also Goat Skins to make Morocco Leather. Trading for Corn, Horses, or other Cattle is forbid in these Kingdoms, unless there be Arms, Powder, or other Warlike Stores given in Exchange. These are the Commodities that come from *Terman, Alcazar, Arzila, Sale, Almoray, Saphya, and Santa Cruz*; in return for which our Merchants carry out of Europe, Spanish Plate, fine Silks, as Brocades, Velvets, Stuffed and plain Taffeties, Silk Scarves, fine English and Spanish Woollen Cloths, Dutch and French Linnen, Muslins to make Turbants, fine red and black Caps, such as the Moors and Jews wear; raw Silk, all sorts of Spice and Drugs, Cotton, Brazil Tobacco, Sugar, Logwood, Tarrar, Allum, Brimstone, all sorts of Colours, Cochineal, and other Dyes, all sorts of Paper, Steel, Iron, Lead, Iron Work, Redlars Ware, as Knives, Schzars, Pins, Needles, Padlocks, Looking Glasses, and small Tooth Box and Ivory Combs: There are several other Sorts of small Wares, too tedious to mention; all which, except Plate, the Duty whereof is but two in the Hundred, pay 10 per cent. either imported or exported, to the King, and 2 per cent. to the Consul. I shall not speak of Arms offensive and defensive, and other Martial Stores fit to arm and equip the Pirates, which are daily imported, notwithstanding the Censures of the Church, and the Prohibitions of Princes: For at this time not only Merchants, but almost all Mankind, has regard to nothing but Interest, and care little how ill their Wealth is gotten, provided they may keep up some Shew of Reputation in the World.

Having said enough of the Seaport Towns and Commodities, I will add something concerning the Merchants residing there, that such as desire to go thither to Trade, and are not acquainted with the Customs of the Country, may know how to behave themselves, so as not to be disturb'd by the Governours or People, or have any Controversy with them about paying for their Goods, or upon any other Account whatsoever.

Directions for such as go into Barbary. The first thing they are to do the very Day, or the Day after their Arrival, is to go and visit the Governour of the Town, and make him some handsome Present, according to the Custom; and afterwards to pay him frequent Visits to gain his Friendship; for the Moors are very vain and ambitious of Honour, especially when they are in considerable Posts, as that of a Governour. They must complain to him whensoever they have the least Difference, either with Moors or Jews; because that turns to his Profit

fit, by levying some Fine; and to the End that these Base People may not despise, nor offer them any Wrong; for when the People perceive that the Merchants have some Interest with the Governour, and that he espoules their Quarrels, no Man dares presume to offend them. When summon'd by the Governour, to appear before him; or by any other, they must not fail to be there at the time appointed; because, if they stay till the Governour sends a second time, they will undergo the Penalty of the Law, which is 200 Bastinado's, Imprisonment, and a heavy Fine, for not paying the due Deference to Justice.

They must take Care to gain Friends among the Governours, Scintred, and most familiar Acquaintance, who may serve them upon several Occasions, and particularly in obtaining any Favour of him. They must be sure not to give any reviling Language, or offensive Answers to *Moors*; before Witnesses, much less to lift up a Hand to strike them, or to spit in their Faces, or even in their Presence, when they are in a Passion; for it is much better to complain to the Governour, than to do themselves Right, those Men being very jealous of their Authority. They must not rely too much on the Countenance of a Governour, who seem to show them; because they are all Dogs that bite, at the same time that they fawn; covetous Fellows who promise more than they design to perform, and grow rich by parting with Nothing; regardless of their Word, or Promise, eager at receiving, and sure to do no good. When any Person complains of their Breach of Faith, they say, they are not Christians, so think it inviolable; that they are noted for it, and therefore none ought to rely on them.

They must never go from one Town to another, without the Governour's Leave, which if they did, he would become their implacable Enemy. They must never trust either *Moors*, or *Jews*, with their Goods, under three; or four sufficient Sureties; because they are very apt to break, and when that is done, they have nothing left to pay, having no real Estates, besides their Houses, and some Gardens of very small Value. Nor must they take up any Goods upon Credit, or keep any Book Accounts with them; for as much as they always set down a third or fourth more than they deliver; according to the Maxim in Vogue among them, that they will never be rich, unless they have something of others among their own. Other Men, among the *Jews*, are the *Christians*, *Turks*, *Moors* and *Pagans*; whom they may cheat, or rob, with a safe Conscience, when they have an Opportunity; provided they give some Part of the Gain to raise the Fortune of such of their own as are fallen to decay, and to keep their

their poor from begging. In this particular their Charity is wonderful; for when a Man has lost all he had, they will set him up again three times, that he may live of himself, and if Fortune still frowns on him, he is maintain'd among the other poor; but the wicked ways they find to support them, will convince any Man how little Reason he has to rely on their good Management.

When the *Jews* design to get in what they have enter'd on their Books; they take Care to pre-engage the Judge, who is generally the Governour of the Town, making him a Present, or else promising him half the Value of the Cheat, if the Cause goes on their Side, and it happen'd in my Time; that several Merchants at *Tetuan* and at *Sale* were begg'd by trusting to their Honesty, and relying on their Books. The *Moor*s are something honestier than the *Jews*; but the safest way is to believe them as sharp, and deceitful as the others.

The Governours to gain their Prince's Favour, often present him with Pieces of Fine Linnen and Wollen Cloth, which they take up of the Merchants; and they being frequently recall'd, or put to Death, and having no real Estates, care must be taken to trust them with as little as may be, showing them the Worst, when they want any such Commodities, that they may take the less; they being generally wretched Fellows, who have nothing to subsist any longer than their Favour lasts.

The Merchants are particularly to avoid growing too familiar with the Slaves, both because it is obstructive to their Liberty, as causing them to be look'd upon as Merchants, and richer than they really are, and in Regard, that if any one happens to make his Escape, those Merchants are suspected to have advis'd them to it, and corrupted some *Moor* to be assisting, and consequently they will make them pay three times the Price they cost. At the same time, to the End the Slaves may not complain that they despise them, on Account of their Misfortune, they are to be charitable to, and relieve them in Sicknes, and their other Wants, as being starv'd by their Masters; and even to make them come to their Houses on the principal Festivals of the Year, as was practis'd by the *Sieur Anthony Raymond*, of *Marseilles*, formerly Consul at *Sale*, who not satisfy'd with treating them plentifully on any such Day, gave them Money over and above; and this is since done by the *Sieur Toussant Boyer* of *Cassis*, residing at *Tetuan*, where his Charity is so great towards the Christian Slaves, that he keeps many of them in his House, and is answerable for them to their Masters.

I hope this Relation will be satisfactory to the Reader, and divert him, with the Variety of Adventures I have mention'd among the Captives; and that it will excite him to bestow his Charity on the Relief of so many unfortunate Wretches, as still remain in Bondage, many of them very Young, and continually expos'd to the Danger of renouncing their Faith, to be deliver'd from the Cruelty of their Masters, who use them barbarously on that very Account.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
EMPIRE of MOROCCO.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Moors.

HAVING run through my own, and the Adventures of other Christian Captives, I will now give the best Account I am able of the State of those Kingdoms, as far as I could learn, by my own Experience, and by frequent conversing with some *Talbes*, who are the Priests, and Doctors of their Law, and will begin with their Religion.

The *Alcoran* appoints Five principal Articles of Faith, without believing which none can be sav'd. First, that there is but one God, without any Trinity of Persons, as it tells us, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, and the *Jews* believ'd, till the coming of *JESUS CHRIST*, whom those Barbarians call *Roho Alla*, signifying, the Soul of God, believing he was born of a Virgin call'd *Mary*, and wrought an infinite Number of Miracles. They say, he brought
the

*Articles
of Faith.*

the true Religion into the World, that he was the Messiah of all Men, that ever were before him, that his Incarnation was as we believe it, and declar'd by *Gabriel*, the Archangel, God's Embassador; but that he did not dye as we think; for that when *Judas* would have betray'd him to the *Jews*, God took him up into Heaven, where he is in Soul and Body, and left his Resemblance upon one of his Disciples, who was crucify'd in his Stead, and is the same they fancy we adore. They further believe, that this same *Messiah*, is to come again, and live 40 Years upon Earth, to reduce all Nations to one Law and Religion; after which he shall be bury'd in the Tomb *Mahomet* caus'd to be erected on the right Side of his own; that all those who follow'd his Doctrine till the coming of *Mahomet*, whom they call God's great Favourite, and the Interpreter of his Will, shall be sav'd; but that the Doctrine we now hold, is not the same he taught; for as much, say they as he Prophecy'd, that *Mahomet* would come after him, to perfect that which he had not time to complete, by reason of the Persecution of the *Jews*.

Their Second Article of Faith is, that the Books of *Moses*, *David's* Psalms, the Holy Gospels, which they have Translated by *Sergius*, for their Purpose, and after their Fashion, and the *Alcoran* are Holy Writ, brought upon Earth by Angels; that they are the sure Rules of Truth, to lead Men to happy Eternity; and that whosoever does not believe, and observe them is an Infidel.

The Third is the Resurrection of the Dead, on the Day of Judgement, when God is to give to every Man, according to his Works; that there is a Hell, for the Reprobate, where they shall burn for all Eternity; and a Paradise where those who have been Faithful Observers of God's Law, and Commandments, shall be eternally Rewarded, with the beatifical Vision of God, his Angels, and *Mahomet*, and the enjoyment of 70 Virgins, whom they shall incessantly enjoy, and yet they not lose their Maidenheads; that they shall have all Sorts of delicious Dainties they can imagine, or wish for, and whole Rivers of Milk, Honey, and Rose Water, to wash in, when they have had to do with those Virgins; and that the Excrements of the Body shall all evaporate in pleasing Sweats; and to conclude, that they shall live in delightful Houses, built with precious Stones, and Pearls.

The Fourth is, that such as do not profess the Law of *Mahomet*, shall suffer everlasting Pains.

The Fifth and Last, that the 30 Days of *Ramadan*, or Lent are to be observ'd, on which they do not eat, from two Hours before Day, till the Stars appear, and observe it so strictly, that I have

see

some drop down Dead in the Streets, rather than break their

these Articles are the Fundamentals of their Law, whence are
'd all the other Ceremonies they practise, as the Circumci-
of Infants at no limited time, their Prayers by Day and
t at certain Hours, the continual Washing of their Bodies,
lessing of their Sins: For whensoever a Man has had to do
his Wife, or committed any Sin, he cannot go into the *Gemme*
desque till he is purify'd by bathing and washing all Parts of
ny, none excepted. Thus they become clean, provided they
these very Essential Words of the Law; *La illa ilaha Ma-*
t Dara Soulla: Which signifie; *There is but one God, and Mo-*
t his Messenger.

*Washing
away Sin.*

they keep Holy the *Friday*, which is to them as *Sunday* to us;
n it, at two in the Afternoon, they repair to their chief
es or *Mosques*, to make the *Sala*, that is, *Prayer*; being
on'd by the *Talbes*, who are their Priests, and call them from
Tops of Towers, built for that Purpose. Those *Talbes* are
y'd, and live upon the Revenues of the *Gemmes*, which are
enrich'd with the Gifts of Devout dying People. These al-
ke Foundations for the Maintenance of small Hospitals, for
trangers, and for burying the Poor. They must not go in-
Mosques, without taking off their Shoes and even their
ers, if they have worn them above a Day. They must not
any Images or Statues either in them or in their Houses.

*Friday
Sabbath.*

they have three great Festivals or *Easters*, to be kept Holy for
ys following, and during the which they buy and sell as on
Days, as they do also on *Friday*. The first of these call'd
Serere, falls on the first Day of the Moon, after the *Rama-*
or Lent; the 2d nam'd *Leide Cubir*, is 2 Moons and 10 Days
that of *Ramadan*, when they offer a Sacrifice to *Mahomet*,
many Sheep as there are Male Children in every Family;
his in Memory of the Sacrifice offer'd by *Abraham*, the Fa-
of *Ismael*, and first Parent of the *Sarazen Arabs*, from whom
believe *Mahomet's* Mother was descended; the third call'd
Moulout is 3 Moons and 2 Days after the 2d, which they
in Honour of the Birth of their false Prophet, and on the
Day whereof they eat Pap, in Memory of that which *Maho-*
rat. The Night before it they carry Abundance of lighted
s and Tapers into their *Mosques*, and all their *Talbes* sing
raises incessantly till Break of Day.

Festivals.

these Festivals as well as the *Ramadan*, fall sometimes in
season and sometimes in another, by reason that their Year
is of 12 Moons. They have another Festival call'd *Lachora*,
when

when they are oblig'd to give their Prince the 40th Part of their Money: It lasts but one Day; and all the Morning they throw a great deal of Water at one another. On the 24th of June, according to the ancient Calendar, they keep the Feast of Saint John Baptist, by the Name of *Laniera*, going into the Gardens to make Bonfires and much Rejoycing, burning on the Night of the Eve abundance of Frankincense about the Fruit-trees, for obtaining of the *Barqua*, that is, God's Blessing.

Mad No-
tion.

All those who have committed any Sins that deserve Hell, they call upon *Mahomet*, will see him come out of Heaven and descend into Hell in the Shape of a Lamb; and the suffering Soul will be converted into Fleas, that they may hide themselves in his Wool: Then he shall again ascend into Heaven, where God will ask him, whence he comes, as if he did not know it; and he will answer, He comes from Hell, where he has deliver'd some Souls that implor'd his Protection, and have hid themselves in his Wool, because the Angels that guard Heaven Gates, would not have suffer'd them to pass; which said, he will beg Mercy for them of his Divine Majesty, and God for his sake will grant it.

Salvation
under 15
Years of
Age cer-
tain.

They further believe that all such as dye before they come to 15 Years of Age, whether their Parents be Christians, Jews, or Idolaters, go directly to Heaven; because they are still innocent, and have not yet attain'd the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and consequently are exempted from Eternal Pains; but that as soon as they are past that Age, without owning *Mahomet* for God's Favourite, they are lost for ever; excepting only those Maidens that are not *Mahometans*, and dye Virgins; who are preserv'd to make up the Number of the 70 Virgins, every one of them is to have to do with in Heaven, there being no sufficient Number of those that have profess'd the Law of *Mahomet*.

War to be
made on In-
fidels.

The *Alcoran* directs that such as will not voluntarily receive it, shall be compell'd; and that War be made on Christians, because they adore *JESUS CHRIST* as Son of God, whereas he is but a Prophet, and refuse to follow *Mahomet*. It declares that all such as dye fighting against them, go directly to Heaven; and if they have kill'd any, they deserve infinite Rewards, and that the very Horses kill'd upon some Occasions, bear them Company in Heaven. It allows of Polygamy; and they may marry 4 Wives, to whom they assign Dower; besides Concubines, of which sort they may have as many as they can keep, legitimating the Children born of either. They may be divorc'd when they find them faulty or in case they prove so ill natur'd that they cannot agree, paying their Portion to those they have marry'd, and selling their

Polygamy.

Concubines,

Concubines, which are their Slaves, to others, but keeping their Children.

The *Alcoran* further enjoyns that all Idiots and half-witted Persons be look'd upon as Saints, which is religiously observ'd, and they are Canoniz'd whilst living, as are those who understand any thing of Sorcery, who they say have the Spirit of their Prophet; and they build little Chappels, which they call *Ronda*, in Honour of the latter, after their Death, to which they go in Pilgrimage; and their Tombs afford Sanctuary to all Criminals that have deserv'd Death, and such as fly to them from the King's Wrath; for he cannot take them away by Force, but hinders any Satisfaction being convey'd to them. These conjuring Saints are well known in that Country, as well as the *Morabites* or Hermits, and I could bring several Instances of amazing things they have done by Diabolical Art, which I omit, because they would be look'd upon as fabulous. The Sorcerers generally live in Towns among the rest of the People, where they are highly respected; the others where they think fit, but for the most part in Woods, or on high Mountains, like our Anchorites. Their Garments are made up of an infinite Number of Rags of several Colours, carrying Staves in their Hands, and great Strings of Beads about their Necks.

The *Alcoran* forbids playing at all sorts of Games that depend upon Chance, for Money; and if any play, they must do it in very private Places, or by Night; for were the Magistrates acquainted with it, they would be imprison'd, bastinado'd, and severely fin'd; and if he who loses his Money will complain, it will be restor'd him, and the Winner must undergo the Penalty of the Law. It also orders those to be honour'd, who have been in Pilgrimage at *Mecca*; and they, as a Mark of Distinction to be known by, for some time are allow'd to wear green Turbants, which is *Mahomet's* Livery.

All *Christians* and *Jews* that go into their *Masques*, or are taken with *Mahometan* Women, or speak ill of their Prophet, are to be burnt alive, unless they become *Mahometans*.

...the
...whom
...them,
...in
...Treach-
...not what they
...nature, they
...have as little
...the Uncle
...indifferent-
...the Throat.
...any Taxes
...the Laws of
...of Cards,
...of Mo-
...exact other
...such as
...When
...to give
...are to repair to
...Sound of Trum-
...and being all
...such as soon as
...get over to him.
...after this man-
...and placed on the
...in a small Moon.
...Ranks,
...more,
...which is fol-
...the historic that
...Firelocks, and
...Firelocks,
...and semi-
...and Grace Feet,
...of Ma-
...War
upon

upon *Christians*, every Man is ambitious of going of his Sins, and consequently his Army will be numerous. All the *Arabs* or *Barbarians*, thro' whole the Army is to march, are oblig'd to have a sufficient of Wheat, Barley, Meal, Butter, Oil, and Cattle to the Place appointed to incamp; and upon Failure, the danger of seeing all they have plunder'd, and being cut themselves.

The Kings are absolute in Spirituals and Temporals. The *Cadys* is as subordinate to their Laws as the People. They are the *Cadys*, two of whom, viz. those of *Fez* and *Morocco* are superior to all the other *Cadys* and *Talbes* of the *Gemmes* or *Mosques* in those Kingdoms; and these two are Judges of, and dispense with all things that concern the *Alcoran*. When the Kings enact any Laws, the Governours cause them to be proclaim'd in all the Markets throughout their Governments, that none may be ignorant of them.

As for the Political Part of the Kingdom, the Governours are Judges above Appeal, and they soon decide all Controversies; for as soon as they have heard both Sides and their Witnesses, they give Judgment, except it be of Death. The Punishments inflicted on Thieves, Robbers, cheating Shopkeepers, Drunkards, Whores, and Adulterers, are mention'd in the 13th Chapter of the Captivity, and therefore need not be repeated: Only the Horrid Sin of *Sodomy*, tho' publickly committed, passes unpunish'd. No Criminal can be put to Death, unless the Viceroy has express Orders from the King. Those Princes are not satisfy'd with having as many Women as they please, but take a Pride in *Sodomy*. When they are in the Field, the *Cheques* of the *Arabs* and *Barbarians* take it as an Honour to present them with their Daughters Maiden heads, whom they bring on Camels, when they pass thro' their Lands, by that means to obtain some Favour: They also carry along with them their Favourite Women, attended by a great Number of Eunuchs, going some before and some behind them, and sending out Forerunners, to oblige all Men to go out of the Road: Those Women ride on Mules, in a sort of Tabernacle or Cupboard, cover'd with Linnen, to keep the Sun and Weather off them: When big with Child, they are sent back to the *Seraglio* they came from, and others return'd in their Places: They have a Camp apart from the Mens, which none is admitted into but the King and the Eunuchs; and thus they are expos'd to all the Hardships and Fatigues of a troublesome Journey. This puts me in mind that *Muley Semein* being once shut in by the Snow, between the Mountains of *Zaimby* and *Gulava*, and making his

Escape in the Night, many of his Women were forc'd to travel a foot, as well as some of his Sons, one of them falling as he climb'd was lost in the Snow, and never more heard of.

*Kings
Horses.*

The Kings delight in having Abundance of fine Horses, which bear the Names of their Sires, as Men do of their Families, and there are some so highly honour'd, for having been at *Mecca*, that they afford Protection to such as fly to them, as a *Morabite* might do. When any of them dies, he is bury'd as ceremoniously as a Man, and those Princes greatest Satisfaction is to view, and see them feed. Their usual Exercise is Hunting, Morning and Evening, and riding a Tilt, with their Princes and great Men, who attend them back to the Palace, where they take their Meals.

*Manner
of Eating.*

Their Manner of Eating is thus. Their Tables are of painted or Gilt Leather, round, laid on the Floor, with only curious Mats under them, about which they sit with such of their Favourites as they please to admit. They first take off their Shoes, and sit about like Taylors, cross-legg'd, the black *Alcaydes* waiting on them. They bring a brass Basin, in which all the Company wash their right Hands. The first Dish serv'd up, instead of Soup, is their *Consoufon* made of fine Flower, as has been describ'd in the third Chapter of the Captivity, and on it some boil'd Pullets, Pigeons, or Matton. All the Ceremony they use is saying, *Messim Alla*, that is in the Name of God, and then thrust their Hands into the Dish, wrist high. Their Dishes are of fine Earthen Ware, very wide at top, and narrow at Bottom. They feed by handfuls, making small Pellets of the *Consoufon*, which they throw into their Mouths, as if they play'd at Bob-Cherry. Only the right Hand being put into the Dish, every one pulls, to tear the Meat, as Dogs do about a Carcass, without speaking one word, all the Dinner time. Next they bring them in a great Copper Basin, or deep Dish, several China, or fine Glaz'd Earthen Porringers, for they must not eat out of Gold, or Silver, some of them full of fricass'd Meat, with Honey and Almonds, or fry'd in Oil, or roasted, and some Comfits, after their manner, without any other Desert. When they have done eating they wipe their Fingers against the Edge of the Dish, and then lick their Hands all over, saying *Lehem Dillila*, that is, God be thanked. They drink nothing but Water in publick, which is brought them in a Leather Purse, that it may be the cooler; Wine, or other Liquors are drank privately, within the *Seraglio*. They have no particular Place to eat in; but do it generally among their Horses, and after their Meals have no other Diversion, but seeing those same Horses or visiting their Women, towards whom they use none of that Civility and Tenderness, that we do in *Europe*. King *Muley Ismael Semein*, now reigning is but 36, or 37 Years of Age, and yet

yet two Years ago he had above 60 Sons and Daughters, without reckoning those that are dead.

The Respect the Great Men pay to their Kings, consists in taking off their Shoes when they come near, and bowing profoundly: If they are travelling, or on the Road, they take off their Shoes as soon as they see them, kiss the Ground several times before they come close, and then fall down at their Feet to kiss them; then rising, make their Compliments, which are very pleasing to hear. Respect paid to the King.

The Kings of *Fez*, *Morocco*, and *Taffilet* have no Lands or Demesnes, but only the Tithes and extraordinary Subsidies their Subjects pay them. Those Tyrants who ascend the Throne by Force, oppress the People very much, that they may leave their Children rich when they dye. When they hear of any very wealthy Families, they send for the Heads of them, whom they oblige to pay them large Sums; and if they presume to excuse themselves or appear refractory, they cause some Crime to be laid to their Charge, to colour their Tyranny, and ruin them. During any *Interregnum*, as there was before *Muley Archy's* Usurpation, every Town and Province has an *Alcayde* or some *Morabite*, who governs absolutely; and then *Barbary* is rich, and abounds in all things. Those who are wealthy, do not conceal what they have, but are Companions, and equal with their Governours; but as soon as ever some Upstart is own'd as King, every Man pleads Poverty, goes ill clad, and hides his Money under Ground, for fear of being suck'd dry by that Leech. Oppression.

Thus all Persons labouring to appear indigent, those in Towns, who are best to pass, always make their Children learn some reputable Profession, to serve them in time of Need, and most of them trade into the *Levant*: The poorer Sort apply themselves to looking to the Gardens, which are numerous about the Towns, and full of Pear, Apple, Plumb, Apricock, Orange, Lemmon, Almond, Pomegranate, and Quince Trees: They also sow Lettices, Cabbages, Radishes, Turnips, Melons, Pompions, Cowcumbers, Parsley, Chervil, Purslane, Tobacco, and Onions. The Lettices and Cowcumbers which we make Salads of, they eat with Salt and Bread, as they come out of the Garden, only washing the first and paring the latter: Other Sorts of Fruit are eaten in their proper Seasons, betwixt Meals; for none but Oranges and Lemmons can be kept, the violent Heat rotting them two or three Days after they are gather'd. Inhabitants of Towns.

The Country People being either *Arabs* or *Barbarians*, are only fit for Tillage, having no other Calling or Trade to get their Bread by, and of consequence live miserably. The *Arabs* live in pitiful Country People.

Arabs. pitiful Tents on the Plains, where the best Lands are, having drove away the Natives, sometime after they were brought in by *Muley Almanzor*. Those who will not submit to the King, as soon as they hear he comes towards their Quarters, load all they have on their Oxen and Camels, and retire to the most inaccessible Mountains, where they intrench till he is gone back, leaving what they cannot carry, in Caves under Ground, over which they plow and sow, that they may not be found; yet sometimes they are discover'd by Dogs scratching over them. The *Barbarians* being the Remains of the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and *Vandal*s, the ancient Conquerors of *Africk*, are withdrawn to the Mountains, before not inhabited; where they have built Villages, Houses, and Castles, and planted Vines, Almond, Walnut, Olive, and abundance of other Fruit Trees, and breed much Cattle, which they sell in the Towns, and buy Corn of the *Arabs*, who have no other Trade. Besides the *Arabick*, which is the general Language of the Country, they use their own call'd *Chilca*. The *Arabs*, tho' the Nobler, are more oppress'd, with Taxes than the *Barbarians*, and oblig'd to make their Horse attend the King in his Wars. When he apprehends they will not be Loyal to him in one Province, he transplants them into others; as *Muley Semein* did by the *Chavanets*, and other People of *Morocco*, after the taking of that City. The *Barbarians* do not serve in the Wars, unless it be of their own accord, because of the Taxes they pay to be exempted; and consequently they are good for nothing, when out of their Mountains, being unfit for Fight, unless cover'd by the Rocks. It is they that lie generally on the Highways, and rob Travellers; for there being several Hords or Nations among them that do not own the King, they come down upon the *Arabs*, whom they surprize, and take all they have, before they can stand upon their Guard; and tho' they profess themselves *Mahometans*, yet they live like Savages, knowing very little of their Law. They say it is enough to carry them to Heaven, that they know *Mahomet* is God's Friend: Nor can they ever agree with the *Arabs*, but when they are to fight the Christians, who they believe are very soon to invade their Country, as well as the *Turks*; yet they had rather see the former than the latter, whom they reckon more cruel.

Great men. The great Men are all clad much after the *Turkish* Fashion, as are the Burghers of Towns, who wear great loose Coats, like the Peope of *Bearn*. The Peasants wear only a woollen Shirt, without Breeches, and a Leather Girdle, and over that a *Haique*, which they wrap about them, as we see the *Israelites* painted, coming out of the Desert. They all believe, the *French* will go as far as *Fez* ar

and lay Siege to it; but that they then gathering their Forces, shall oblige them to raise it, as it is written in their Prophécies; after which they shall pass over to conquer *Spain*, and the rest of *Christendom*. That the Town of *Sale*, shall be the first Conquest of the King who enters their Country. This would be a glorious *Enterprize*, tho' it only serv'd to destroy those Nests of *Pyrats*, who take so many *Christian Ships*, the Men whereof they sell among themselves, and the Goods to *Christians*, who have so little Worth as to give them Arms and other Counterband Commodities in Exchange, which they afterwards make use of against us. It would be a great Act of Justice, in *Christian Princes*, to put a Stop to this illegal Proceeding, by punishing such of their Subjects as have any Hand in this wicked Traffick. Formerly, when it was not us'd, those Barbarians knew not to whom to sell their *Prizes*, which were not for their Purpose, and finding so little Profit many of them gave over, and *Pyracy* almost ceas'd, which is fully re-establish'd since the *Christian Merchants* have bought the Spoils of their Brethren.

The *Moorish* and *Arabian* Women, especially those that live in Towns, are very Beautiful, Fair and Genteel in their Habit. The fattest are most admir'd, and therefore, they never wear any thing that may confine their Bodies, but give themselves full Liberty to spread. They all wear Scarfes girt about their Bellies. Going abroad, they cover themselves with very fine large white Vails, call'd *Haiques*, bound about the middle of the Face, that they may not be known, leaving only their Eyes bare, to see the way. They never speak to any Man in the Street, not even their own Husbands, who cannot know, tho' they meet them, because they are all cloath'd alike. They keep themselves very clean, and often wash in their Baths. Tho' for the most part, several of them have but one Husband, they are not jealous of one another, and yet generally live altogether: The richer Sort allow each of them an Apartment or Chamber, and Servants apart, and live with them by turns: Princes and Great Men, who deal not so fairly, keep them all shut up in their Palaces, under the Guard of an Eunuch, because they cannot get many to keep them apart; for there are none but what come out of *Guinea*, and are presented to the King, who sometimes gives them one.

Tho' it be impossible for the Women to see any Men in their Houses, yet they want not Ingenuity to get Gallants, being furnish'd with Black Women Slaves, that are wholly at their Disposal, and serve them faithfully upon such Occasions: They make use of the Pretence of going to the Baths, or visiting some of their Relations, with whom they stay but a Moment, then meet their

Women.

their Lovers, who conduct them to some Place provided for the Purpose. This is the easier, in regard that no Body ever takes the least notice, tho' a Man stands a whole Day at a Door in the Street, nor will they ask him what he wants, which in *Europe* would look very suspiciously.

No Man sees the Women in their House; for if any one happens to come in, they shut themselves up, the Husband himself standing before to hide them; and if he is to treat his Friends, the Women go up to the top of the House, or into some Room above, till they are gone; and for this Reason their Entertainments are short, for they do not stay to Discourse and Diverst themselves, as we do. When the Women treat one another, the Husbands stay without in the Passage between the Doors and by there, because the Women do not make Entertainments of one single Meal, but hold on for a Day or two, and always lye where they Sup; which is very serviceable to them towards abusing their Husbands, who dare not, during that time set their Foot where they are. Those who are of greater Quality, cannot impose on them so easily, being guarded by Eunuchs, who suffer no Person whatsoever to come in, or them to go out upon Pain of Life. Yet even these are sometimes corrupted by them, when their Husbands go to the Wars. They are particularly fond of Christians, on Account of their not being Circumcis'd, and use all Arts to gain the Affections of their own Slaves, that are allow'd to go into their Apartments. Their Heads are bare, except only a single Veil of red, blue, or yellow Silk on them, and their Hair breaded with Tufts of black Wool in two Tresses, which are ty'd together, and hang down behind. They suffer no Hair to grow upon their Body, but that on their Heads, Eye-brows and Eye-lids. Their Face and the inside of their Hands they colour black, or yellow, and their Nails red; Paint their Checks with Vermillion, and comb their Eye brows with the Soot of Galls, wear Pearl Necklaces, and Gold, or Silver Clasps to their Veils; never go to the publick *Mosques*, being look'd upon as incapable of entring into Heaven, their Husbands saying, they were only created for Generation; but they say their Prayers at Home, and on Fridays they go mourn over the Tombs of their departed Kindred, whilst the Men are at the *Mosques*.

When their Children are born, the Relations and Friends of the Woman in the Straw, stay several Days making merry in her House. The Chamber is adorn'd with rich Hangings, which they lend one another, and they shout for Joy, both within and at the Door. The 7th Day the Infant has his Name given him, with the same rejoicing, but is not yet Circumcis'd, and is suck-

as among us; but when the Mother goes about the Town, carries him swaddled on her Back, where he sleeps for the part. The first thing they teach them, at 4 or 5 Years of age, is to Curse one another, the Parents taking much Pleasure to see them very expert at it. Between 6 and 7 Years of Age they are generally Circumcis'd; tho' some stay till 14, and then go to School, to learn to Read and Write, and to be instructed in their Law. The very first Day they come thither, before they know their Letters, they put a Pen made of a Reed into their Hand, and make them write on a very smooth Walnut Tree Board, cover'd with a white Wash, and every Day they wipe off what they have writ. Only the Natives have the Art of making Pens made of Reeds, cutting them according to the several characters they design to write on the Paper, which is very scarce there, being all brought from abroad. The Europeans use the Quills, which are only to be had, when those Birds moult; it is forbid to kill them, throughout all *Africk*, where they are in great Numbers, about the eighth of *February*, and are scarce again in *August*, those People believing, that God at the request of *Mahomet*, metamorphos'd a Troop of *Arabs*, who us'd to molest the Pilgrims going to *Mecca*, into these Fowl. To this purpose I remember, that the first time the *R. F. Mornel* came upon Redemption, certain Captives, who had been ransom'd, kill'd the Storks, and being accus'd of it, to the Governour of *Sale*, the Religious were forc'd to pay 300 Crowns, to save them from being Bastonado'd, Imprison'd, or put into Irons. The Children are kept at School, till they have all the Law by Heart. Then if their Parents are rich, they are walk'd about on horseback, finely clad, some of their School-fellows following on horseback also, and others going before a Foot, every now and then burning Frankincense before a Board, on which the main articles of the Law are written, and which the Scholar holds in his Hands. Thus they go through all the Streets of the Town, to stir up Emulation in others, that they may soon learn, in Hoping so walk'd. When they return home, those that bore Company are entertain'd by the Father. The Children are put to learn any Trade, their Masters pay Wages from the very first Day, but no Diet, and take no charge for teaching them. They do no more than just please themselves, and therefore there are few good Masters. Till 15 Years of Age they are made to go bare headed, when they have Caps given them, and are never marry'd sooner. They have a small Tuft of Hair on the top of the Head, which, when they are grown up, they braid, and wear not the Turbant till marry'd.

C H A P. III.

Of their Marriages, the Duties they pay to the Dying and Dead, and of the Renegadoes, the Blacks and the Jews.

Marriages. **T**HE general Apprehension they all labour under, of marrying Wives that have lost their Maiden-heads, makes them use all the Precautions they can think of to avoid it. No Man marries a Wife, but what is given by her Kindred. When the Man is of Age, the chief of the Family consults with his Friends about the House he designs to be ally'd into, in case there be no Virgin of his own Race within the second or third Degree of Consanguinity, fit for him. The Maiden being pitch'd upon, and demanded of her Kindred, the Mother, or Sister of the Bridegroom goes to Compliment her, in his Name, and returns to give him an Account of all her Beauties and Perfections, and he is shown to her, but she is not seen by him. This done, if they are both satisfy'd, the Relations on both sides meet, with a publick Notary, and coming to the Door of the House, where the Maiden lives, draw up the Articles, mentioning what Portion she is to bring, the Bridegroom obliging himself to stand to the Contract, in case he finds his Bride such as the Law requires, that is, a Virgin, which if she prove not, it is express'd, that it shall be lawful for him to take away all he has given her, on Account of Marriage, and to restore her to her Kindred, for them to do Justice, as they shall think fit. All things being thus settled, he sends Cloaths, according to her Quality, which are carry'd in State, with Drums beating, and Hautbois playing. On the Wedding Day, the Husbands treats all the Friends of both Families at his House, and the Wife the Women on both Sides, at her Fathers. About four in the Afternoon, all the Bridegrooms Guests and Neighbours, go to the Brides House to conduct her. The rest of the Ceremonies may be seen in the eighth Chapter of the Captivity, and therefore need not to be here repeated. Widdows are not subject to all the Ceremonies there mention'd, it is enough that they have a good Reputation, and have not been found faulty by their first Husband.

The

The Country People, both *Arabs* and *Barbarians*, do not follow these Rules, or use such Precautions, unless it be their *Cheques*, and the wealthiest among them; and even they are not so nice, provided the Bride has been known by none but the King, being presented to him by her Father, to obtain some Favour: It is enough that they produce Certificates, testifying, that had they not been amiable, the King would not have been concern'd with them; and on this account they value them the more, as Women of Quality, and the King's Wives.

When the *Moors* are at the last Gasps, they turn their Heads Dying People. towards the East, because *Mecca* where *Mahomet's* Tomb is, lies that Way. They make them repeat their Creed beforemention'd; and in regard that the sick Person, by reason of his Weakness, could not wash away his Sins, and be purify'd with Water; as soon as dead, those of the same Sex lay him on a Table made for that Purpose, wash all the Body with hot Water first, and then with cold, and then shrowd him in a Piece of Cotton Cloth: Then the Friends come, and receive the Body at the Door, and attend it to the Burial Place, saying; *La illa illenla*, &c. which they repeat till it is in the Grave. They lay some Beards upon the Body, or else great flat Stones on the Grave, because they use no Coffins. If it be a Person of Substance, they adorn the Grave with Flowers, with Banisters about it, and lay Meat on it for the Poor that come to pray there. When the Men are gone, the Women, Kindred, Neighbours, and Friends of the deceased come to mourn in the House: They stand all in a Ring, as it were to dance the Brawls, and make frightful Cries, tearing the very Skin off their Cheeks with their Nails. The dead Men's Wives and Daughters dawb all their Cloaths with Dirt or Grease, without changing them or their Linnen for a whole Month: Then the Mourners, before they depart, make one good Meal of the Provisions sent in by the Friends of the Deceased, because they light no Fire in the House for several Days. And dead.

Those that die of the Plague, are not depriv'd of these Ceremonies, but attended till Death, as if they had no such Distemper. They wear their Cloths without cleansing, lie on their Beds, and make no account of that Contagious Disease, chusing rather to hazard their Lives, than to burn that which very often is of very little Value. That which makes them so bold, is their believing Predestination; and therefore they say that Distemper, by them call'd *Amar Alla*, or *Loubs*, that is, *A Plague sent by God*, is intended for those he is to kill; and therefore they are pre-ordain'd to die, let them go where they will, even tho' they were

hid under the Sea. Notwithstanding this Opinion of theirs, many who had not Faith enough in it, retir'd to the cold Mountains, in the Years 1678, 1679, and 1680, and the King the first of them, to get out of the Way of it. The Number of those that died in the Towns during those Years, seems almost incredible; and I have thought fit to set it down here, to shew how populous they are. They reckon that at *Ternan*, where the Contagion lasted two Years, there died 25000 Persons; at *Alcassar* and *Arzila* 32000; at *Miquenez* in 3 Years 32000; at *Fez-Belle* in the same time, 70000; at *Fez-Gedide* 15000; at *Sale* in two Years, 18000; at *Azamor* 8000; at *Morecco* in 2 Years, 40000; at *Tarudant*, 25000; *Saphya*, *Valadil*, and *Theza* were almost left desert; and at *Taffilet*, in the City and Castle, 70000. These Numbers were sent the King, certify'd by the *Cadys* of those Places, the last Year, to beg an Abatement of the Taxes, which he demanded after the usual Manner. He had some Consideration of it; but it is likely that the Inhabitants of the Towns increas'd the Numbers, to incline him to grant their Request. I do not reckon all those that died in the Country, which was almost unpeopled, so dreadful was that Infection.

Renegado's.

When a Christian has declar'd he will renounce our Holy Law, to embrace that of the *Alcoran*, they presently carry him to a *Mosque*, whence he cannot come out again without Apostatizing or losing his Life; and this they do, to the end that if going in he should happen to have any Remorse, there may be no Place for Retreat: Then he appears before his Master, and in his Presence with an audible Voice utters these Words; *La illa illenla Mahamet Dara Soulla*, without any other Ceremony; and if he desires to learn the Law, he may afterwards do it by conversing with other *Mahometans*. Few come to this dismal Extremity, till almost compell'd by Necessity, to be deliver'd from excessive Labour, and the ill Usage of their Masters, who persecute them for being Christians; and I positively know that many do not yield, till they have no Hope of being ransom'd, believing they may by that means have the better Opportunity to make their Escape into some Christian Country; but if taken running away, they are burnt without Remission.

The Kings and Great Mens Slaves that Apostatize, and renounce their Faith, are walk'd about the Town on Horseback, in triumphant Manner, with the Noise of Drums and Trumpets, holding a small Wand in their right Hand, with the End up towards Heaven, to denote that they acknowledge and adore only one God, without any Trinity of Persons: Some Days after, they are circumcis'd without any other Ceremony: However, they remain

much Slaves as they were before; but are not expos'd to so much Labour and Toil. The King makes them Porters at his Palace Gates, when he is there; and when in the Field, they march at the Head of all the Troops, and are cut in Pieces if they shew the least Inclination to give Ground, the smallest Fault being punish'd in them as dear as in the Native *Moors*.

Tho' the Blacks be nearest about the King's Person, and serve his Guards, they are never the less miserable; and tho' clad in rich Silks, they are cut in Pieces for the most inconsiderable faults. All the Works are full of them, where they may be seen covered with Bruises, and loaded with Irons: They are kept so close, that they come to him when call'd to be cut in Pieces, without putting him to the Trouble of going to them. They are generally attending him on Horseback, when he goes abroad, consists of little Blacks, between 12 and 15 Years of Age, whose business is to serve in the *Seraglio*, not daring to commit his Person to any other, for fear they should meditate Revenge for his Severity towards them. Only their Officers wait at Table, and form his Orders, believing those young Lads incapable of any design against his Person, tho' he treats them no better than the others. Those who Garrison his Castles are something better, being out of their Master's Sight; and being the King's Slaves, he allows them nothing but Meat and Cloaths. There are always about 8002 of them, Horse and Foot; in his Army, being the best Soldiers, who fight next his Person, with Fire-Arms. Those who behave themselves best, arrive to the chief Posts in the Army, or the Government of some Town. These Blacks are so proud, on account of the Confidence the King places in them, that all the *Moors* quake at their Sight, and honour them as if they were Lords.

Blacks.

The *Jews* are very numerous in *Barbary*, and no better look'd upon than in other Parts; but on the contrary are the first employ'd about it, if there be any Filth to carry out: They are oblig'd to work at their Trades for the King, when call'd upon, and subject to be beaten and affronted by every Body, without daring to speak a Word, if a Boy of 6 Years of Age throw stones at them. If they happen to pass by the Door of a *Mosque*, any time whatsoever, they must take off their Shoes, not daring to wear them even in the Royal Cities, as *Fez* and *Morocco*, on pain of 500 Bastinadoes, and Imprisonment till they pay a considerable Fine. Their Habit is after the *Arabian* Fashion; but their coats and Caps black, by way of Distinction. In *Fez* and *Morocco* they live apart from the other Inhabitants, having separate Quarters wall'd in, the Gates whereof are kept by the King's Officers, that

Jews.

that they may trade peaceably, and keep their Sabbath and other Festivals. In other Towns they are mixt among the *Moors*, and only follow Merchandize and their Trades. Many of them are very rich, who carry it no higher than the meaner Sort. They keep Correspondence with the *Jews* in *Europe*, who, by consent of the Consuls, send them Arms and Ammunition.

In every Town, they have a *Cheque* or Chief of their own, either chosen by them, or appointed by the King, and this *Cheque* raises the Taxes every House is to pay the King. They seldom go alone into the Country; because the *Arabs* and *Barbarians* generally cut their Throats; and there is scarce ever Justice done them in that Country. If they talk much in their own Defence, before a Governour, for every one pleads his own Cause in *Barbary*, without Counsellors or Lawyers, he makes his Guards buffet them. When they Bury any of their number, the Boys beat, and throw Stones at them, Spit in their Faces and give them a thousand Curses. Among themselves they exercise wonderful Charity towards their Poor, never suffering them to beg, and their *Cheque* Taxing every Family, according to their Ability. These are the Miseries of those People, formerly Gods Elect, and now the Scorn and Refuse of all Nations, according to the Words of the 26th Chapter of *Leviticus*.

C H A P. IV.

The Description of the Kingdom of Fez.

THIS Kingdom was formerly known by the name of *Mauritania*, whence the Natives of it are to this Day call'd *Moors*.
Temperat. It is temperate enough, excepting only during the Months of *June*,
July, and *August*, when the Heat is excessive and the Soil is fertile, abounding in all sorts of Grain and Pasture, so that there are great numbers of tame Cattle. The Plains lying along the Sea, from *Taquedart* to *Azamor*, are inhabited only by *Arabs* living in
Fertility. Tents. In Summer they live upon the Banks of Rivers and marshy Grounds; and in the Winter rainy Season they retire to the higher Grounds, to avoid the Waters; so that Travellers, are for the most part oblig'd to lye in the open Fields, exposed to the
Plains. Weather, not knowing where to find any Lodging; and to carry their Provisions along with them, or want, without they would go 2 or 3 Leagues out of the Way to find some Ford, where there is little to be had.

Those

Those wretched People, who Till but as much Land as barely serves to maintain them, and pay the Kings Taxes, make a shift with a little Meal, boil'd in Water, with some Milk, or else with a little Barley, toasted in a Pan, or a Cake bak'd in an Earthen Pot, with dry'd Cows Dung, which they burn instead of Wood, this being scarce in many Places. For a Dainty they eat *Consoufou*, before describ'd in the third Chapter of the *Capitulary*, to which they add some *Cardons*, that is, the Hearts of Thistles boil'd in Milk, some Mallows, and wild Fennel, with a little bit of Flesh dry'd in the Sun, and this on their great Festivals, or at Weddings. Some there are that Sow their Corn before they Till or Manure, to save trouble, and yet it grows plentifully; because Sowing always on fresh Ground, the Goodness of the Soil, and the great Rains during the Winter, and Spring make it run up at any rate. They do not live always in the same Place but when weary of one, remove to another, where they always find Land to Sow; because it is not worn out the tenth Part so much as in *Europe*.

Arabs
how they
live.

There are also Mountains running from the River *Taguedart*, which is between *Arzila* and *Cape Spartel*, to the Frontiers of *Tremesen*. These Mountains are inhabited by *Arabs*, from *Taguedart* as far as *Jebel Zebibe*, *Benzeroel*, and *Tetuan*; from *Tetuan* on the Right to *Fez* and *Meluya*, and from *Meluya* to *Melilla*, the *Barbarians* have built Villages, and rais'd Castles to defend themselves against the Weather and their Enemies. Besides Fruit they have abundance of Bee Hives, which yield them much Wax, and that they sell to the Christians at the Sea Ports. There are some Iron Mines; but they know not how to cleanse it, and only make Nails and some mishapen Tools. Their Language differs quite from the *Arabick*, as has been observ'd before. There are eight Provinces in this Kingdom, viz. *Alcalaya*, or *Alcaladia*, *Riffe*, *Algarve*, the Mountains of *Serhon*, of *Zoavias*, and of *Meluya*, *Asfiz* and *Temefena*.

Mountains

Alcaladia is the farthest Province to the Eastward, bordering on the Kingdom of *Tremesen* on that Side, on the Province of *Riffe* Westward, reaching to Mount *Atlas* on the South, and lying along the *Mediterranean*, on the North. In the South Part of it is the Town of *Quiviana* near Mount *Atlas*; about the middle of it is the Castle of *Dar-Michael*, and on the North the Fortrefs of *Melilla*, at the mouth of the River *Meluya*, Garrison'd by the *Spaniards*. This Country has many high Mountains, but its Plains are very fruitful in all sorts of Grain.

Alcaladia Province.

Riffe is the next Province, bordering on the East to the Eastward, on *Algarve* and *Asfiz*, or *Fez* Westward, which last, with the

Riffe Province.

Muley Sennin took it, at the beginning of his Reign, to put in a Garrison of Blacks. There are also two Bastions, on the two Sides of the Town, where the Wall stretches out in Length; they are rais'd upon two Hills, and oblate, with two Iron Guns on each of them. A River coming down from *Fox Gadide* runs through the midst of the City, where it spreads into six Branches, so conveniently as to furnish all the Houses with Water, every one having three or four Fountains. This River is divided into 366 Mills, and serves as many Baths. There are also 366 Ovens, for the Service of the Inhabitants; and they Baking their Bread every Day, the Ovens are constantly employ'd, till four in the afternoon, and later. Here are four Principal *Gennas*, or *Adesques*, and above 500 smaller. The first call'd *Cavanna*, being the Residence of the *Cady*, or High Priest of their Law, is of a great Compass; and contains 366 Pillars of Brick, built with Arches, between 10 and 12 Foot high. In the midst of it is a great Court, and in it 12 large Basins Spouting Water to wash and cleanse those that go in to make the *Sala*, or pray. The Floor is in Squares of all Sorts of Colours curiously wrought. Without there are Fountains for those that pass by to drink, and a vast Number of Lamps within, which are lighted in the Evening, at the usual Hour of Prayers. All the Pillars, even Man's Height are cover'd about with Mats of all Sorts of Colours, very pleasing to the Eye, and a coarser Sort is laid on the Floor to sit on. This *Adesque* has 30 great Gates cover'd with Copper Plates, and near it are Colleges, where they Study who design to be *Talbes* or Priests, in the other Towns and Provinces of the Kingdom. The stateliest of them is that built by *Muley Araby*. In these Colleges they learn only the purest *Arabic*, that is, such as the *Alcoran* was writ in, which differs much from that vulgarly spoken; and only the *Talbes*, and such as have study'd can expound it. There is no *Latin*, or Philosophy taught there, as some Authors have pretended in their Writings. There are also some small Hospitals, for sick Strangers, and for the incurable, who are maintain'd by the Charity of devout Persons, that leave them Legacies at their Death. The incurable and sick Strangers are also entertain'd, and there they allow for burying of such as have it not of their own. There are great Revenues belonging to the *Mosques*, for all the Shops belong to them, as do some Gardens. The publick Notaries keep their Offices before the Gates of this *Genna*, which stands in the Center of the City, for the Convenience of Merchants and Tradesmen, who have most of them their Shops about that Place, and not where they live, as in Europe. This City has seven principal Gates, and the River *Schou*, which runs to the North-East, comes from

from the Mountains of *Theaa*, and below the Town receives that of *Omaga*, flowing from *Faxeze*, and that of *Enquea* falling from *Serbon*. To the North of it is a very high and long Mountain, at the Foot whereof there are Abundance of Olive Trees, as well as on the South East Side, which makes Oil very cheap there: The Inhabitants are inclin'd to Rebellion, and have often oppos'd their Kings, and among 34 against whom they had taken up Arms, *Muley Semeun* was the only one who entirely subdu'd them, whilst he was there.

The City of *Fez-Gedide*, or *New Fez*, which is directly over *Fez-Belle*, or *Old Fez*, serves instead of a Citadel to it, and was built by *Ben-y-Adwini*, about 900 Year since, at the time when he belieg'd the other *Fez*. It is enclos'd with a Wall ten Spans thick, mark'd with good Towers, Bastions, and several Half Moons without. *Muley Archy* built a Palace there, and a *Seraglio*, and repair'd the old ones which were going to Ruin. That Palace is in the midst of the City, and before the great Gate of it a spacious Square, where they draw up the Horses of the Noble Men, that come to Court. Three Hundred *Ginnes* Blacks guard the Square, and their Captain takes Care to open and shut the City and Palace Gates, and to post the Guards. On the Right is the great *Mosque*, a large Gate leading into it, at the upper end, and opposite to it are two other Gates, the one very Ancient, and the other quite New; the Old one leads to the Palace, and the New to the Castle, and to the Stables built by *Muley Semeun*. At that first Gate they pass under an Iron Chain, to enter a very narrow Lane, leading to the first Court. There stand the Servants and Slaves of the Nobility, who are in the second Court, at the two Ends whereof are two large Halls 60 foot long, and 30 in Breadth, cover'd with gild'd Tiles. The vaulted Roofs are all of *Mosack* best Work, gilt and painted, and about two foot in Breadth, under them there are curious Works in Plaster, representing all Sorts of Flowers, exquisitely wrought. The Pavement is in small Squares of all Colours; and about the Walls up to a Man's Height, it is inlaid in small Pieces representing all Sorts of Roses, and other Flowers. On the Right and Left there are Galleries with flat Roofs, the gild'd and painted Girders and Joyns whereof are supported by lofty Pillars. They are pav'd and adorn'd with Cary'd Work, like the Halls, with Abundance of Banisters, two Jasper Shells, and a great Marble Basin in the middle, spouting great Stobs of Water, and four Orange Trees are in the four Corners. On the left of this Court is a small *Mosque*, where the King goes to pray at Night, and when he thinks fit. Next follows a long Entry very dark, because the *Mosques* do not use to make any Windows to their Houses,

Houses, but give all the Light at the Door, which is therefore very wide and lofty. Then you come into the last Square, where is a long Fish Pond, with many Orange Trees on both Sides of it. At the Ends are two large Rooms, the one of them square, its Roof supported by 12 Columns of white Marble, and in the midst a Shell of the same Stone, with a plentiful Spout of Water. These Rooms are painted, gilded and adorn'd with Sculptures, like the former. Before them are Galleries, whose carv'd, painted, and gilded Beams, and Girders are supported by 12 other Marble Pillars, on which rest six Wooden Arches, as curiously wrought as any of those already mention'd. In this Place the King usually eat his Meals; gave Audience to those that had Business with him, and committed his Murders, whilst he resided at *Fez*. On the Right and Left of the Fish Pond are the King's Stables, and his Stores of Arms, and Goods, and the way into the *Seraglio* is on the Right, being a plain Entry, painted at the Top. The *Seraglio* consists of only two spacious Rooms, painted and pav'd like the former, with several Marble Columns, of various Sizes supporting Arches which run round the Court, as those do in the Palace. In the midst of it works up a Marble Fountain going down four Steps, and in the Shape of a Star. At the End, towards the left as you come in, is a Tower of a wonderful Height, cover'd with Glaz'd Tiles, like all the Rooms, and on it are three extraordinary large Apples of Copper Gilt. This is the Tower that shook, before the Death of *Muley Archy*. Under it are the Baths and Privies of the *Seraglio*. Without is a Garden Spot of Flowers and Fruit, with which those within have no Communication. Before we come into this *Seraglio*, there is a lofty high Apartment. The Walls and Roofs of its four Chambers are quite cover'd with Plates and Leafs of Gold, and was built with such Expedition, as to be finish'd in a Month; for which *Muley Archy* generously rewarded the Architects. There he lodg'd a Spanish Renegado Woman, whom he lov'd above all the rest. The King's Garden lyes between these Walls and yields fruit and Herbs for the Expence of the *Seraglio*, and along the middle of it runs an Arbour fram'd in Squares, and cover'd with Vines, bearing black Grapes as big as Plums, and of a delicious Taste. Without the City at a Place call'd *Commice*, is a Castle begun by *Muley Archy*, and left unfinish'd, on Account of the Harm it might do, if they within it should Rebel; because it stands on a high Ground and commands the City that is in a Plain. There is a long high Wall, which runs directly from that they call the Lions Gate almost to the Castle, and serves for a Place of Execution, where they Impale and Expose the Bodies of those the King,

King, or the Judges condemn to Death. Some other Particulars relating to these two Cities, omitted in this Place, see in the iii. Chapter of the Captivity.

Miquenez, the other Capital City in this same Province, has been describ'd in the 10th Chapter of the Captivity, to which the Reader is referr'd, and to the 2d Chapter of the same, for the Description of *Sale*.

Miquenez
and Sale

Meluya is a Province consisting of high Mountains, which are a Part of the great Mount *Atlas*, and takes its Name from the River so call'd, rising in the midst of them, and falling into the *Mediterranean*, close by the Town of *Melilla*. These Hills bear abundance of Pine and Fir-Trees, which the *Barbarians* carry down to the Villages for building of Houses; and that is their chiefest Income. Over them is the only Way from *Fez* to *Tafflet*, which is reckon'd 100 Leagues. There are Multitudes of Lions, Tigers, wild Boars and Wolves in the Forests of *Azeret*, *Safaron* and *Bonyazega*. These *Barbarians* sometimes own the King of *Fez* for their Sovereign, and sometimes not.

Meluya
Province.

The Province of *Zaovias* consists of another Parcel of Mountains, proceeding from those of *Itata*. At the foot of them stands the City of the same Name, by which passes the River *Sera*, descending from the same Hills, and falling into the *Marbea*. This last also receives those of *Oumana*, *Derna*, *Louet de Leibit*, or of the Blacks, *Fadela*, or *Fistella* and *Tafaut*. The *Marbea* from *Louet de Leibit*, or the River of the Blacks, which is as rapid as the *Rhofne*, divides the Kingdom of *Morocco* from that of *Fez*. There is a Bridge over it, between *Derna* and *Oumana*, with a Castle built there by *Muley Semein* for its Security; because the *Barbarians* were wont to break it down when they revolted. This Country of *Zaovias* is the poorest in all the Kingdom.

Zaovias
Province.

The Kingdom of *Morocco*, and the Principality of *Sus*, have been both spoken of in the vith. Chapter of the Captivity, wherefore I shall only add a short Account of the Kingdom of *Tafflet*. It is a large Country, beyond Mount *Atlas*, 6 or 7 Score Leagues from the Sea, South East from the City of *Fez*, and formerly known by the Name of *Numidia*. It is extraordinary sandy, and for the most Part barren, by reason of the excessive Heat lasting almost all the Year. No Wheat grows there, and it costs much trouble to bring up a little Barley sow'd along the River Sides, when it rains, which is but seldom. Only the *Cheriffs* and *Alcaydes*, who are the Nobility of the Country can buy it, because too dear for the common Sort, who are wretched poor, and live upon nothing but Dates and Camel's Flesh. Water is very scarce

Morocco
and Sus.
Tafflet
Kingdom.

scarce, at any distance from the Rivers, and there is none but of Rain, which some Winters falls plentifully, and is preserv'd in Cisterns, so that both Men, and such Creatures as are kept Tame, for the most part drink only Camels Milk, that Beast relieving the Thirst of others, and being able to live two Days without Drink. The Provinces of this Kingdom are those of *Touet*, on the East; of *Dras* on the South; and the Deserts of *Sara*, containing the Nations of *Frequela*, *Tendega*, *Lagawiy*, *Tonguedout*, *Sedra*, *Mongoana*, *Secowra* and *Hader*, each living about the River of the same Name, and come from the Mountains *Atlas*, *Zaimby* and *Guilaa*.

Taffilet
City.

There is none but the City of *Taffilet* in this Kingdom, seated on the River which gives Name to it, and all the Country. The Inhabitants, of this Dominion are of three Sorts, *Cheriffs*, *Arabs* and *Barbarians*. The first are descended from the Impostor *Mohomet*, and live in Castles. The *Arabs* were brought in with the others, and their Prince *Muley Meherex*, by *Muley Almazor*; and the *Barbarians* were the ancient Inhabitants. They are a tall slender and swarthy People, living in Villages on the Mountains, and breeding some Cattle, which they exchange with the *Arabs* for Dates. Here are Abundance of *Ostridges*, as large as small Heifers of six Months, very Fat, which they run down, and are good Meat. The Country has great Numbers of *Dromedaries*, which they call *Mebery*, and are like Camels in all respects, bating that their Bodies and Legs are slenderer, and they have two Bunches on their Backs, the one smaller than the other. They are so swift, that they will sometimes travel as far in a Day and a Night, as a good Horse could do in a Week. When first brought into the World they lye still several Days, as if asleep. The *Barbarians* tye a Rurle about their Neck, into which they put a little Stone every Day, to reckon how many they lye in that dead Sleep, and affirm that as many Days as that Slumber continues on them, so many Days Journey of a Horse they will be able to perform in 24 Hours. Several credible Christians saw a Man at *Fez*, who being sent from *Morocco* at Sun rising went to *Fez* with some Orders, and the next Day at five in the Evening return'd to *Morocco*, having travell'd 200 Leagues in two Days, upon only two Camels. The same Man being just come, said, he would still go to *Tangier* to carry their Letters, if they pleas'd, and bring back the Answer the next Day, at the opening of the Gates, tho' *Tangier* is 60 Leagues from *Fez*.

This

This is what I could observe among those *Barbarians* during my Captivity. The hard Labour I was put to in the Day time, did not hinder me losing part of my Rest to write what I have here deliver'd. I know others have treated of this same Subject, but can testify they have said more than they could make out, being wanting in that Sincerity they ought to have observ'd, for gaining their Writings an honourable Reputation. I own I do not express things with that Politeness and Eloquency as another might do; yet it must be granted to be very much, that a Man, who has been Captive 11 Years, and taken at the Age of 19, without any Books to read, and always kept to such hard Labour, as might make him forget his Mother Tongue, should still preserve so much as to express himself and be understood; and that instead of employing himself, like others, in lamenting his Captivity, he should by this Employment seek the Means to bear above his Misfortunes; which I always did, with an Entire Resignation to the Will of God, who deliver'd me at a time, when I had lost all Hopes of recovering my Liberty.

FINIS.

A
Short ACCOUNT
OF THE
Noblest Families of the *Moors*.

THat of the Sheriffs of *Tafflet*, descended from *Mahomet*, of which Race the present Kings of *Fez*, and *Morocco* are, bears the Names of *Delheusenin* and *Meherex*.

The *Drices* are the Offspring of the Founder of Old *Fez*, and live in that City.

The *Merines* issue from the ancient Kings of *Fez*, who built New *Fez*, and lost the Kingdom to the Sheriffs.

The *Arafes*, ancient Princes of the Province of *Riffe*, the Chiefs whereof were cut off by *Muley Semein*, and the Remainder retir'd to *Muley Hamet*, Viceroy of *Morocco*.

The *Ben-Yencours*, ally'd to the *Arafes*, Lords of *Nenour*, in the Province of *Riffe*, retir'd to the same *Muley Hamet*.

The *Anacaciz*, Kindred of Prince *Gayland*, after his Death, withdrew to *Centa* and live there, under the King of *Spain's* Protection.

The *Hamemins* have been Governours, or *Alcaydes* of *Algarve* and *Tetuan*.

Filely was Grand Vizier. *Zelquetin* Great Treasurer. *Mensam* Master of the Household, or of the *Seraglio* at *Fez*. *Gerari*, *Bassa*, or General of the Army. *Bortéma*, Great *Alcayde*, Governour to *Muley Meherex*, the King's eldest Son. *Boisa*, Master of the Horse. *Bouchiche*, *Alcayde* of the Tents in the King's Army. *Roussi*, Governour of Old *Fez*. *Marino*, Viceroy of *Algarve* and Governour of *Sale*. *Squerdo*, another Governour of *Sale*. *Pantonja*, of the same Place. *Berry*, Governour of *Miguenez*. *Bouffa*, General of the King's Blacks and Governour of *Arzila*. *Mar-sauc*, Governour of New *Fez*. *Hispany*, General of the *Chavanets*. *Abdrahaman Laiche*, Intendant of the Marine at *Tetuan*. *Santiago*, Governour

overnour of the same Town. *Lehache Soumin*, who has been Embassador at the French Court. *Serhony*, *Bassa*. *Louery* Father in Law to *Muley Archy* and *Muley Yemin*. *Benjanja* Major General. *Treme-Serry*, in the same Post. *Memini* overnour of *Sale*. *Henden*, Viceroy of *Taffilet* and *Touet*. *Zamon*, Surveyor of the King's Works at *Miquenez*. *Mejudoub*, Protector of *Miquenez*, here a Chappel is erected to him. *Zedebe*, Protector of *Morocco*, has the same Honour. *Bona-fat*, Protector of *New Fez*, who has also a Chappel before the *Jews* Quarters. The Descendants of these three are reckon'd aints. *Mimaran*, great *Checqne* of all the *Jews* in the Kingdom, and the King's Favourite.

The Chief Provincial Families, which they call *Cassilas*, and we Hords, being like the *Scotch Clans*.

L *Inguet*, and *Oulets* of *Lehache*, in the Province of *Alcaladia*.

Louety, in the same Province.

Ben-Tazega, between *Fez* and *Theza*.

Ben-Tmelec, in the Province of *Algarve*.

Ben-Zeroei, on the Mountains of the same Name, and those of *Jebelzebibe* and *Chechoman*.

Serhony, on the Mountains of *Serhon*.

Azerot and *Safaro*, on the Mountains of *Meluga*, on the Side of the River.

Leguerizy, *Sagaro*, *Hadet*, *Toudega*, *Secoura*, *Mougouna*, *Magaram*, *Sedrat*, *Toungedout*, *Itata* and *Zaimby*, on Mount *Atlas*, beyond the great River, towards *Taffilet* and *Sara*.

Guilaa, on the Mountains, South from *Morocco*.

Benbucar, on those of *Zaovias*.

Urica, on those of *Sus*.

Line, in *Sus*.

Charuants, Part in *Morocco*, and the rest in *Alcaladia* near *Melilla*.

Chy, in the Province of *Afciz*, or *Fez*.

Sebahiay, between *Sale* and *Mamora*.

Chaouia, in the Province of *Temesena*.

Geraras, in that of *Haba*.

Oulets Amar, in that of *Tadela*.

Mentays, in that of *Duquella*.

Ludeya, near *Miquenez*.

Hamemin, and *Arafe* in the Province of *Riffe*.

Q

Names

Names of the Provinces, and Towns be- longing to the King of *Morocco*, and to the Christians along his Coasts.

*In the Kingdom of Fez.**Provinces.*

<i>Aicaladia.</i>	<i>Tenefena.</i>
<i>Riffe.</i>	<i>Meluya.</i>
<i>Algarve.</i>	<i>Zaouias.</i>
<i>Alceiz, or Fez.</i>	<i>Serhon.</i>

Towns.

Old Fez.	} <i>These belong to the King.</i>	<i>Larache.</i>
New Fez.		<i>Centa.</i>
Miquenez.		<i>Permon de Velez.</i>
Sale.		<i>Albouzema, and</i>
<i>Alcassar.</i>		<i>Melilla belonging</i>
<i>Mamora.</i>		<i>to the Spaniards.</i>
<i>Tetuan.</i>		<i>Tangier abandon'd</i>
<i>Thefa.</i>		<i>and demolish'd by</i>
<i>Quiviana.</i>		<i>the English.</i>

*In the Kingdom of Morocco.**Provinces.*

<i>Maraeho.</i>	<i>Guilaxa.</i>
<i>Duquilla.</i>	<i>Itata.</i>
<i>Haba.</i>	<i>Zaimby.</i>

Towns.

<i>Morocco.</i>	<i>Mazagam, this last</i>
<i>Azamor.</i>	<i>belonging to the</i>
<i>Yualodia.</i>	<i>Portuguese.</i>
<i>Saphya.</i>	

*In the Kingdom of Taffilet.**Provinces.*

<i>Taffilet.</i>	<i>Dras.</i>
<i>Touet.</i>	<i>Sara.</i>

*Town.**Taffilet.**In the Principality of Sus.**Provinces.*

<i>Sus.</i>	<i>Schel.</i>
-------------	---------------

Towns.

<i>Tarudant.</i>	<i>Illec.</i>
<i>Santa Cruz.</i>	

*The Names of the Rivers.**Great ones.*

<i>Meluya.</i>	<i>Sus.</i>
<i>Sebou.</i>	<i>Dras.</i>
<i>Marbea.</i>	<i>Taffilet.</i>
<i>Goudet.</i>	

The Smaller.

<i>Loucou.</i>	<i>Beth.</i>
<i>Magazin.</i>	<i>Guerou.</i>
<i>Rafic-Elma.</i>	<i>Tasant.</i>
<i>Enques.</i>	<i>Fiftella.</i>
<i>Layana.</i>	<i>Louet de Leibit.</i>
<i>Ouarga.</i>	<i>Derna.</i>
<i>Bouamaire.</i>	<i>Oumana.</i>

era.	Mefenes.	Mel.	Legnera.
Iephis.	Rafe-layne.	Louydin.	Mafia.
milou.	Zaimby.	Magaran.	Sedrat.
longouna.	Tougeda.	Ferquela.	

Besides these Rivers, there are Abundance of Brooks, which dry quite in Summer, and in Winter are only fed by Floods, which make them that time pass for Rivers, with such as are no better Acquainted.

The CONTENTS.

Chap. I. *My Departure from Diep, for the Caribbee Islands in America, and how I was taken by two Pyrates of Sale.* p. 1.

Chap. II. *How they sell the Slaves at Sale, and the Description of that Place.* p. 4.

Chap. III. *Of the most remarkable things that happen'd in New Fez commonly call'd Fez Gedide, till I was remov'd to Miquenez with the other Captives.* p. 14.

Chap. IV. *The Persecutions under the Reign of Muley Archy.* p. 17.

Chap. V. *Of the Persecutions and Troubles we went through at Miquenez, which the King caus'd to be rebuilt, to keep his Court there. The Description of Morocco and Sus.* p. 23.

Chap. VI. *The Persecution at Alcafar.* p. 29.

Chap. VII. *Containing the Story of Bernard Bauffet, who was expos'd to four hungry Lions, on the 15th of February 1681.* p. 34.

Chap. VIII. *Of the Miseries of the Slaves in General.* p. 37.

Chap. IX. *Of the Food allow'd the Slaves, their Habit and Beds.* p. 44.

Chap. X. *The RR. Fathers Mercenarians come into Barbary, they redeem the Captives. The Author's Return into France, and Description of Miquenez.* p. 46.

Chap. XI. *The Story of a French Captive, who after several Turns of Fortune, fled from Tripoly, disguis'd like a Morabite or false Anchorite, was*

taken at Morocco, sent to Fez, and made his Escape to Tangier. p. 52.

Chap. XII. *The Captivity of Don Raphael de Veras, a Spanish Gentleman, and the amorous Intrigue between a French Captive Surgeon and a Lady of Sale.* p. 59.

Chap. XIII. *The Strange Adventures of the Sieur de la Place, a Gentleman of Normandy; and how Justice is administer'd in Barbary.* p. 66.

Chap. XIV. *Of two Renegado's, where of the one was burnt alive at Tetuan, and the other at Sevil.* p. 72.

Chap. XV. *Of the Trade of this Country.* p. 77.

THE Present STATE OF THE EMPIRE of MOROCCO.

Chap. I. *Of the Religion of the Moors.* p. 77.

Chap. II. *Of the Kings, People, Women and Children.* p. 90.

Chap. III. *Of their Marriage, the Duties they pay to the dying and dead, and of the Renegado's, the Blacks, and the Jews.* p. 98.

Chap. IV. *The Description of the Kingdom of Fez.* p. 102.

A Short Account of the Noblest Families of the Moors. p. 112.

THE

THE INDEX.

- A** Dventures of the *Sieur de la Place* Page 66
 Affronts how punish'd among the
Moors p. 69
African Women Lewd p. 63
Alcaladia Province describ'd p. 103
Alcassar Town for what considerable
 p. 33
 Description of it p. 32
 Its Port p. 78
Alcayde of *Alcassar* stops, and cruelly
 beats the Slaves p. 30
 His Inhumanity p. 31
Alexandria in *Egypt*; a short Account
 of it p. 54
Algarve Province describ'd p. 104
Arabs p. 94
 How they live p. 103
 Articles of the *Mahometan* Faith p. 77
Arzila p. 78
Azamor p. 80
- B.
- B** arbarians p. 94
 Barbarous Proposal of a *Moorish*
 Woman to her Lover p. 74
 Bartering with the Blacks, how ma-
 nag'd p. 73
 Battle, the Order of it among the
Moors p. 90
 Beds of the Captives p. 45
Ben Bucar King of *Zaevias* p. 33
- Bernard Bausset* a Captive, who he
 was p. 34
 Expos'd to Lions for his Religion,
 and not hurt p. 35
 Attestation of the Story p. 36
 Blacks p. 101
 Brandy, why allow'd the Captives p. 25
 Bravery of a *Spanish* Captive p. 50
 Bread allow'd the Captives p. 44
- C.
- C** ady, his Office p. 68
 Captives in *Barbary*, their Mife-
 ries p. 37
 At *Miquenez* their Hardships p. 23
 Why allow'd Brandy p. 25
 Charitable Brotherhood p. 25
 Cheats of Merchants p. 78
 Children taught to write before they
 can read p. 97
 Commodities brought from *Fez* and
Morocco, and carry'd thither p. 74
 Constancy of two Christians p. 22
 Cooks among the Captives p. 44
 Country about *Sale* p. 10
 Country People in *Barbary* p. 93
Consoufou, how made and eaten p. 11
 Criminals how punish'd p. 69
 Cruelty of *Muley Archy* p. 10
 To Women Captives p. 22
 Cure of an extravagant Sort p. 2
- D.

The I N D E X.

D.

- D**ebtors, how Prosecuted p. 69
 Directions for such as go into
Barbary p. 74
 Dismal Death of two Spanish Slaves
 p. 38
 Dungeons for Christians describ'd p. 42
 Dying People, and Dead p. 99

E.

- E**ating, the manner of it among
 the *Moors* p. 92
 Entry of a *Bassa* at *Grand Cairo* p. 55
 Escape of Captives p. 42
 Extortion at *Tetuan* p. 50
Eyde-Gubira Mahometan Festival p. 37
Eyde-Serein Mahometan Festival *ibid*

F.

- F**amilies of *Moors*. p. 112
 Fertility of *Fez*. p. 102
 Festivals of *Mahometans* p. 37, and 79
Fez City rebels p. 13
 Some Account of it. p. 14
 Manner of Building there p. 16
Fez Kingdom describ'd p. 102
Fez, or Afciz Province p. 105
Fez City the Old *ibid*
 The New p. 107
 Food of the Captives p. 44
 Fools reputed Saints p. 89
 Fraud of the King of *Morocco* p. 47
 Of Merchants p. 78
 Friday the *Moors* Sabbath p. 79

G.

- G**aming forbid by the *Alcoran* p. 89
Gayland, Moorish Prince p. 33
Gondets, Twin Rivers p. 28
 Governours in *Morocco* Judges p. 91
Grand Cairo in *Egypt*, some Account
 of it p. 55
 Great Men among the *Moors* p. 94

H.

- H**abit of the Captives p. 44
Haquem his Office p. 69
 Houses at *Fez* describ'd p. 14

I.

- J**ews, their Wickedness p. 11
 Story of their expecting a *Messias*
ibid
 Treacherous p. 31
 Not to be trusted p. 75
 More of them p. 101
 Inhabitants of Moorish Towns, how
 they live p. 93
 Inhumanity of the King of *Morocco*
 p. 36
 Intrigue of a French Captive p. 64
 Justice, how administer'd among the
Moors p. 68

K.

- K**ing of *Morocco* offers to ransom
 his Slaves p. 29
 Elective p. 90
 His Power p. 91
 His Horses p. 92
 Respect paid to him p. 93

L.

- L**iberties allow'd Christian Cap-
 tives p. 71
 Lions, how taken p. 29

M.

- M**ahometan Doctors devour'd by
 Lions p. 36
Mamora p. 78
 Marriages p. 98
 Measures and Weights, the Punish-
 ment when false p. 69
Meluya Province describ'd p. 109
 Merchants, vile Frauds of theirs p. 78
Messias, Story of Jews expecting him
 p. 11
Miqueñez Castle describ'd p. 48
 The

The INDEX.

The City	p. 49	Pilgrims of Mecca	p. 57
Montagne (Madam de) ransom'd	p. 10	Place (the <i>Sieur de la</i>) his Adventures	p. 66
Morabite, a false one	p. 53		
His Story	<i>ibid</i>	Taken with a Moorish Lady	p. 67
Is made a Slave	p. 56	How he got off	p. 68
In Love	<i>ibid</i>	Disguiz'd sees the Moorish Women	
Betray'd, and flies	p. 57	bathe naked	p. 70
Taken and makes his Escape	<i>ibid</i>	Another Intrigue of his with Ladies	p. 71
Morocco City describ'd	p. 27		
Morocco Kingdom, its Provinces	p. 28	Plague in Barbary	p. 25, and 99
Mouette (the <i>Sieur</i>) the Author im-		Plains of Fez	p. 102
barks at Dieppe	p. 1	Polygamy allow'd among the Moors	p. 80
Lands in England	p. 2		
Taken by the Moors.	p. 3	Ports of Morocco and Fez	p. 77
Carry'd to Sale	p. 4	Priests among the Slaves	p. 26
His Adventures with his Masters	p. 9		
Slave to the Governour of Sale	p. 11	R.	
Made a Labourer	p. 12	Rbellion of Fez	p. 13
Goes to Fez.	p. 13	Religion of the Moors	p. 77
Moulout Mahometan Festival	p. 37	Religious Men for Redemption of Cap-	
Mountains of Fez	p. 103	tives, come to ransom them	p. 46
Muley Archy, his Cruelty	p. 10	Renegadoes attempt to escape, their	
Makes many Renegadoes	p. 21	hard Fate	p. 39
Muley Semein el Henssein, King of		Are Betray'd	p. 40
Fez and Morocco, his Character	p. 49	One Burnt, the other Escapes	p. 41
	p. 17	Story of two, one Burnt at Tetuan,	
Murder of a Captive		the other at Sevil	p. 72
N.		Honour done to one	p. 73
New Castle at Sale	p. 7	Falls in Love	p. 74
Nile River	p. 53	His Villanous Attempt against his	
Notion of Moors, a mad one	p. 80	Father and Mother	<i>ibid</i>
O.		Is taken	p. 76
Old Castle at Sale	p. 6	Burnt alive	p. 77
Opium much us'd by the Moors,		How us'd	p. 100
A pleasant Passage on it	p. 68	Revenue of Morocco, what is Legal	p. 90
Oppression of the Moors	p. 93	Riffe Province describ'd	p. 103
P.		S.	
Pens made of Reeds and Storks		Salé Town describ'd	p. 4
Quills	p. 97	Formerly a Common-wealth	p. 5
Persecution, the Occasion of it	p. 17	Old Castle there	p. 6
Another Pretence for it	<i>ibid</i>	New Castle	p. 7
		Its Port	p. 78
			Salv.

The INDEX.

Salvation thought certain by the <i>Moors</i>		Temperature of <i>Fez</i>	p. 102
under 15 Years of Age	p. 80	<i>Tetuan</i> Extortion there	p. 50
<i>Santa Cruz</i> Town	<i>ibid</i>	Describ'd	p. 51
<i>Saphya</i> Town	<i>ibid</i>	Its Port	p. 77
<i>Serban</i> Province describ'd	p. 104	Tower of <i>Sale</i> , up which a Man may	
Shepherds in <i>Spain</i> watch their Cat-		ride	p. 5
tle	p. 75	Trade up the Inland	p. 80
Slaves, how sold at <i>Sale</i>	p. 8		
How us'd in <i>Barbary</i> when sick	p. 37	V.	
Allow'd but 7 Days of Rest in the		V <i>Erer</i> (<i>Don Raphael de</i>) his Cap-	
Year, and their Contrivances to		tivity	p. 39
Escape	p. 38	Betray'd by a Renegado	p. 60
Search after them when fled	p. 39	Most inhumanely beaten	<i>ibid</i>
Their hard Labour	p. 16	Attempts to make his Escape	p. 61
Attempt to kill their Keeper	p. 24	Is taken	p. 63
Cruelty us'd towards them	p. 27	Villany of a <i>Moor</i>	p. 180
Their Employment at the Sea Ports			
	p. 41	W.	
Their Food, Habit, Bread, Cooks		W Alls how built at <i>Fez</i>	p. 16
	p. 44	War to be made by the <i>Moors</i>	
Their Beds	p. 45	on those they call Infidels	p. 80
Sodomy practis'd by the <i>Moors</i>	p. 91	Walhing away of Sin among the <i>Moors</i>	
Sorterers reputed Saints	p. 89		p. 79
Sortery practis'd by the <i>Moors</i>	p. 62	Wedding of <i>Moors</i>	p. 43
<i>Spaniard</i> Miller to a <i>Cheque</i>	p. 52	Weights and Measures, the Punishment	
<i>Spanish</i> Woman in great Favour with		for false ones	p. 69
the King of <i>Morocco</i>	p. 35	Women, <i>Moorish</i> and <i>Arabian</i>	p. 95
Story of a false <i>Morabite</i>	p. 53	Not seen by Men	p. 96
Surgeon among the Captives	p. 45		
<i>Sus</i> Province describ'd	p. 28	Z.	
T.		Z <i>Aovias</i> Province describ'd	p. 109
T <i>Affilet</i> City	p. 110	Zeal of a <i>Mahometan</i> for God's	
<i>Taffilet</i> Kingdom describ'd	p. 109	Honour	p. 72
<i>Tamesena</i> Province describ'd	p. 104		

I

T H E
R A V E L S
O F
P E T E R T E I X E I R A
F R O M
I N D I A t o I T A L Y b y L a n d.

C H A P. I.

*Motive I had to undertake this Journey, and a
rt Account of a Voyage I made before, from In-
a to Spain, by the way of the Philippine I-
nds.*

Being in the Year 1600, in the City of *Malaca*, seated
in that Part of *India*, which the Ancients call'd *Aurea* Malaca
City.
Chersonesus, and intending to return to *Portugal*, my
Native Country, I resolv'd to do it by the way of the
Philippine Islands, to save time, and see some more of
World, encourag'd by the present Opportunity of a small
then fitting out for that Voyage, by the Commander *Mar-*
tfonso de Melo's Order, to acquaint the Governour of those
s with the coming of the *Dutch* into the *Indian Seas*. I de-
l *Malaca*, the most considerable Mart of all that Southern
B Seas,

203. h. 118. (41)

Dutch in
the East.

Sumatra
Island.

Sincapura
Streight.

Sea, lying in two Degrees and a half of North Latitude, and in a Fruitful Country, ever green, and tho' so directly under the Sun healthful and temperate, on the first of May, in the aforesaid Year. We coasted along to the Southward, leaving on the right the great Island of *Sumatra*, by the *Portugueses* frequently call'd *Achem*, from a Kingdom in it of that Name, lying to the Westward of the Continent, and but 8 Leagues distant at present, having been formerly join'd to it, and separated by the Fury and Violence of the Sea. The Kingdoms in it are many, but not well civiliz'd, yet wealthy and abounding in pure Gold, Pepper, Lake, White Benjamin, Camphir, and other valuable Commodities, besides great Plenty of Provisions. We also left on the Right Hand the Streight of *Sebam*, form'd by this and many other Islands, and leading to the *Javas*, *Sunda*, *Ambayna*, the *Moluccoes*, *Timor* *Solor* *Bale*, and a great Number of other Islands and Kingdoms lying in those Seas. Keeping close to the Continent, and passing by the there Noted Rivers *Muar* and *Pole*, we came to the Streight of *Sincapura*, lying between the aforesaid Continent, and the Islands forming the other Streight of *Sabam*, in the Shape of the Figure 5. and so narrow for half a League, that the Ships sailing from *India* to *China*, or the contrary, wanting Room in the midst of it to tack about, if there should be Occasion, use generally when they come to either End, to cast Anchor and wait for a Tide, to pass through with the Boat out a head, to toe and keep her steady; and it sometimes happens they are fain to stay 3, 4 or 5 Days for this Opportunity, the Tides there running so many Days, sometimes more and sometimes less one way, without any certain Rule, which is very wonderful. Another thing no less unaccountable is observ'd all along this Coast and about the Islands, in the Shel Fish, which is fullest at the New Moons, and emptiest at the Full, contrary to what is usual in all other Lands and Seas. Along this Streight and on the adjacent Coasts, live those Inhabitants of the Water, call'd *Seleres*, mention'd in my first Book of the Kings of *Persia*, chap. 29, being great Fishermen and greater Robbers, About the middle of this Streight the Tide fail'd us and our Vessel drove upon a Parcel of Rocks, where we were in much Danger, and had no less Trouble and Fatigue to get off, and the Tide soon turning, made our way through. We water'd at *Romanya*, which is on the Continent, 32 Leagues from *Malaca*, and sail'd on the right of *Piedra Blanca*, or the white Rock, so famous in the East, among the *Portugueses*, as being a Land Mark for all Ships coming that way for the Streight, from *Japan*, *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Chachao*, *Camboca*, *Siam*, *Pate*, *Patane*, *Pam*, *Champa*, and other Kingdoms, and bound for *Malaca*; as also because this is one of the Places where the Needle has no Variation.

We

We held on our Course, amidst almost innumerable Islands, all of them Desert, and in 23 Days we were Sailing from *Malaca* to *Borneo*, lost not sight of them only one Day. Nothing remarkable befel us till our coming to *Borneo*, tho' we were not free from the usual Dread of Flats, Shoals, Currents, and sudden Gusts of Wind, which render that Sea unfit for Ships of great Burden. Making the Westernmoit Point of the Island, we Coasted along it about 200 Leagues to the Northward, to the Port, which is spacious and safe, form'd by the Mouth of a mighty River, that falls into the Sea there, and several Islands encompassing it about. *Borneo* is one of the largest Islands in the East, but not of the most resorted to. The Inhabitants are *Moors*, all of an Olive Complexion, well Featur'd, and particularly the Women. Most of them go Naked, with only a Clout wrapp'd about them, and the better sort wear a *Baju*, which is a slight half Shirt. The Land abounds in all sorts of Provisions those Parts afford. Here is found the purest and most excellent Camphir, for its singular Goodness distinguish'd by the Name of *Borneo*, and taken from the Heart of the Trunk of a large Tree, scraping it with Iron Hooks, like Rosin, then putting it into fair Water, and often changing, till it remains in its Purity. This sort is not brought to *Portugal*, being sold in *India* at very high Rates. Here are also many Bezoar Stones, much Tortoise Shell, Wax, and some Gold; but the Island on this side being neither Populous nor Healthy, and the People little addicted to Trade, besides that the Kingdoms of *Lave*, *Maia* *Macem*, and other wealthy Ones are on the other side, nothing is exported, but what the *Portugueses* barter for some Cloth they carry thither. The *Spaniards* were once possess'd of this Port, and quitted it, because unhealthy and unfit for Trade, both by reason of the Nature of the Country and the Ignorance of the Natives. The chief Town, where the King and Sovereign of this Port resides, is on the River, the Houses, which are all of Timber, being founded on Beams and Planks, and riding at Anchor with Cables made of Withes, which is the *Rota* I mentioned elsewhere. Thus whensoever the King pleases, either on Account of the Weather, or for any other Reason, the whole City moves from one side of the River to the other, with very little Trouble. This is not to be admir'd, for the same is practis'd at *Palinban*, *Andregnir*, and other Parts of the farther Coast of *Sumatra*, and some other Islands thereabouts. All the Natives of this Island are theevishly inclin'd, and the better to practice their calling, they go almost 400 Leagues in small light Boats, as far as the Coast of *Pegu* to rob, where loading their own Vessel, and those they take, with their Booty, they return

Borneo
Island.

Camphir

turn home, seldom coming to any Damage by the Wind or Weather, because that Sea is so calm, that they have given it the Name of *the Sea of Ladies*; and when it happens to be rough with the sudden Gulls, which often rise, and with great Violence, tho' soon over; they get under the Shelter of the Land, creeping always close by it, and when it is over, prosecute their Voyage. Their Weapons are Swords, *Cocos*, that is Shields made of *Rosa*, or Withes, some Spears, Javelins, a few Muskets, but the most common are the *Selihhes*, being Staves harden'd at the Fire, which strike like Iron and are vey brittle, so that the Wound being full of small Splinters, is almost incurable. Next to these they very much use Arrows, shot out of a Trunk, which being extremely slender made of a sort of Reeds, are pointed, instead of Iron, with a Tooth of so venomous a Fish, that the least Blood it draws is mortal; however being blown out of a Trunk, a small matter puts them by, and there are very sovereign Antidotes found against the Poison, tho' the *Portugueses* could never find any against the Poison'd Arrows, us'd by the Blacks on the Continent of *Africk*, about *Melinde* and *Mombaza*, along the *Indian* Ocean, whereof I have seen many die suddenly; in dreadful manner, notwithstanding their Wounds were very slight, without any Hopes of a Cure. Thus much may suffice for *Borneo*.

Philippine
Islands.

We departed that Port, and running along the Coast of that Island two Days more, pass'd by Mount *St. Peter* on it, so high, that it is discern'd at 50 Leagues Distance. Then leaving *Borneo* a Stern, we held on our Course always among desert Islands, the most noted whereof are those of *Paragua* and *Malana*, besides almost innumerable others, where we gave our selves for lost every Moment. At length, on the 22th of *June* we came to an Anchor, in the Bay of *Cavite*, the Port to the City *Manila*, which is the Capital of the Islands the Natives call *Luzones*, and we the *Philippines*, because subdued in the Reign of King *Philip II.* of *Spain*, tho' long before discover'd by our *Portuguese*, *Ferdinand de Magellanes*, after he had found the Streight, which retains his Name to this Day; and he was kill'd in one of them call'd *Zebu*, 100 Leagues distant from this Port. These Islands are many in Number, some of them large, all populous, the Natives submissive, tho' some call'd *Ilocos* and *Pintados* have at times given the *Spaniards* much Trouble. They are of an Olive Colour, go all naked, only cover'd with Cotton Blankets or Mantles. Some of them were *Pagans*, and some *Mahometans*, the latter are quite extirpated, and few of the former remain, being most converted to Christianity. These Islands improve daily by the Trade the *Spaniards* have brought to them, sending over above a Million and a half of Plate every Year from *New Spain*, and returning Commodities,

Commodities of China, convey'd to them by the *Chineses* of *Chincheo*, whom they call *Swigleyes*, in great Quantities, tho' not so good as those the *Portugueses* export from *China*. (This was when the Author writ; for since the *Spaniards* deal for the very choicest Goods of that Country, and the *Portuguese Trade* there is fallen to nothing) The City is large, and magnificently built with Lime and Stone, after the Modern Fashion; and the whole rather of too great an Extent; for which reason the *Spaniards* have carry'd a plain Stone Wall across the Middle of it, that they may bring themselves into a less Compass in case of Need. There is in it a Cathedral, which is an Archbishop's See, and there are three Bishops more in other Parts, a Royal Court, a Governour, who has the Authority of a Viceroy; and when I was there they were building several very stately Churches. The City is wall'd for fear of the *Japoneses*, with whom the *Spaniards* trade, and have a very Polite Government, and their Behaviour is courtly. The Islands bear much Rice, and have Wine made of *Nipa*; and tho' originally they had no Cattel at all, yet by the Industry of the *Spaniards*, all Sorts are so multiply'd, that the Country is not inferior to *New Spain*, in that particular. There is much Wax and Gold, which turns to good Account, carry'd to *Mexico*, and tho' many of the Natives paid their Tribute in Gold, and barter'd it away, the *Spaniards* had not in my time been able to learn whence they had it. They then also began to sow Wheat, for want whereof they had before made their Bread of Meal brought from *Chincheo* and *Japan*. Here is also great Store of Ebony and Cassia fistula, and all other Products both of those Parts and *Europe*, therefore they generally send abundance of Provisions to the *Molucco* Islands, which would suffer very much without it, by reason of the great Distance of *India*, and uncertainty of Supplies from thence. Besides the great Profit, the near Neighbourhood of *China* is an Encouragement to Trade, the Passage between them being but of ten Days; and therefore those who go from *Mexico* to *Manila* commonly say, they are bound for *China*, and those who return from *Manila* to *New Spain* say, they are bound from *China* to *Spain*.

Manila
City.

When I came to *Manila*, I obtain'd leave of the Governour *Don Francisco Tello de Meneses*, to go over to *New Spain*, for none can pass without, and there is much difficulty to obtain it. I went aboard a new Ship, of four that were ready to Sail, and of these the *St. Margaret*, being the Commodore, and the *St. Jerome* the next, commanded by Captain *James Rodriguez de Segura*, with whom I had agreed for my Passage, but that God diverted it, were both cast away on the Islands *Ladrones*; and another call'd *La Contadora*, was 7 Months on her Voyage to *Acapulco*, and near perishing by the

Voyage
from Ma-
nila.

the Way. Being aboard this Ship, the Captains and Owners whereof were the Marshal *Gabriel de Ribera*, and *Dominick Oris de Chiboya*, both wealthy Men, who had built her purposely to go over themselves to *Mexico*, with a Design to admit of no Passenger, and receiv'd me as a particular Favour, we set sail from this Port, which is in 13 Degrees and a half of North Latitude, on the 18th of *July*, and sail'd 100 Leagues, continually among populous Islands, all belonging to that Government, till we came to the End of them, which they call the Gulph, or Streight of *Capul*, being the Name of an Island, on the 26th of the said Month This was great Fortune; for they often spend 2 Months in reaching that Place, and suffer much by Sicknes and other Inconveniences. Having taken in here Water, Fowl, Swine, and Fruit, which the Islanders usually bring to the Ships, at our going out of the Streight, tho' the Wind was fresh and right a Stern, we were detain'd 12 Hours from Midnigh't till Noon, by such a violent Current, that tho' the Wind blew fiercely for us, we could not advance half a League, till that Tide began to decline; when we got out to Sea so swiftly, that we soon lost Sight of all the Islands, and stood over for those of *J.p.m.* formerly call'd *Argentaria*, because of the great Quantity of fine Silver they produce, whereof the *Portugueses* us'd to carry considerable Quantities into *China*. The Great Emperour of them in our Days was *Taycosan*, who of a poor Seller of Faggots, that got his Living by bringing a Burden of Wood on his Back out of the Forest, and selling it for Bread, by his Bravery and Conduct rais'd himself to so great a Sovereignty, and maintain'd and govern'd it with singular Wisdom and Justice, compelling the lazy People to till the Ground, and restraining their unruly Spirits by wholesome Laws; by which means he made those Kingdoms prosper more than they had ever done before, and the Neighbouring Nations dread his Arms, which he carry'd over to the Continent of *Koray*, which the *Portugueses*, who are acquainted with it, commonly call *Corea*, a Kingdom adjoining to *China*, whose King found enough to do to defend it.

Wonderful
Fortune.

Being in the Latitude of *J.p.m.*, whose lowest Part call'd *Nangaz*, where the *Portugueses* resided, is in 33 Degrees North, and the Kingdom of *Cantoa* in 40; when we were near the Islands by Observation, we stood over from thence to the Eastward, and discovering some other Islands not known, sail'd many Days on that vast South Sea towards *New Spain*, which we had Sight of in 40 Degrees of North Latitude, at Cape *Mendoza*, on the third of *November*. In this Place again the Needle has no Variation. Then we sail'd down the Coast to the Southward, observing some Islands there are along it. At our setting out from the *Philippine* Islands

we

we had receiv'd Intelligence that the Ships from *Mexico* were arriv'd; for none can sail thence till others are come, which remain there till the next Year, and that some *Dutch* Ships had pass'd through the Streights of *Magellan* into the South Sea, and therefore we were so notably well provided, that tho' our Loading was worth 400000 Ducats, there were but 7 or 8 Swords, and one scurvy Musket aboard. As we held on our Voyage along the Coast, 2 Leagues from Shore, near *California*, we found our selves in a bright Moonlight Night beset by 3 Ships, the one of them very near us on the Land Side, the other 2 to Seaward at a greater Distance. It is needless to go about to declare the Condition we were in; for the wisest and boldest were quite dispirited. The smaller Ship came up from Landward to hale us, and ask'd us, Whence we came? We answer'd, From *China*; being resolv'd to run aground if they were Enemies. They told us they belong'd to a Squadron the Viceroy of *Pern*, *Don Lewis de Velasco*, had sent out from *Lima*, in Quest of some *Dutch* that had pass'd into the South Sea, and were then looking out for their own Admiral *Don John de Velasco*, who was parted from them in foul Weather, having 300 Men, 40 Pieces of heavy Canon, and 400000 Pieces of Eight of assay'd Silver, worth 13 Ryals each aboard, which they suppos'd had founderd at Sea, and so it prov'd. We could not believe them, notwithstanding all these Particulars, looking upon them as meer Fictions, and continued all the Night in this Dread and Fear, till the others coming up in the Morning, saluted us; and some Presents and Compliments passing between us, we cheer'd up, blessing God, who had turn'd our Sorrow into Joy. Thus we held on our Course, passing by the Mouth of the Streights of *California*, which is like the Red Sea, and where an excellent Pearl Fishery has been lately found. Having sail'd above 700 Leagues along the Coast, on the first of *December* we arriv'd at *Acapulco*, the Seaport Town in *New Spain*, on the South Sea, for this Voyage, lying in 16 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude, and is one of the most spacious, the cleanest, and safest from all Winds of any I have seen in the World. We had been four Months and a half at Sea, which was a good Voyage enough. Having rested here a few Days, and dispos'd of my Affairs, I set out for *Mexico*, which is 80 Leagues thence, all a dreadful dangerous Way, over prodigious high craggy Mountains, with abundance of Streams of pure and excellent Water, and thick Woods, the Country thinly peopled, and the Natives heavy and mean spirited. There are three noted Rivers to cross in this Road, that they call *del Papagayo*, or the *Parrot's*, very considerable, and has a Ferry Boat: That nam'd *de las Balsas*, or of *Floats*, like the

Acapulco
Port in
New
Spain.

Road to
Mexico.

Tagua

Tagus in Portugal, its Current very strong, which they cross on Floats, made of Canes fastned on dry Calabashes, drawn over by *Indians* Swimming, at both these Rivers Passengers pay for going over: The third is call'd of *St. Francis*, and tho' broad and carrying much Water, is fordable in several Places. Here I gave my self for lost, having miss'd the Ford, and under God was sav'd by the Goodness of my Horse. The greatest part of this Way is infested with a Plague of *Moquitos* or Gnats, so dreadful and troublesome, that there is no Defence against them, and they almost kill'd the best Slave I had. Thus travelling with the usual Inconveniences, and crossing the *Marquisate del Valle*, or of the Vale, I enter'd *Mexico* at twelve of the Clock on Christmas Night, and stay'd there till the second of *May*, when I departed for *Spain*. I pass'd over the Mountain they call *Bolcan*, which is a troublesome Pass, and tho' it continually exhales a thick Smoak, is ever cover'd with Snow, which is worth observing, because lying between the *Tropick* and the *Equator*. I pass'd through the City *de los Angeles*, of Angels, commonly call'd *la Puebla*, and others of less Note, till I came to *St. John de Ulua*, a new Port and Town in the *Indies* on the North Sea, between 70 or 80 Leagues from *Mexico*, the common way. This is the only Seaport for many Leagues on that Coast neither easy of Access nor safe, and what little good it has, is rather from Art than Nature.

St. John
de Ulua

I set out thence in the *Flota*, or Fleet of Merchants, on the last Day of *May*, and coasting along to the Northward, we had all like to have perish'd for want of Water, in the Bay of *Torrugas*, or *Torrer*, by reason of a Calm, which kept us forty Days, on a Passage that is usually perform'd in ten. At length we arriv'd at the *Havana*, a Port well known, and much resorted to in the Island of *Cuba*. Here the Ship I was in had like to be cast away, and escap'd in a manner miraculously, being oblig'd to lye out, because it was too late to get into the Harbour. At Night the Wind rose so violently, that we lost four Anchors and Cables we had out, and were driving ashore, having never another left, which oblig'd us to hoist out Sail, relying only on Providence, as having neither Water, Provisions, nor Anchors; and tho' we fir'd some Guns, they neither heard us, or if they had was there any possibility of Relief, as the Weather was. In short we ran along the Island, till it pleas'd God, who never forsakes those who confide in him, that the Wind abated about Morning, so that we made back for the Harbour, and being come near it, met the Vice Admiral of the Fleet coming out in a Boat to meet us, with Anchors and Cables. In the midst of the Mouth of the Harbour is a great Flat, on which our Ship stuck, through the Inadvertency of the Pilot, but it pleas'd God she receiv'd no great Harm.

Havana

Harm. We departed *Havana* on the 15th of *July*, and passing thro' the Channel of *Bahama*, and along the Coast of *Florida* and *Bermudas*, sail'd up to the Banks of *New-found-Land*. Thence we struck over for *Spain*, and spy'd Land on the 28th of *August*, in 42 Degrees Latitude, whence we ran along the Coast as far as *Algarve*, and the Weather calming there, had enough to do to save our selves from the Pirate *Murat Arrays*, who ply'd thereabout with some Galliois, and took some Men belonging to the Fleet, that were going ashore in Boats. The Wind coming up fair, we held on our Course till we Anchor'd at *St. Lucar*, on the 9th of *September*, and on the 8th I enter'd *Sevil*, whence I proceeded to *Portugal*, taking a great Compass, on account of a Promise made to a Friend, and arriv'd at *Lisbon* on the 8th of *October*, a Year and a half after I left *Malaca*. I do not mention all the Particulars of this Voyage, which are remarkable enough, because I have often told them to my Friends; and my Design being only to give an Account of my latter Journey over Land, I shall be more diffuse in it, to satisfy those Friends I cannot tell it to by Word of Mouth. When I departed *Malaca*, I had left a Sum of Money with my Acquaintance, for them to send it after me to *Portugal* in the trading Ships, confiding in him as I had done at other times, but was now disappointed; and nothing coming, I resolv'd to return to *India*, which I had not before intended. I embark'd on the 28th of *March*; and assing by what happen'd in this Voyage, that I may come to what I propose to write, arriv'd at *Goa* on the 14th of *October*. Being now weary of such long Voyages by Sea, and thinking it short this other Way, and at the same time egg'd on by something of Curiosity, I resolv'd to undertake it by Land, whereof this I have mention'd was the Occasion and Motive; and now follows the Account of it.

CHAP. II.

My Departure from *Goa*, and Arrival at *Ormuz*, whence setting out for *Bazora*, I was drove back again.

[Left *Goa* the Metropolis of the Portuguese Dominions in *India*, at the time that *Ayres de Saldanha* was Viceroy, on the 6th

9th of *February*, 1604, and having spent two Days along the River, embark'd on the 11th in the Morning: We set sail immediately, and steer'd our Course for the Coast of *Arabia*, which we discover'd on the 2d of *March*, having had a fair Wind all the Way. The first Land we saw was near the Bay of *Mexira*, which the *Portugueses* call *Macieira*: Then we stood to the Northward, and ran two Days along the Coast, till we came to Cape *Rozalgate*, in the same Country of *Arabia*; and having turn'd it, enter'd the *Persian* Gulf, which lies between *Persia* and *Arabia*, where we still coasted along, discovering many Ships that stood our same Course. One of these, new, and of great Bulk bound from *Bazain* to *Ormuz*, or *Harmuz*, for so it ought more properly to be call'd, through the Negligence of the Steersman, fell foul of ours, and being much larger run her Boltsprit and Spritsail Sail against our Main Mast, and lying athwart us, brought our Vessel so low upon her Side, that we were in great Danger and Dread. The Purser of our Ship, who valu'd himself upon his Bravery, thinking our Honour lay at Stake, snatch'd up two loaded Hand Granadoes, and giving Fire, threw them into the other Ship, and had we not hastily prevented him, would have cast in more till she had been burnt: It pleas'd God the Fire did not take, which if it had, we must have all perish'd inevitably: We labour'd to ungrapple the Ships, cutting much of the Rigging on both Sides, and being clear, held on our Course, till the Wind coming up against us, we anchor'd at *Syfa*, a Port in *Arabia*. Two Days after, the Wind being fair, we sail'd as far as *Mascate*, another Port on the same Coast, which has more Harbours in this Part, tho some have writ the contrary. Here we again spent two Days, to Wood and Water, and departing thence, sail'd to *Ormuz*, 60 Leagues distant, where we anchor'd on the 17th of *March*, a Month after we left *Goa*. Nothing remarkable is to be seen in all this Way, but what is known, saving a Sort of Birds, whom a natural Antipathy always inclines to pursue one another; and the weakest making from the stronger, sores highest, Fear making him slice or empty himself in his Flight, whilst he that pursues, whether out of Hatred, or for that purpose, keeps at such a certain Distance, as to catch the Excrements falling and eat them; and the Natives are of Opinion they live on that filthy Food, which I thought fit to observe as something singular.

Birds feeding on Dung.

Quiexome Island.

I set out from *Ormuz* on the 14th of *April*, in a small Vessel belonging to the Governour *James Munis Barreto*: We sail'd between the Island *Quiexome* or *Broft*, and the Continent of *Persia*, thro' a small Arm of the Sea that divides them, the widest

dest Part whereof is about 3 Leagues over, and others under a League and a half. This Island is between 25 and 30 Leagues in Length, and the greatest Breadth 10 or 12. It has some Ports on both Sides, but most of them very Shoal. The best on the Inside are *Dargabon*, *Lapls*, *Chan* and *Sermion*: On the Outside is the Point or Cape of *Quiexome*, well stor'd with Palm Trees, Orchards and Wells of good Water, whence *Ormuz* is generally supply'd, as well as from other Places. Besides that, there are *Karnes* and *Angan*, which being a small Island parted from the other, and forming a large Bay, afford a very safe Harbour capable of many large Ships. This Island is very fruitful, and plentifully produces all that is sow'd or planted in it, as Wheat, Barley, Fruit and Greens, of all which there was great Store when better inhabited than at present, being now very thinly peopled, by reason of the Incursions of the *Nihhelus Arabs*, who have ruin'd it, and this through the Fault of the Governours of *Ormuz*, that might easily prevent it with small Trouble and Charge, being but 3 Leagues distant. The Tide failing us, we came to an Anchor in the Midway, expecting the Return of it; but when we were to weigh, the Anchor having lost her Stock, we were fain to lie still to make another, which occasion'd us to lose 2 Days of fair Weather, and that afterwards put us to much Trouble. Departing Cape *Sermion*, being the Point of this Island, we ran up the *Persian* Gulf, close under the *Persian* Shore, our Course West and West North West, with very little Variation, turning in and out as the Land does; our Distance from it always from one to three Leagues, sailing and dropping our Anchor as the Tides happen'd, which ran there very violent twice or thrice a Day, and sometimes oftner, by reason of the Wind there prevailing, which is continually a strong North West. Sailing thus along this Coast, which cannot be done on that of *Arabia*, distant from the other about 50 Leagues in the widest Part, because there is not so good Anchoring, nor Watering there, as on this Side, we pass'd by the Islands of *Pholur*, by us call'd *Peloure*; *Keys*, which we pronounce *Cays*, formerly in as much Repute as now *Ormuz* is; *Andreuy*, the Island of *Birds*, so call'd from the infinite Numbers of them resorting to rest there at Night, vast Quantities of whose Eggs the *Arabs* there gather, and carry them to sell in other Parts; and that of *Lar* or *Lara*, all of them 3, 4, 5, or 6 Leagues from the Continent, and ill peopled, because of the frequent Robberies of the *Noutiques* and *Nihhelus*, being *Arabs* dwelling on Part of the Coast of *Persia* so call'd, whence they have their Name. Having anchor'd there, the Wind grew so boisterous, that it compell'd us

Nouta-
ques and
Nihhelus.

to weigh early in the Morning, to get under Shelter of the Island *Lira*, opposite to it. The Wind was strong, the weather Hayfy, the Island low, which occasion'd us to run in so close upon it, that we were oblig'd, tho' all our Sails were out, to drop our Anchor, without taking them in, in little above two Fathom Water, to save running directly aground and being beaten to Pieces, and our Escape was almost Miraculous. Whilst we lay here the Wind increas'd to such a Height, and the Ship labour'd so much, that the Rudder Hooks failing, it was just slipping away, had not a little Boy shew'd it me, and I acquainted the Officers, who laying hold, brought it aboard. Some were for carrying it to the Island to be mended, others were for doing it aboard, and these, as God would have it prevail'd, for had we Landed no doubt but some Misfortune had happen'd; for as we were afterwards inform'd, there were some *Nibhelus* on the Island waiting to kill any *Portuguese* that should Land, and it was a Wonder that none went ashore, as is usual. A small *Moorish* Vessel had taken Shelter under the same Island, at a little distance from us, loaded with Cotton and bound for the same Port. Two Barks of the *Nibhelus* drew close, and thinking to surprize her in the Night, fell on before Day; but they defended themselves bravely. We hearing the Noise of Weapons and seeing the Fire, discharg'd some Guns, to scare the Enemy and encourage the others, and weighing with all Speed, drew near as the Dawn began to appear, which the Robbers perceiving, they retir'd with considerable Loss; some of the *Moors* being wounded, who came aboard us to be dress'd, and from that time forward kept closer to us.

Coast of
Persia-

Almost all this Coast of *Persia* is Mountains, Craggy and Barren, excepting only some Spots of Ground among those Hills, which the Natives till, making use of Wells to water it; besides they breed some Cattle, both great and small, affording them Milk, Butter and Cheese, for their own use and to sell. We sail'd along that Coast 35 Days, with much Trouble and Vexation, and began now to want Provisions, which could not be bought ashore, the Country being all in an Uproar, on Account of many wrongs the People had receiv'd from the *Portugueses* cruising about in their Frigats. We were now come to *Chilao*, near *Verdoftam*, a Town seated on a Bay between the Point of *Vedican* and the Shoals of *Kane*, and the contrary Wind grew so strong and continu'd so fix'd, that it oblig'd our Captain, want beginning to pinch, after the loss of an Anchor and Cable, and much Danger of running a ground, the Land being close by, to order we should make back for *Ormuz*, which we reach'd in four Days, tho' 80 Leagues distant, after spending 35 in making that small Way. In our Return

turk, we were met by some Barks of Robbers, which are never wanting in that Sea, and therefore, when any such *Portuguese* trading Vessels sail from *Ormuz*, they have always a Convoy of some Foists, or small fighting Ships. We put again into *Ormuz*, on Friday the 27th of May, and anchor'd in the *Bandel*, or Port on the West Side, 39 Days after we departed that same Place, well fatigu'd and full of Vexation.

C H A P. III.

My second setting out from Ormuz, and reaching the Bottom of the Golph of Persia, where entering the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates, I came to the City Bazora.

HAVING refitted and laid in Provisions at *Ormuz*, we sail'd again on the 17th of June, in Hopes of a better Voyage, being assur'd by such as knew those Seas, that the North West Wind was not then so constant or violent, and some Difference we found, but not so much as they gave out. This time we kept without the Island *Queixome*, and running along the same Coast as before, pass'd the Flats of *Kane*, and beyond them the Fort of *Roxel*, famous for the great Plenty of Corn and Fruit its Territory produces. It belongs to the *Xa*, or King of *Persia*, standing on the Edge of the Sea on his Side, and well Garrison'd. Farther on to the Northward is *Regh Ceyfadin*, that is, the Strand or Shore of *Ceyfadin*, inhabited by *Arabs*, as is most of this *Persian* Coast, and they Tributary to the *Xa*, tho' some for their Security in Sailing about, own the *Portuguese* Authority, and take Passes from them to trade, without which they would be in Danger, from the *Portuguese* Vessels cruizing in that Streight. Those of *Regh Ceyfadin* were at this time at Variance with the *Portugueses*, on Account of Wrongs receiv'd from them, as was said above, and therefore all the Inhabitants of the Island *Karg*, which is 3 Leagues from the Continent, were fled for *Island*. Fear of four Galicts that were with us. This Island is about two Leagues in Compass, affording good Shelter against the North West Wind, is Stony and Mountainous, has good Waters, some Palm Trees, and small Cattle, and produces mighty Quantities of Onions, whereof whole Loads are carry'd to *Bazora* and other

ther Sea Ports; the Inhabitants are almost all *Arabs*. Here we anchor'd on the 25th of *July*, and staid four Days on Account of the contrary Winds. Thus far run the uncooth Mountains of *Persia*, along the Edge of the Sea, and from this Place strike farther up the Country, till out of sight from the Sea, near to which the Land is so low, that it cannot be discern'd at a very small Distance. Near this Place two mighty Rivers come down from *Persia* to empty themselves, the one at *Rexer*, and the other at *Regh Ceyfadin*.

Karab
Channel,

Hence we directed our Course Westward, quite without Sight of Land, tho' we were very near it, by reason of its lowness, under the Conduct of a *Moorish* Pilot we took in at *Karge*, who tho' reckned the ablest in those Parts, was very near setting us a Ground, in a Channel call'd *Karab*, which signifies broken or ruin'd, they having a Tradition, that a great City stood in that Place, and was overwhelm'd by reason of the lowness of the Land. This Channel is about four Leagues in length, with many Flats, so that they always found all the way in passing it, and keep the Boat a Head, because of the great uncertainty of the Depth, the most being but three Fathom Water. When out of it, we found more Water, saw Land on both Hands, and keeping close to the *Persian* Side, on the first of *August* came to an Anchor, in the Mouth of *Arax*, the great River, the River of the *Arabs*, who call a great River *Arax*, and a small one *Kor*, or *Wed*, from which last these names were deriv'd, *Wedelager*, *Wedjana*, chang'd into *Arax*, *Arax*, *Arax*, and *Guadiana*, and so of others. This River, whose fresh Water is taken up near three Leagues out at Sea, is form'd higher in the Country of the two famous Streams the *Tygris* and the *Euphrates*, which meet at *Corna* the utmost Point of the Contry of *Mesopotamia*, that lyes between them, three Days Journey above *Bazora*, where the *Turks* have a Fort, call'd as has been said *Corna*, signifying a Point, commanding the Passage of them both, as they meet here, watering mighty Plains on both Sides; those to the Northward being the *Persian* Side, in the Possession of *Almorak*, the Son of *Mozab* a powerful *Arab*, who holds them, and makes War on the *Turks*, pretending a Title to them, and *Bazora*, within which District are the considerable Cities of *Magdon*, *Ozza*, and *Doreta*. A great part of them is Desert, tho' not Barren, but left untill'd for fear of the *Turks*. Those next to *Arax* are fruitful, cultivated, and full of Palm-trees Orchards, and Gardens. Just at the Entrance this River fetches a great Compass, and then returns to its Course, being there from West to East. The Breadth of it is about two Miles, and the Depth at this time, when lowest was about six Fathom, little over or under,

Arax
River.

der, and the Stream very rapid. Along the Banks there are mighty Breeds of great and small Cattel, abundance of Ducks and Geese, besides other Birds and Beasts. The Inhabitants are *Arabs*, who have Commerce among themselves swimming on Skins blown full of Wind, and in this manner many of them came aboard our Ship to sell Fowls, Geese, Milk, Butter, Dates, and other Provisions, all very cheap. The Wind being contrary, and blowing hard, we went up the River very slowly, and having Sail'd up about eight or nine Leagues, came to a Place where it divides into two equal Parts, one whereof striking to the Southward, enters *Arabia* and runs into the same Gulph of *Persia*, at *Knisa* near *Barbey*, making an Island of that Spot of Land, above eighty Leagues in Length. The other Part is that we Sail'd on, and from thence upward, being all united it is wider, deeper, and more rapid. A little farther on, we found a small Island in the middle, a League long, and about half in Breadth, pleasant enough, and full of Palm-trees and Orchards, which dividing the Waters makes two ways, whereof that next to *Arabia* is deepest. Holding on our way, on the sixth of *August*, by eight in the Morning we reach'd *Soraga*, fifteen or sixteen Leagues from the Bar, where the greater Vessels use to Anchor, till they unload, as we did, opposite to a Fort the Turks have on the Bank of the River, and the Lands of *Monbaraka*, as they have others, both above and below it, to secure the Country under their Protection, from the Incursions of the *Arabs*. I left the Ship and went up a Creek, that has about two Fathom Water, when the Tide is out, and above three at the Flood, which reaches above this Place, yet changes not the Taste of the Water. Both Sides of it is all Corn Fields, Palm tree Groves and pleasant Orchards, water'd by Trenches drawn from the Creek. Having gone less than a League up this Water, I arriv'd at *Bazora*.

This City is inhabited by *Arabs*, and seated two Miles West from the River *Xas Arab* before mention'd, to be compos'd of the *Tigris* and *Euphrate*, the Creek already mention'd making the Communication with it, and has the same by Land, which is all divided by Trenches cut across for use. It stands in a Plain, and contains both within and without the Fort about 10000 large and spacious Houses, besides the smaller, but the Building mean, being all mud Walls, which scarce hold three Years, before they run to Ruin. Those of the poorer sort are generally made of Mats, and Bundles of small Reeds, whereof the Rivers produce great plenty. Here is a square Fort, somewhat oblong, the Walls and Bastions whereof, and there are several of them, all of Earth, and then almost decay'd. The whole encompass'd by a broad and deep

Bazora
City.

Deep Dutch, fed from the Creek, within this Fort are near 10000
 Persons of all Sorts, and there is the main Trade, and the most con-
 siderable Part of the City, being the Residence of most Handicrafts,
 the Government and the Garrison consisting of 3000 Men, *Turks*,
 besides those that belong to the Forts without.
 The *Pasha* who has the whole Power in Civil and Military
 Affairs, has the Charge of the Garrison and all other Ex-
 traordinary Affairs much to spare. In the Arsenal are many good
 Ships of War, and some Gallies, but these few, small, and ill
 fitted. One of this sort was launch'd whilst I was there, and they
 have them not against the *Portugueses*, as a certain Author has writ,
 well knowing they can do them no Harm, but to serve in the Ri-
 ver and Parts adjacent, to curb the rebellious *Arabs*, from whom
 they gather great Tribute. These Gallies, tho' small, are ex-
 ceedingly costly, because the Country is quite destitute of Timber,
 and it is chargeable bringing it from other Parts. A Bridge of
 eight Boats lyes across the Creek, and in other Places the People
 pass over in Boats they call *Daneqas*, made of any small bits of
 Wood, for want of larger, and tho' built in that manner and not
 caulk'd they are very staunch, being daub'd instead of Tar with
 a sort of Bitumen they call *Qwir*, which I shall speak of hereafter.
Bazora abounds in Provisions, and particularly Dates, which are
 very good, and so plentiful, that great quantities are yearly sent
 thence to *Bagdad*, and the Ports of *Persia* and *Ormuz*, being the
 chief sustenance of the common People. The Land produces all
 sorts of Grain and Greens, Wheat, Barley, Rice, Pulse, in great
 Plenty, and very cheap; which things being also brought from
Rexer, *Regh Ceyfadin*, and *Dorek*, the Price is much abated. There
 are mighty numbers of great and small Cattle, and all sorts of
 Fowl. The River has much Fish, but not good. Here is a Trade
 with *Ormuz*, which furnishes all *India* Commodities; as also with
Barben, *Catifa*, *Lasan*, *Persia*, *Bagdad*, and all *Arabia* on that side.
 The worst thing here is an infinite number of Scorpions, some of
 them as big as small Crabs. The Air is unwholesome, the Wea-
 ther excessive hot, the Inhabitants *Turks* and *Arabs*, most of the
 last being the Natives, and these generally well Featur'd, especially
 Women and Children, the first of them reckon'd Unciaft. They
 make use of Camels, Mules, Asses and Horses, of which last there
 are great Breeds, and being very numerous and good, they are
 sent to *Ormuz* and thence to *India*.

When I came to *Bazora*, there were many Houses ruin'd, both
 within and without the Fort, and then rebuilding with much speed.
 This Destruction was occasion'd eight or ten Days before my Ar-
 rival,

rival, by the blowing up of a Magazine of Powder, in which 3000 and odd Skins full of it were burnt, with such a dreadful Noise, that they thought the whole Frame of the Universe had been torn in Pieces, doing incredible Damage throughout the greatest Part of the City, which has now stood about 200 Years in this Place, being the third Situation it has had. It is above 50 Years since it has been possess'd by the *Turks*, by whom an *Arabian* Tyrant was supported, who seized and put it into their Hands. It is needless to speak of the Customs, Habit, and manner of living of the Inhabitants, for being *Turks* and *Arabs* those things are well known. All sorts of Gold and Silver Coins are Current in the Country for their value; but what is Coin'd there in a Mint is of Silver and Copper. The *Larines* are of Silver, being a long Coin of two twisted Branches, worth 65 *Maravedies*, that is, about eight Pence, another is call'd *Xays* round like a Royal, and near about the same Value, that is six Pence. This is not so true Standard as the former, which is extraordinary fine. There is no Structure of Note in the City; but there are some publick Baths, very decent and well serv'd, where the Method is, that Men go in till Noon, and Women from that time till Sun set, which is so religiously observ'd, that any Man would be most severely punish'd that should attempt to invert this Order. That Cut of Water, which as I have said was made by Hand, runs far up the Country fertilizing spacious Fields, and watring abundance of Palm trees. Some old People assur'd me, that it was formerly Navigable as far as a Town thirty Leagues distant, of which it now falls very short, and is still remarkable to be cut by Hand. I was carry'd about three Leagues up it one Day, to see a *Xeque*, or Lord, who is possess'd of many of the Lands I afterwards pass'd through. His Name was *Xeque Mahamed Eben Raxet*, a Man for his Presence and Aspect, worthy of a greater Post. He discours'd with me a long time, by means of an Interpreter, and seem'd to be well pleas'd because he had never seen any *Frank*, so they call the *European* Christians, and he admir'd my Garb, Language, and Behaviour, curiously observing every thing. After many kind offers, and being treated with some Goats Flesh, ill boil'd, which was no small Favour, I took my Leave; and going back down the River, which is very pleasant, I saw the *Mahometans* that were in the Boat with me, rise up at a certain Place, and Pray with much Attention. I look'd towards the Place they fac'd to in praying, and discover'd a House like an Hermitage standing on the Banks of the River, and asking what Place that was, they answer'd it was Dedicated to *Iza Ben Mariam*, that is, *JESUS* the Son of *Mary*, shewing me a considerable Quantity of Land, and Palm-

Moors
Worship
Christ.

tree Groves, whose Revenues belong'd to that Chappel, which I much admir'd, for tho' I knew that the *Mahometans* honour him much by the Title of *Ruyalah*, which signifies the Breath of God, I had never heard that they Dedicated any Church to him.

C H A P. IV.

My Departure from Bazora through the Desert, and a Diary of my Journey, till I came to Mexat Aly, a City in the same Desert.

AT my coming to *Bazora* I took up my Lodging in the House of one *Santo Fonte*, a *Venetian* Merchant, with whom I came from *Ormuz*, in order to undertake this Journey with him, and a *Criollo*, or *Indian* born Gentleman, call'd *James de Melo de Sam Payo*, as also another *Portuguese*, whose Name was *John Pinto*, a very worthy Man, both of them more deeply engag'd and concern'd with the aforesaid *Fonte*. Coming to Discourse of our proceeding on our Way, I understood we must stay there four or five Months at least, because the River *Tygris* had not then Water enough for the Barks, which us'd to carry Goods to *Bagdat*, and there would be still less till *Christmas*, when it begins to rise with the Rains, and there is no Sailing without, by reason there are many Shoals, and the Robbers have the Opportunity of setting upon the Barks, as they often do; besides that when the Water is low they are not able to toe, or draw along the Vessels, as they do almost all the way, which when the Water is deep enough lasts between thirty five and fifty Days, and when shallow, almost twice as long, as it hapned to a parcel of Boats that set out from *Bazora* twenty five Days before we arriv'd there, and was three Months on the way to *Bagdat* with much Trouble and Charge. Whilst I was thus perplex'd, a *Caravan* began to fit out in order to go by Land, through the Desert of *Arabia*, a Way before not frequented and uncertain. Despairing of an Opportunity in any time by the River, I propos'd to go with this *Caravan*, and consulting about it with such as were capable to advise me, they started a thousand Difficulties; notwithstanding all which I resolv'd to go in this Company, since I had no Business of Moment to stay me, and might thus save Time. For the better compassing of it, I contracted with the Cap-
tain

tain of the *Caravan*, who was an *Arabian Mahometan* Inhabitant of *Bazora*, his Name *Agi Mahamed Benfalab Arfimi*, by the Interposition of one *Mustapha*, a Renegado Jew turn'd Turk, in whom the *Portugueses* and *Venetians* trading there, repos'd much Confidence. He made the Bargain, that he should carry me, my Bed, and small Equipage, to *Bagdat*, for 50 Ducats, and find me Attendance and Victuals, which was all the Way, as usual with them, very little, natty, and at unseasonable Hours. Some Amends was made by a Sack of choice Bisket and some Boxes of Marmalade, which he help'd me to spend more hastily than 'tis likely he wou'd have done, had they been his own. I took with me 3 sales of *Indigo* to defray my Charges, which he was also oblig'd to carry, clear of all Duties and Impositions; and this I found the cheapest, not so much for the Charge, as to save the Trouble I saw others put to, about paying the Duties for themselves and their Goods. When I was ready to depart, *James de Melo* resolv'd to go with me, without waiting for *Santo Fonte*, who could not dispatch so soon, by reason he had abundance of Goods to dispose of; so that he agreed with *Mustapha* afore said, and we set out, I being much oblig'd to another *Venetian* Merchant, whose Name was *Jerome Bon Tempely*, who did me many Favours.

On the South Side of *Bazora* is a large open Plain, where a great Market and Fair is kept; and on *Fridays* the *Mahometans* who are numerous and good Horsemen, meet on Horseback to solemnize that Day, which is their Festival, and only distinguish'd from other Days in this Ceremony, and more punctual Meeting in the *Mosques*; for they make no Scruple of Working or following their common Business on it. Having taken leave of our Friends, on the 2d of *September*, we went to this Place, whence the *Caravan* set forward, and lay there that Night, which was the first of the many bad ones we afterwards had, waiting for our Captain, who had not yet dispatch'd all his Business. The next Day being *Friday* the 3d we follow'd the rest, I on a Camel, and my Companions on Horseback. We rode about half a League thro' Palm-Tree Groves, and then enter'd upon desert Plains that us'd to be overflow'd, and at this time were cover'd with Salt, made by the violent Heat of the Sun, of the Water of the *Persian* Gulf, which tho' above ten Leagues distant, sometimes drowns them; so that very much Land before fruitful, is quite lost. We rode along a Bank rais'd by Hand, 6 or 7 Spans high and 5 in Breadth, for 4 Leagues, till we came to a Place call'd *Drabemya*, where we took up our Lodging, in the Ruins of the second *Bazora*, wherof there are

*Journey by
Land to
Bagdat.*

*Fields of
Salt.*

some Remains to be seen, as the Walls of a great *Mosque*, part of those which inclos'd the City, and of the Ditch, and it appears to have been a great City. There are some Wells of good Water, and the Land is cultivated, and yields Wheat, Barley, and Herbs. Thus far we travell'd to the Southward; and continued here all *Saturday* and *Sunday* following, beginning to feel the excessive Heat of the Sun, which is intolerable at that time. On *Monday* the 6th of *September* we mov'd, after much contending with the *Arabs* intrusted by *Xeque Mahomes Eben Raxet*, Lord of those Lands, whom I said before, I was carry'd to visit, about some Duties to be paid by such as travel that Way with Merchandise. The Usage I now and at other times saw many met with, made me think all I had given the Captain well bestow'd, to ease me of so much Trouble. Here we began to advance West North West, thro' Defarts wonderful plain, leaving a very high Mountain 6 or 7 Leagues off, on our Left Hand, which I judg'd might be 2 Leagues in Length, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Gibel Sinam*, being that *Sinam*, where formerly the first *Bazora* stood. They say it has Plenty of Water, which is there taken by the *Caravans* that go from *Bazora* to *Mecca*, that being their Way. All these Lands and the rest about are so very level, that the Mountain look'd like an Island in the midst of the Sea. Having travell'd little above 2 Leagues we halted at Noon near certain Wells of good Water, in a Field full of *Coloquintida*, which the *Arabs* of the Defart make use of to cure their Diseases, infusing it in Camels Milk. The *Arabs* call this Place *Bragacya* or *Cobrocya*, signifying *A Place of Ducats*. Here all the *Caravan* was together, which tho' small, consisted of 150 Camels, 95 Asses, and 12 Horses. Here we found some People, who as soon as they saw us made away, and we were inform'd they were wretched *Beduines*, that is, miserable poor *Arabs*, who range about those Defarts by Families, naked, or clad in Skins of Beasts they hunt for Food, as Deer, Wild Goats, and Asses, Wolves, Foxes, Hares, and the like. We broke up from hence about 4 in the Afternoon, travell'd thro' Plains like those before mention'd, full of many Wells of good sweet Water; passing by the Ruins of 2 great Houses, formerly the Dwelling of those who till'd the Fields, which are all call'd *Choa Badeh*; and having advanc'd about 2 Leagues farther, took up our Quarters in a barren Field, without any Water, to stay for one of our Camels, that fell under his Burthen, and was left behind.

Tuesday the 7th we set forward before Day, and travell'd thro' a mighty plain Country, and excessive dry, the Sun violent hot,

Old Bazora.

hot, and a strong South Wind, which scorch'd like Fire. Our Journey was long; for meeting with no Water, we went till Noon above 5 Leagues and a half, and pitch'd our Camp in a Plain the *Arabs* call *Reamelah*, where were 3 Wells of dirty, thick and brackish Water; but much Thirst made it go down very well. This Day 2 Camels fell three Times under me; for which reason the Captain to accommodate me the better, bought a good Camel and an Ass of one of our Company, which he afterwards paid very ill for. This Journey was to the North and North West. *Wednesday* the 8th we set out before Day Westward, riding over sandy Fields and dry Defarts, till one in the Afternoon, for about 7 Leagues, and rested in a Plain call'd as well as the other *Choa Bedeh*, exactly like a Threshing Floor, and about 2 Leagues in Compass. In the midst of it were 8 Cottages of *Beduines*, like those before mention'd, cover'd with thick Cloths made of Goats Hair. Here were some Wells of filthy stinking Water, drawing some out of one of which, we pull'd up a great Poisonous Snake dead. All this Day there was a mighty thick Smoke to the Northward, which they told us was on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, where the *Arabs* inhabiting those Parts, burnt the Reeds in order to Sow. That was about 2 good Days Journey from us; and all the Way we saw many Hares and Field Mice: These last are about as big as our common large ones, their Hair sad Colour, with an Eye of white, their Ears, Fore Feet, and Tails, are like a Mouse, but the End of the Tail, the Eyes and Head, are like a Rabbit, and the Hind Legs resemble those of a wild Goat: They are very swift at a sort of leaping Run, make Burrows under Ground, and there are great Numbers of them in that Defart, which the *Arabs* eat, and say they are good Meat. We left this Place at 4 in the Afternoon, and proceeding 3 Leagues farther, thro' a fatter Land, and not so plain, took up after Sun-set in a sort of Vale without any Water, yet had some wither'd Weeds, and Abundance of large Snakes. This is also comprehended under the Name of *Choa Bedeh*. *Thursday* the 9th we got up with the Dawn, and march'd about 6 or 7 Leagues over Sands and troublesome Defarts till Noon, when we came to a Well that was pay'd, the Water of it clear and fresh, but of such a noisome Scent, that there was no coming near it. I thought it might be occasion'd for want of the Sun's Coming to it, and not being stirr'd, because about 30 Fathom deep; but was undeceiv'd by seeing a Snake with Feet, drawn out of it in a Bucket, being 4 Spans in Length, and almost one in Breadth; a hideous Creature, by the *Arabs* call'd *Hheum* and *Hhyuna*,
and.

Field Mice.

ought carefully to avoid, that he may be as little as possible observ'd by the *Arabs*, who rarely take Notice of Men for any Good, without some Hope of Profit. We were in such a Condition when we came to this Place, that we durst not venture any farther, and therefore lay there at Night, some *Jews* that came in the *Caravan* being gone before the last Night, in Company of an *Arab*, the Captain uses to allow them upon such Occasions for their Guard, for which they give him some Consideration at the End of the Journey. They go before, that gaining so much Ground, they may rest on *Saturday*, when they must not travel without being left behind the *Caravan*. *Saturday* the 11th having rested most part of the Day near the Wells, we mov'd at 5 in the Afternoon 2 Leagues to the North West, and halted before Sun-set to stay for a loaded Camel that lagg'd behind; for this they are subject to, who travel with *Caravans*.

Sunday the 12th we set forward 3 Hours before Sun rising, to the West North West, through a very Plain Country, with only some small Hillocks, all good Land, but dry. Having gone a League and a half we found some Wells of good Water, but went on, and at 11 in the Morning came to a dry Channel, which in Winter they say has much Water, and I thought it likely by the Nature of its Situation and Capaciousness. Over it, on a rising Ground is still an ancient square Fort, with 12 Bastions, *Fort in a Desert.* 3 on each Side, made of burnt Brick and Lime, strong and well built. Without it at about 60 Paces Distance, is a small *Alcoran* or Tower ten Cubits high, tho' it appear'd to have been higher, of the same Structure, all decay'd with Age; yet it appears to be a Royal Fabrick, by its Goodness and the Place it stands in, where it could not be rais'd without mighty Cost and much Labour, and Difficulty. It was done by an *Arabian* King, Grandfather to *Xeque Mahamed Eben Raxet*, whom I said before I was carry'd to see, to secure the *Caravans* going that way before the *Turks*, possess'd themselves of *Bagdat* and *Bazora*. The *Arabs* call it *Alcayzar* or *Kayzar*, which signifies, a Palace or *Cesar's* House, for so they call all that belong to Kings or Princes. This they reckon the half way from *Bazora* to *Mexat Aly*, whither we were going. We found some Wells in this Channel, the Water of them clear and fresh, but of an intolerable ill Scent, yet Necessity prevail'd. This Journey was about 8 Leagues, and here we stay'd till four in the Afternoon, when we advanc'd three Leagues farther and halted at Sun setting. This Day five Camels dy'd with being over wrought, whose Flesh all the *Caravan* fed on, and invited us to do the same; but we did not, tho' our Provisions began to fall short. *Monday* the 13th, the *Caravan* mov'd.

mov'd three Hours before Day to the North West, over plain Grounds, apt to be overflow'd by the River *Euphrates*, when it swells, being a small Days Journey from thence, and they are full of Salt Peter, Stony, and have some wild Shurbs. Having travell'd about 7 Leagues by Eleven in the Morning, we halted on an uneven sandy Field, to expect some Camels that were left behind, one of which dy'd, and being oblig'd to send another to fetch his Load, we lay there all that Night. The Water was on our Right Eastward, a little above half a League distant, which when brought was not very pleasing to us, for tho' clear and thin, it was as Salt as that in the Sea.

*Springs of
Sayda.*

Tuesday the 14th we held on our Journey, an Hour before Sun rising through a Country like the last mention'd, and having travell'd about six Leagues by 11 of the Clock, settl'd in a Plain, half a League from some Wells there are among the Ruins of an ancient large Town, whereof only the Rubbish now appears, and these Wells, with some Palm Trees. The *Arabs* now call the Place *Hayun Sayda*, that is, the Springs of *Sayda*. The Water was not very good, yet better than the Day before. At four of the Clock in the Afternoon, we left this Place and went three Leagues farther. *Wednesday* the 15th we began our Journey two Hours before Day towards the North West, and having travell'd about an Hour, saw a great Fire to the Eastward, which all the Company said was made by *Arabian Beduyn* Robbers. The Country was not plain like that before, but Hilly, and having gone six Leagues, we took up at 10 in the Morning, in a Place the *Arabs* call *Kalb alfor*, that is, Cows or Oxes Heart, where was a Well of dirty stinking Water. Here, upon Information given by one of the Pilots of the *Caravan*, an *Arab* was seiz'd, being positively reported to be a Spy belonging to a Tribe or Hord of *Arabs* hard by, and had bore us Company from *Bazora*, to go and give Notice from that Place, for them to come and rob us; and tho' he confidently deny'd what was charg'd upon him, however to prevent all Danger, they carry'd him bound to *Mexat Aly*. The same Day we proceeded four Leagues farther, and incamp'd after Sun set, in a convenient Place, more orderly than before, intrenching our selves about with the Loads of Goods, the Men, Camels and Beasts in the middle, all the Arms in Readiness, and four Men the *Caravan* brought for that Purpose keeping Guard all Night very watchfully, with Fires, as well for Fear of the Robbers there are about that Place, as of the Lions, and the more for that one had the Day before attack'd a Man in our Company, but it pleas'd God he was not hurt; and it was a wonder,

der, that so many being in those Parts, we saw very few, and those not near.

Thursday the 16th, setting out three Hours before Sun rising, after two Leagues riding we came into a large Brake, through which in Winter runs a Rapid Stream, by the *Arabs* call'd *Hhanega*, signifying, the drowning Place; perhaps the Name might be given it from the Misfortune of some People or Beasts; along this Brake there were some Trees and Green Grafs. After travelling about 8 Leagues North West, we rested at Noon, in a pleasant Place, somewhat Shaded with Reeds and Shrubs, having Wells of good Water, and call'd by the *Arabs*, *Semat*. From three in the Afternoon till ten at Night, we march'd about five Leagues farther through an uncouth, dry, stony and uneven Country; having all this Days Journey seen many Flocks of wild *Antes*. *Friday* the 17th, having advanc'd two Hours before Day, we were alarm'd, as the Light appear'd, by 50 *Arabian* Robbers, who pass'd before us on 25 Camels, for they commonly traverse that Desert by two and two on a Camel; and when they resolve to fall on, they alight at some Distance, where they bend one fore Foot of each Camel, and tie it up which makes them not stir out of the Place, and then they give the Attack. Their usual Weapons are Spears, Bows and Arrows, Swords, Bucklers and *Caniales*, which are like great Broad Daggers bow'd. Many of them also ride about the Desert on Horseback. The *Castravan*, that is, the Company of Travellers flood to their Arms, there being among us about 40 Archers, 12 Musquetiers, 4 Horsemen with Spears, besides some other Hand Weapons. The Robbers pass'd by without stopping, we suspecting they durst not attempt us, being so few, and were gone to call more, but they did not return. However we kept upon our Guard, travelling in the best Order we could: Those that were best arm'd, march'd in the Van, Skipping and Singing aloud, to encourage one another to fight the Enemy in Defence of themselves and the Company. We perform'd this Journey, being between 3 and 4 Leagues at full Speed; in Sight of a great Lake form'd there by the Water of the River *Euphrates*, of which I shall speak hereafter. Being so fearful of Robbers, and so spent with Riding, the Heat, Hunger, and Thirst, that every thing disturb'd and alarm'd us; so that making up to a Water to rest, as we afterwards did, and perceiving some People about it, we concluded they were Robbers. All the Company made ready to engage them: but one of the *Arabian* Pilots or Guides, clapping Spurs to a Grey Mare he rode; for they rather make use of them than of Horses, reckoning they are more fleet, safer, and

Water
wells.

earlier to be kept in the Deserts, came up with them wonderful swiftly in a Moment, and having view'd them, return'd to inform us they were *Beduin* Hunters, who had their Cottages there for the sake of the Water, which ran in a great Stream, by the Arabs call'd *Orcels*. The Water was plentiful and good, the Place cool and shady, with Trees, Reeds, Rushes, and other Plants, and we came to it at one in the Afternoon, having travelled 3 Leagues. At three we held on our Way, leaving the *Wells* where, because the next Day was *Saturday*, when they were not to travel, and advancing 3 Leagues farther, took up our Lodging in a Plain where there was no Water. *Saturday* the next we march'd 2 Hours before Day, over a plain Country to the North West, about 2 Leagues from the Side of the Lake; and having travell'd about 8, came to the Head of it, or North End, at one in the Afternoon. All the Lands we rode over this Day are sow'd with Wheat, Barley, Cotton and Greens, being water'd by a little fresh Brook that runs across them.

Notable
Cookery.

We had sight of the Town of *Mexat Aly* ever since Morning, as being seated on an Eminency over the Lake, to the Eastward, and that Situation deceived us, making it appear nearer than it was. But particularly *James de Melo* thought so, and being desirous to rest, he rode before, his haste cost him his Horse, which dy'd with the Heat and Fatigue, and he himself fell sick. In this Place there was fresh Water and green Grass, but no shelter against the Sun, whose Reflection was violent. We made the best shift we could, but I far'd worse than many others, because I could not prevail upon my self to eat of a Dish of Rice my Captain had caus'd to be dress'd, with much of the Fat and Grease of a Camel that dy'd by the way, and my Wallet being very low, I was forc'd to have Patience till Night, when Provision was not much more plentiful. We left this Place at three in the Afternoon, travelling apace along the side of the Lake, between it and the Foot of the Rock adjoining to it, sometimes directing our Course North, sometimes East, and sometimes South. Having travell'd about six Leagues we came to *Mexat Aly*, an Hour after Night, going up a high and steep Hill to it from the Lake, at the Foot whereof many Men and Children came and saluted us all in general, and particularly their Kindred and Acquaintance.

Being this Day, whilst the *Caravan* rested at the Head of the Lake, in the Hut of one *Xeque Alaby* my great Friend, he complain'd that a Camel he rode on was much hurt in his fore Foot, and that being an easy Goer it would trouble him if the Beast could not hold out the Journey. The words were scarce out of his

his

his Mouth, when they brought him the Camel, and with him one of the *Arabian* Pilots, or Guides; then causing him to lye down, the *Arab* took up his Foot, to see what it ail'd, and found a large and deep Hole in the bottom of it, which put him to great Pain. He cleans'd it with an Iron, picking out abundance of small Stones and clammy Earth; when well clear'd, he stop'd it up with Cotton and burnt Rags, then took a Piece of Leather, big enough to cover the Foot and sow'd it on, giving one Stich in the Foot, and another on the inside of the Leather, just as they sole a Stocken, so artificially that I was amaz'd at it, and thus the Beast could go and grew better, without receiving any other Harm. This I have mention'd to show how able a Mistress Necessity is, even among the most barbarous People.

*Norabie
Cu e of a
Camel.*

The Lake before mention'd, comes from the River *Euphrates*, Rahemah whole Waters when there are Flouds run off that Way, by reason of the Disposition of the Ground, and many others flowing in from other Parts of the Desert, they form that which is like a Sea; and this appears by the Marks the Water leaves, which is fifty Spans higher at the time of Inundations, than when I saw them, which was the time they are lowest. This Lake has no regular Shape, but runs out into several Bays, and extends more in Length than otherwise, the Circumference being between thirty five and forty Leagues, and the widest Place six Leagues over. About the middle of it is a Pafs that may be forded by Camels, when the Water is lowest, which was at the time I was there, all other Parts are deeper. The Water comes fresh into it, but becomes salt there by reason the Land is full of Salt-peter, so that abundance of Salt is made of it, only by the violent Heat of the Sun, and serves the Towns about and *Bagdat*. The Water is not so salt when the Lake swells as when it declines. It has abundance of Fish great and small, which make it resorted to by infinite Numbers of Water Fowl, feeding there, and resting in the many small Islands it contains. The *Arabs* call this Lake *Rahemah*.

*Lake at
Mexat Aly.*

We arriv'd at *Mexat Aly*, as was said before, on Saturday the 18th and an Hour after Night, and it being so late, all the *Caravans* went to unload at a *Khan*, or *Karavancero*, so they call a House built to entertain the *Caravans* and Passengers; being like the Cloisters of our Monasteries in Shape and Figure, with very little difference, divided into Chambers, each of them with a Door and Lock, and a Place to dress Meat, as also a common Privy. Some have a Well in the middle, others a Place for Cattle. Those abroad in the Country are not thus divided. Some are able to contain three or four hundred Men, and some are given out of Charity, being built for this purpose by wealthy *Mahometans*,

*A Cara
vanfara de-
scrib'd.*

where only a small matter at Will is bestow'd on those who have the Charge of looking to them; others are hir'd, but at a very low rate. There are of these in *India*, where they call them *Chalas*; but they are neither so well built nor so cleanly. In this *Khan* we took up our Lodging, because it was Night. The House was large, and tho' decay'd, appear'd to have been a curious and costly Structure. There we lay, no better accomodated than before, the Place being foul, stony, uneven, ill shelter'd, and unfit for Rest, especially for us who came so much Fatigu'd, that some of the Men fell sick and no small number of the Cattle dy'd. Our Supper consisted of Dates, fower Milk, and Water, being a Prophet sent my Captain, and no great Collation, for one that had scarce broke his Fast all the Day, because my private Stock of *Edul* was then just ended. There was no Remedy but Patience, which is one of the most necessary things a Man ought to make Provision of upon such Journeys. *James de Melo* and his Companion *Malapira*, who came before, and had taken a good Lodging in another *Khan* went to find me out in the Morning, and after Saluting and Embracing, as if we had not seen one another in a long time, they desir'd me to go to their Quarters, which I would not do without positive Leave and Orders from my Captain, to avoid giving him I desir'd to please, any occasion to complain. They beg'd it of him, and when obtain'd I went along with them, and we continu'd together till our Departure.

Mosque
the Dy-
jurnal

Mosque Aly, or *Mosque Aly*, which is all the same, and signifies *Aly Mosque*, or House of Prayer, is a Town founded almost a thousand Years ago, for it is near so much since he dy'd. He was Nephew to *Mahomet* and his Son in Law, commonly call'd *Mosque Aly*, of whom his Conquests and Valour the Followers of his Sect, who are mortal Enemies to the *Sunis*, professing that of the *Turks*, tell such Feats and Miracles, as are worthy to be laugh'd at, or rather lamented. Not to mention them, as foreign from our Purpose, and deliver'd by many, I will speak of the Town, the Inhabitants whereof say that *Aly* being basely murder'd by a Servant that had belong'd to him since he was a Child, at *Rasht*, a Town not far from this, now quite gone to Decay, the dead Body being wash'd and anointed after their manner, was, as he had order'd before his Death, made fast on a Camel, permitting him to go whither he would, but following to see where he made a Stand; and after many Turnings and Windings, he came to rest in that Desert, which is as solitary as may be. Those who follow'd came up, and made a Grave for the dead Body in the same Place, which in Process of Time, thro' the Affection and Concourse of his Devotes and Followers

Aly's Bur-
iall.

Followers, was so enrich'd with Offerings, Gifts, and Presents, that a stately *Mosque* and *Alcoran* or *Sceple* of curious Structure was erected to him, tho' now that Sect declining, the Number of the Offerings and Visitants is smaller, and the Building has lost much of its Beauty and Grace. The Ground being reputed Holy on account of that Holy, there was so great a Resort to it, that by degrees it grew up into a Town, which when in its flourishing Condition, about 50 or 60 Years since, contain'd between 6 and 7000 Houses, most of them large and well built, as still appears by the Ruins. At present there are not above 500 inhabited, and most of those poor and ill furnish'd. Some of the Inhabitants told me the Town had utterly declin'd since the Death of *Xa Thamas* King of *Persia*, who had been a very great Friend to it. It was inclos'd with a Wall, which is now broken down in many Places; the *Mosque* and Houses all built with Brick. It has no Water but of Wells, and that is salt; so that those who will have fresh, are said to bring it from a Trench, *Sultan Selim* the Great *Turk* drew from the River *Euphrates*, to 3 Leagues Distance, with immense Labour and Charge: We could not drink of it when we came thither, because the Trench was foul and chok'd up, and they were cleansing it as they do every Year. Here is great Scarcity of Wood, and all Necessaries are brought from abroad, as Sheep, Fowl, Wheat, Barley, Fruit and Greens; but the common Food of the Inhabitants is Dates, sour Milk, and Cakes of Wheat and Barley. There is much Fish in the Lake, but they make little Use of it. Most of the People are white, but of a perverse Disposition. No *Christian* or *Jew* ever settles in this Town, because they are mortally hated, as are all *Mahometans* who profess not their Sect. They value themselves upon being strict Observers of it, insomuch as to look upon it as a Sin to talk or converse with the others, and are mighty nice, and perform many Ceremonies upon receiving any thing they have touch'd. There are still to be seen some Ruins of *Sutras*, which were Markets built with Brick, as is usual in most Towns in those Parts, with Windows to let in the Sun and Light, so artificial, that they sufficiently testify it was a Noble Place. In *Alys* Mosque there are some Pieces of Value, and among the rest 3 large Gold Lamps, set with Precious Stones, presented by several Princes. The Country is subject to the *Turk*, to whom the Lord of it, who is an *Arabian* King pays Tribute; and here uses to be a Garrison of 50 *Turks*, at that time all absent, being call'd to *Bagdat*, by reason of the War with the *Persians*; and the Inhabitants being free from them,

they committed all sorts
 without any Fear or Shame.
 4 Days, and left some of the
 in the *Caravan*, we set out
 in the same Month, 3 Hours before
 extraordinary plain but
 on which we met Tra-
 and Gangs of Camels and
 Leagues, by half an Hour after
 which was old but spe-
 in a curious Plain was a fine
 Cottages or Tents of
 Three Leagues short of this Place,
 we saw a great Houle
 and Eody of the Pro-
 by the Jews and Moors, and held
 of his Life and Sanctity, and
 there for his Servant's Sake.
 by the Arabs call'd *Efegel*, James
 which he had before some
 to travel on a Camel, as
 was not able to carry
 such Fatigues, as bred daintily,
 was very impatient. It
 and some Physick
 in the Afternoon, and tra-
 very plain Country to the North-
 near another *Karavansera*,
 a curious tho' dry Plain, where
 good Water. Friday the 24th
 at 2 in the Morning, over
 at 3 o'Clock of Day discover'd the Town
 at 9 in the Morning,
 This Journey was about 7 Leagues
 where we took up our Lodging in a *Khan* there
 a very well built, which is allow'd for *Cherry*.

C H A P. V.

The Description of Mexat Ocem; our crossing the Country of Mesopotamia, and Rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and coming to Bagdat on the former of them.

MExat Ocem, or Mam Ocem, that is, *Ocem's Mosque*, is a open Town of above 4000 Houses, some of them well contriv'd after the Country Fashion, but all of a mean Structure. It is inhabited by Native *Arabs* and *Turks* plac'd over the Lands belonging to it, none of whom were then in the Place, being all gone to *Bagdat* to the War; for which reason many *Agemis* or *Persians* residing there had also left it, not thinking themselves safe whilst the War continued between the *Turks* and *Persians*. All the Natives of *Mexat Ocem* are *Rafazis* or *Xyais*, that is, of the same Sect with those of *Mexat Ali* above-mention'd, and consequently hate any other Religion, whether of *Mahometans*, *Christians*, or *Jews*, of which two last none live there, and such as only pass thro' are ill look'd upon. All the Markets are built with Brick, and good Structures. The great Concourse of Trading People from all Parts, makes it abound in Provisions and Merchandize. Here is a *Mosque*, and an *Alcoran* or Tower dedicated to *Ocem* the Son of *Ali*, who is bury'd in this Place, and died in it for Thirst, it being then a Desert; for which reason all the *Mahometans*, and particularly those of this Sect, look upon it as a very meritorious Act to give Water for God's Sake, in such as ask it; and many go about the Streets with Skins full of it, and clean Brass Cups, giving all that are a dry to drink, without requiring any thing for it, yet refuse not what is freely offer'd them. The *Mosque* and *Alcoran*, considering the Place, are wonderful for Workmanship, Grandeur, and Cost; and tho' very near as ancient as the Father's, being as well as that, founded and increas'd by the Devotion of the *Xyais*, it still appears much more sightly and beautiful. The Materials are Lime, Brick, and curious painted Tiles like those we call *Dutch*, and some *Mosaick* Work. Provisions are here very plentiful and cheap, as Wheat, Barley, Rice, Greens, Fruit, and Flesh. The Air is more temperate and pleasant than in those Countries we have last spoken of. Here are some publick Wells of very good Water, pleasant Trees, several sorts of *European* Fruit. The Land is fertiliz'd by a Trench from the River *Euphrates*, which is 8 Leagues distant

Mexat Ocem described.

Mahometan Charity.

Whilst we were in this Town there came Custom House Officers from *Bagdat*, with Orders to oblige the Merchants to go thither with their Goods, which many did, much against their Will. However they set out upon *Wednesday* the 29th of *September*, only very few remaining behind, and we among them; because our Captain did not furnish us with Camels, for his were in such a Condition, that Five of them dy'd soon, and the rest were unfit to travel, and he being very covetous would not then hire others. After we had been there 8 Days uneasy enough, for several Reasons, and chiefly on Account of being log'd in a *Khan*, where was a Captain with 40 *Segmenes*, being Muskietiers belonging to the *Turk*, tho' not *Turks*, who we dreaded might commit any Insolency, as being a loose, rude, boisterous People, without any Conscience, Honour, or Discipline. When these were ready to depart, being only quarter'd there in their way, a *Mahometan* came to me, and I know not why to me, more than any other of us there, and in the *Persian* Tongue said, we must be watchful and stand upon our Guard, for the *Segmenes* design'd when they went away, to take the Horses belonging to my Companions, or at least one of them. I return'd many Thanks and gave Notice to my Comrades, removing them to our Captains House, where they were safe, and we continu'd upon the Watch in the *Khan*, till those Men were gone. Those few of us that remain'd of the *Caravan* so earnestly entreated our Captain, that yielding to us, he prepar'd to bear us Company, attended by a Brother in Law of his own, a Man of Note and much honour'd with some of his Friends.

Segmenes
what they
are.

Being all met and furnish'd, we set out from *Mexat Ocem* for *Bagdat*, on *Saturday* the 2d. of *October*, at 9 in the Morning, in much Dread of Robbers, that Road being as much Frequented by them as it is by Travellers. A great Part of our Day's Journey was along that Trench I have spoken of, whose Water spread abroad, fertilizes all those Lands, which are very considerable. This Canal is about three Fathom and a half over, and one and half in Depth, along the Bottom whereof, being then dry, there were some Wells of good Water, and near them in the Sides of the same Channel were dug watering Places for Cattel. There lay also some Boats like those they call *Danecas*, at *Bazora*, all daub'd with *Quir*, which is a Bitumen flowing Liquid, from two Springs at *Hyt*, a Town on the Bank of the *Euphrates*, and afterwards growing very hard. In those Boats they run along the Canal when it has Water. This Day's Journey was through plain good Land, most Sow'd, especially with Cotton, whereof they have much Plenty thereabouts. Having travell'd about 8 Leagues, at five in

Quir Bi-
tumen.

valets, on which many Fruit Trees grow, and those were the Rivers the Royal Psalmist speaks of in his Psalm.

Having rested at *Mozayebb*, till two in the Afternoon, we went up the Country of *Mesopotamia*, variously seated, but without any Mountain or notable Hill, our Course to the Northward, leaving the Place where the ancient *Babylon* stood, two Leagues from us, on the left Hand, and that is the most unfrequented Part of the Country, according to what was Prophecy'd of it. Travelling on a great Pace, at five in the Afternoon we pass'd by a New *Khan*, handsome and strong, seated in a Place most convenient for Robbers, because many little Hills lying against one another, it is well contriv'd for Ambushes and Surprizes. This *Khan* was built out of Charity, at the Cost of a *Turkish* Lady, Wife to an Officer of the *Grand Signior's* Revenue at *Bagdat*. We made no Stay, but going on with much Speed, came two Hours after Night to another *Khan*, call'd *Berenus*, that is, the half way House, because it is so between the two Rivers, a noble Structure, strong and capacious. In it were 10 or 12 *Turish* Troopers, who generally reside there to assist Travellers upon any Occasion. Opposite to this is another ancient *Khan*, inhabited by a few Families of poor People, who till some Groves thereabouts and in it are certain Wells, the Water whereof is not very good, but it serves them, the *Caravans* and Passengers, there being no other without. A Musket Shot from this is another old *Khan* or *Karoancero*, gone to Ruin. It is about 8 Leagues from the River *Euphrates* to this Place. Monday the 4th of *October*, we set forwards very hastily, at two in the Morning, to the Northward over Variety of Lands, some barren, others abounding in Pasture, which feeds numerous Flocks of great and small Cattel, Camels, Horses and other tame and serviceable Creatures; which drink of the Water of several Wells, especially of two we saw well in Repair, Brick'd about, with each a Stone Trough or Cistern, which were the first Stones I saw in all the Way from *Mexat Aly* hither, and to *Bagdat*. When the Sun was up we discover'd that Part of *Bagdat*, which is in *Mesopotamia*, and the first thing of it the *Alcorans*, because they being very high, and the Country not uneven, they appear four Leagues off. Having gone two of the four we found all the Way on both Sides, up to the Town Abundance of burnt Bricks, square and decay'd with Age, some above Ground and others in Caves under it. This I take Notice of on Account of what I shall say hereafter of *Bagdat*.

Having often Occasion to speak of these *Alcorans*, I will here describe what they are, for the Information of such as know it not. As in our Churches we usually have Belfries, so the *Mahometans* build

Karoan-
cero.

Alcorans
what they

build these to their *Mosques*, which tho' not all exactly alike, are generally shap'd like the Mast of a Ship, being upright round and equal to the Round Top, and that is a Balcony, or Walk round it, from whence upward, like the Topmast it is shorter and slenderer. Within it are winding Stairs to go up to that Balcony, where the *Mulas* being Men appointed for that particular Service, at the usual Hours, that is, thrice a Day, and twice in the Night cry out as loud as ever they are able, uttering these Words. *The great God, who has no equal, is only one, and I believe, and testify it and that Mahomet is his Messenger.* To this which is the essential Part, never to be omitted, they add other Expressions, stirring up the People to praise God; and in regard that the Book of *Mahomet's* Sect is call'd *Koran*, or *Alcoran*, the same Name has been given to the Place appointed for proclaiming of it. Some of them in those Parts are very majestick and costly.

I enter'd this Part of *Bagdat*, which is in *Mesopotamia*, at one in the Afternoon, but was before met by a *German* Youth I had known in *India* some Years, who had been inform'd that the *Caravan* was coming and I with it. He was here call'd *James Fernandez*, born at *Hamburg*, where his right Name was *Joachim Ozemkroch*, being come thither 7 Days before from *Bazora*, it being three Months since he left that Place by Boat. One *Jasar* a Renegado, who had gone before the *Caravan* from *Ocem*, having told him I was coming, he sent me a Letter thither which mis'd of me, to advise me to be cautious what Way I took, the Renegado thinking I had design'd for shortning of the Journey, to take another not so much us'd and more dangerous, and therefore he gave me Notice of the many Difficulties and Hazards, there were then on the Road, by Reason of the War at *Aleppo*. We met at the Entrance into the Town, and he conducted me to his House, where, and on the Way to *Aleppo*, on which we were Comrades, he oblig'd me with many Favours. This shows how advantageous it is to do good, when in our Power; for now after so long a time this Young Man requited the little Service I had before done him. I cross'd the River with him, and at three of the Clock in the Afternoon enter'd the City on the other Side, having travell'd 10 Leagues that Day.

C H A P. VI.

The Description of Bagdat.

B *Agadad* [as call'd by the Inhabitants, and by us *Bagdat*] a City of much Note, is seated on the River *Tigris*, which the Natives name *Digilah*, or *Digylah*, as *Sevil* and *Triana* are on the *Gnadalquivir*. The River runs thro' it North and South, very little inclining either Way, and when lowest, as at the time when I went thither, is about 230 Paces over. It has a Bridge of 28 Boats, with Timbers laid athwart; and there is as much Distance between every 2 Boats as the Breadth of one of them, being 4 Paces, and the Ends of it are made fast on both Sides to the Walls and Houses, with large Iron Chains. Every Night it parts in the Middle, one half remaining on each Side, and the same is done at any time, when either the Wind or Water are too boisterous, when there are Ferry Boats to cross it, and as soon as calm, the Parts are joyn'd again. It is also divided every *Friday*, whilst the *Bassa* and People are in the *Mosque*, at their *Salah*, or *Prayer*, and when they come out united again. In Winter the River rises 6 Cubits, or more, and sometimes enters the City, standing on a Bank rais'd little above it. The Water of it seem'd to me much more clear, pure, thin, and pleasant, than that of the *Euphrates*, and it breeds Abundance of good Fish, which the *Mahometans* make their Advantage of. A *Maydin*, that is, the Value of 11 *Maravedies*, or about three Half Pence, is paid Toll for every Load of Goods, imported, or exported. Those who come from *Mesopotamia*, as we did, to enter *Bagdat*, first pass over thro' the Part that lies Westward of the River, crossing a broad and deep dry Ditch, of the Earth taken from which is made a high Trench or Bulwark, serving instead of a Wall, to secure the Town from any Attack of the *Arabs*, who only can attempt it on that Side. There are 2 standing Bridges over it, almost at the Ends. This Ditch was made in the Year 1601, by *Acen Bassa Wazir*, who in the same Place also erected a Market, a *Khan*, and a House of *Kaah*, that is, a *Coffee-House*, most beautiful Structures, still call'd by his Name. I do not remember to have seen any Stone in all the Structures of that City, except the Gates of this *Khan*, and those of a new *Mosque*, which stands on the Left Hand as you come off the Bridge into the City. These Stones are white and very hard, but no Marble: and are brought from

Bagdat
City.Bridge of
Boats.Tigris
River.No Stone
at Bagdat.

from *Mosul*, lying up the River, and suppos'd by some to be *Niveh*.

Suburb This Part of *Bagdat* contains about 3000 Houses inhabited, with
next Mesopotamia the *Succos*, or *Markets*, *Caroanceros*, publick Baths, and all sorts of Handicrafts us'd among the *Mahometans*, and is as plentifully supply'd with all Necessaries as the City, and even more of some Sorts, because most of the Provisions come from that Side.

Coffee-House Among the other publick Structures is the House of *Kaash* or *Coffee House* abovemention'd. The *Kaash*, which we call *Coffee*, is a Berry as big as a small Bean, brought out of *Arabia*, which they grind, boil, and sell in publick Houses, built for that purpose, where all sorts of Men of every Degree meet to drink, and sitting in Order, have this Liquor brought them in *China* Dishes that hold 4 or 5 Ounces, very hot, and every Man taking his Dish, blows and sips. It is black, and almost insipid; and tho' they assign it several good Qualities, it has none certainly known, and only Custom prevails with them to meet there to talk and divert themselves. The more to attract the People they keep beautiful *Fests*, richly clad, who wait and take Money, besides Musick and other Diversions which invite the Company, the greatest Resort being at Night in the Summer, and by Day in the Winter. This House is on the Bank of the River, and has several Windows, and two Galleries over it, which make it a very pleasant Place. There are some others like this in the City, and many throughout *Turky* and *Persia*. On this Side without the Ditch and Trench, are the Ruins of ancient Structures, which sufficiently demonstrate the former Magnificence of that Town. Here stood first the great *Bagdad*, but not *Babylon*, as I shall soon shew.

Fort for the Bassa's Residence. Proceeding hence into the City, over the Bridge of 28 Boats, we enter it at a great Gate, besides which there are 5 other Posterns to the River. It is a large Mile in Length along the River, and on the North Point whence the Stream comes, stands a Fort where the *Bassa* lives, being more large than strong; an oblong Square, about 1500 common Paces in Compass, inclos'd with a Ditch 8 Cubits deep, and 12 in Breadth. The Walls and Bastions are of Brick, with some Embrasures at which there are Pieces of Canon. Within it resides the *Bassa*, with the principal People belonging to him, being between 1500 and 2000 paid and maintain'd by him. To this Fort, the Gate whereof looks to the Southward, joins the City Wall, with a Gate leading towards *Persia*, without which all the Country is extraordinary plain and good Land, till'd and sow'd, free from any Mountains or Hills to terminate the Sight; and therefore is some Years overflow'd in Winter, so that they go over it in Boats, and when this happens,

pens, they lay a Bridge from a Loophole of a Bastion there is in the Middle of the Wall, for the Service of the publick. The Wall is a League and a half in Compass, the other End reaching to the River, after making a half Circle, but with several Saliant Angles in it for the better Defence. There are 2 other Gates to the Landward, one in the Middle, and another at the other End. About it runs a deep Ditch, and the Wall is of Brick, with Battlements, Saliant Angles, and several Bastions, among which are 4 great ones, strong and well built, to bear the Weight and Shock of the Artillery planted on them, which is numerous, heavy, good, and all of Bra's.

The *Bassa* here has the Supreme Authority in Civil and Military Affairs; but the Strangers have a Protector appointed by the *Grand Signior*, who stands up for them and the Merchants in Opposition to him and all other Officers, when they offer them any Wrong, undertaking their Defence with much Integrity, as happen'd whilst I was there, in an Affair of much Moment, by which I understood how far this Protection extended; for he went so far as to put the Great *Turk's* Officers into Irons, and oblig'd the *Bassa* to desist from what he had intended.

The Forces appointed for the Defence of this City and the Country depending on it, are generally 14000 Men, Horse and Foot, *Turks* and the other Nations they employ, of which Number between 4 and 5000 reside in the City, and among them 1500 *Janisaries*. The rest are divided into several Governments and Posts, and these are besides, what we said before, belong'd peculiarly to the *Bassa*, and were with him in the Castle.

There are Ruins in *Bagdat* of sumptuous Buildings, since the time the *Persians* were possess'd of it, such as the *Mosque*, they call the *Chesfaba's*, or of the *Calif*, and others on the River; the *Madrassa*, which was an Hospital, the Vaults in the Markets, and some old *A'corans* which decay with Age. Besides these Remains of what was, there is no new Structure worth taking notice of, excepting 2 *Mosques*, one of them on the Left Hand, entering the City at the great Gate, built by a *Bassa* for his particular Devotion, in Honour of a peculiar sort of Saint of his own. This is a costly Work, as may be judg'd by the Outside; for it is not allow'd to any that are not *Mahometans*, to enter their *Mosques*, especially those most resorted to, without imminent Danger of Death, or being oblig'd to renounce their Religion; but this is not executed with the same Rigour in all Parts. The other *Mosque* standing at the End of the City, near the Palm Trees there are between it, and the Wall is very remarkable, as well for its Fa-
brick, as on account of an Aqueduct that conveys the Water to it.

2000 Hou-
fes.

it from the River; a very costly Work, and no less useful to the People. Notwithstanding one third Part of the Space within the Walls lies waste, or full of Palm-Trees, there are in *Bagdat* above 2000 Houses, most of them large and spacious, but of a mean Structure, few well contriv'd, all flat roofed, most without any Windows to the Street, and the Doors very small. They are all of old Brick, taken from the Ruins of Ancient Buildings, and very many live only upon digging, and carrying it about to sell. For this Reason 4 or 5 Miles about the Town on the Side of *Mesopotamia*, the Country is full of Holes, some of them very deep, the Brick being continually taken out from the Ruins of the ancient Edifices, which sufficiently testifies the Grandeur of this Place in former times.

Inhabit-
ants.

Most of the Inhabitants are civiliz'd *Arabs*, the rest *Turks*, *Curdes*, and *Agemis*, or *Persians*, which last were not so numerous at this time, because of the War, and yet there were many. There are about 2 or 300 Houses of *Jews*, 12 or 15 whereof they affirm to have been ever since the first Captivity. Some of them are wealthy, but the greater Part extremely poor; they live in a separate Quarter, with full Freedom of their *Kanis* or *Synagogue*. There were 10 Houses of *Armenian Christians*, and 80 of the *Nestorians*. The Natives of *Bagdat* are generally white, handsome, of a good Disposition and Affable. The Men for the most part go on Horseback, being clean and costly in their Apparel, as are the Women, many of them beautiful, and generally they have good Eyes. They all go cover'd in the Streets, with Cloths like Veils, which they call *Chandales*, but not black, and over their Faces a fine black or sanguine Colour *Gauze*, so that they see all without being seen, tho' they are willing enough, and therefore purposely uncover themselves sometimes.

Baths-

There are many very curious Baths, some only for Men, and others for Women, all being much addicted to the Use of them. In the midst of the City towards the River, there are 7 or 8 Streets of Shops of all Goods, and Handicrafts us'd among the *Mahometans*; besides as many *Khans* where Merchants reside, and they are much frequented. They are all shut up every Night with great Iron Chains, and at the End of them is a Pals, which they call *Pange Aly*, that is, the *Hand*, or *Fingers of Ali*, because, as they give out, *Ali's Hand* appear'd there on the Wall, and left its Impression; wherefore they have there a small Oratory, before which they light many Candles at Night. In this Place generally sits a *Botugo Bassi*, that is, a *Head*, or *Chief of Musketeers*, from *Bolugo*, a *Musketier*, and *Bax*, the *Head*, whence also I suppose is deriv'd the Word *Baxa*, or as we speak it *Bassa*, as it were a *Head* or *Chief in Government*; so *Cazel Bax*, *Red*

Ridiculous
Devotion.

Head,

Head; and *Cara Bax*, *Black Head*, the Names of Tribes and Martial Men among the *Turks* and *Persians*. This *Bolugo Bassi* sits there to attend all those *Succo*, or *Markets*, and secure them, that neither Buyers nor Sellers may be wrong'd, or any Violence committed; and he makes up all Differences or Disputes happening between Parties verbally, either by fair Means, or Severity, according to the Nature of the thing. And in case he cannot wholly reconcile, he turns them over to the *Cadi*, who is the Civil Judge, for him to adjust the Difficulty. This I think, is an excellent Method, and so effectual, that tho' there were so many Soldiers, and they so insolent, as in time of War, I do not remember during my Stay there, which was two Months, to have seen or heard of any Violence committed in those Streets.

Bolugo Bassi.

Bagdat enjoys a most serene, temperate, and wholesome Air, saving that being very sharp, those who are not careful of themselves, are apt to take Cold. The Summer and Winter are as in *Europe*, with only this Difference, that the Heat is excessive, and the Cold moderate. They commonly make use of Camels, Horses, Mules, Asses, and Oxen, to carry Burthens, there being great Numbers of them all. The Country about yields much Cotton and Silk, which is all wrought and us'd in the City, where there are above 4000 Looms for Woollen, Linnen, Cotton, and Silk, and none of them ever idle. All the People of *Bagdat* generally speak three Languages, being *Turkish*, *Arabick*, and *Agemi*, or *Persian*, but the commonest is the *Turkish*. In time of Peace, and even in War, Merchants resort thither with Abundance of Commodities from *Persia* and *India*, by the Way of *Bazora*, up the River, or thro' the Deserts, on both Sides of it, and so from *Haromit*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, *Tripoly*, and several other Parts; for clearing of whom there are 3 Custom Houses, one for those of *Syria*, which they do in their Passage, on the other Side of the River, and 2 within the City for all the rest. Here is a Mint, where they coin Gold, Silver, and Copper; and two Houses to exercise Shooting with the Bow and Firelock. Tho' so distant from the Sea, it abounds in Salt, brought from the Lake I spoke of at *Mexat Ali*. Among other things I saw and observ'd in this City, one was a great Street full of Gold and Silver-Smiths, all of them *Mahometans*, who make much curious and costly Work, and not one among them of any other Sect or Religion. This I took Notice of, wondering much at *Boterus*, who in the Account he gives of the Manners of the Nations in *Africa*, speaking of the *Jews*, says, they obtain'd Admittance there by means of this Art, the *Mahometans* being forbid the Use of it. I know not whence he took it, since we see the contrary in several Places.

Air.

Weaving.

Trade.

Error of Boterus.

those People, and seated where I mention'd before, nothing has remain'd for many Ages but the Name; and tho' some Footsteps of it may be seen, they are inconsiderable. This may suffice as to the Original of *Bagdad*, and to conclude, I must say that I do not remember I have ever seen such dirty Streets any where, as those of this City, and *Bazora*; for being loose Earth, and not pav'd, every Shower of Rain fills them with Mud.

The *Bassa* had lately been Governour of *Bazora*, whence he departed by Way of the Desert, 3 Days before we came to that Place. His Name was *Iffus*, or *Juceph Paxa* an Eunuch, by Nation a *Xerquex*, whose Place is worth yearly 200000 *Chequines*, being about 250000 Ducats, whereof he spends at most between 30 and 40000. It is worth so much in time of Peace; for in time of War he makes what he pleases. When we were upon our Departure, there came to him 15 *Cappis* from *Constantinople*, being the *Grand Signior's* Porters, and brought him the Title of *Wazir*, or *Vizier*, as we call it, with a Patent to continue his Government for 7 Years, as also a Vest of Brocade, a Sword, and a Gold Chain for his Horse's Bridle, which are the Gifts the Great *Turk* uses to send to those he raises to such Dignity. Among the *Bassaships*, or Governments in the Gift of the *Grand Signior*, the first is that of *Mecere* or *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*, the second this of *Bagdat*, and the 3d that of *Tabriz*. When we came to the City, it was under great Apprehensions of the *Persians*, who were said to march towards it, as had been done not long before by *Ala Verdi*, *Wazir*, or *Vizier*, and Captain General to *Xa Habas*, King of *Persia*, who took about 300 Soldiers in a small Engagement, in Sight of the Walls, and the next Night departed with such Precipitation, that he left Part of his Baggage behind, yet the Cause of his Flight was not known. The *Persians* afterwards made several other Inroads into *Curdistan*, a Country very near *Bagdat*, whose Capital is *Suster*, said to be *Sus* or *Susa*, where *Ahasuerus* kept his Court, and the Passage between *Esther* and *Haman* happen'd. Those Lands are divided from the Territory of *Bagdat* by the River *Dialah*, which running to the Southward about a Days Journey from *Bagdat*, falls into the *Tygris* 5 or 6 Leagues below it.

Here we waited an Opportunity to set forwards, because no Body durst travel till there was News from *Aleppo*, which had been 3 Months besieg'd, because the *Bassa* that was in it, would not deliver it up to the Besieger, tho' he brought positive Orders from the *Grand Signior*, there being some private Quarrel between them. During the Siege the Inhabitants endur'd much Famine and other Hardships, as I was afterwards told there.

Siege of
Aleppo.

only we but all *Bagdat* was very impatient, having had no Account how Affairs went in two Months, when it pleas'd God, that on the 26th of *November* early in the Morning, three Expresses came together to the House of *James Fernandez*, the German where I was, who brought Letters importing, that the Country was restor'd to Peace. It is easy to Judge how much we rejoic'd, and immediatly prepar'd for our Journey, ordering the Camels we had already half hir'd, to be brought from *Ocem*, for so far they went to fetch them.

C H A P. VII.

Our Departure from Bagdat, we cross Mesopotamia again and come to Anna, on the River Euphrates.

HAVING order'd our Affairs and the Camels being come, we went over the River from *Bagdat*, to the other Side in *Mesopotamia*, on *Sunday* the 12th of *December* 1604, at five in the Afternoon, and lay that Night in the Field, between the Trench and the Houses. *Monday* the 13th at nine in the Morning we set forward with 130 Camels, and 75 Asses, and having gone a League and a Half, halted to pay the Duties there receiv'd for *Mir Nacer*, an *Arabian* King of the Hord, or Tribe of *Eben Emana*, being the same that is Lord of *Mexat Aly* and *Mexat Ocen*. This was done with much Trouble and Vexation. The Place is call'd *Bax Dulab*, that is, the first watering Wells, or the Head of them, because there were some of foul stinking Water to supply the Orchards. Before my Departure from *Bagdat*, I had advis'd with such as I thought could direct me, about what Beast I should chose to ride that Journey, and tho' they were of several Opinions, yet the most agreed, that in Regard the Winter was then coming on, and to save all Trouble, the best way was to go in a Cradle. I thought the Advice good, and accordingly follow'd it, as did *James Fernandez* and *James de Melo*. A Cradle is what the Name implies, being about four Spans and a half in Length, and two and a half in Breadth, cover'd with an Arch, and so lin'd that a Man may be in it defended against the Cold and Rain. It is laid on as half a Camels Load, that is, one on each Side of him, as *James Fernandez*

Bax Dulab

*Travelling
Cradles.*

nawdez, and I went, or else some other thing to ballance, as *James de Melo* had a Box, or Chest. These Cradles frequently have a private Place in the Seat, which commonly serves to hide some things of Value. In these a Man travels warmer and quieter, without any Care of a Horse, or his Meat, both which are always expos'd to every fancy of the *Arabs*, who perhaps borrow your Horse, and return him, if they please, and if so it is when they have run him out of Wind, which they do without any Respect of Persons, whensoever they please, and I have seen it done to *Turks*, for whom they have no Manner of Regard, if they meet them abroad alone. Besides it is usual with them to take away your Horses Barley, for their own, if they want, which is as good as killing him, because there is none to be had on the Road at any Rate. I will not speak of the Hazard of a Horse's falling lame, as happen'd to *James de Melo*. All this is sav'd by going in a Cradle, for if one Camel tires, or is lam'd, they give you another, the Owners always taking some spare ones, to carry the Burdens by Turns, or to supply the Defect of any one that dies, or is disabl'd; and it is the Custom, when any Merchant hires Camels, to allow him to every ten that carry Burdens, one gratis, for his own Equipage. We therefore considering the Season, and to save Trouble, made Choice of Cradles, and went in them to *Aleppo*.

Tuesday the 14th, at Sun rising we departed the watering Wells, and travell'd Westward over good plain Lands, with only some small risings. Having gone about three Leagues, we came to the Ruins of a great City, whereof there now remains standing a high *Alcoran*, and two Pieces of a thick and strong Wall, of Brick and Stone, which Place the *Arabs* call *Karkuf*. Next we enter'd upon excellent Lands, but desert and untill'd, excepting some small Part a few *Arabs* sow for their Maintainance, which answers plentifully. In this way we saw many Flocks of Sheep, Abundance of Wild Swine and *Gazelles*, being like Roes, and these were pursu'd by Companies of *Bednyu Arabs* hunting them. We went on without halting, till four in the Afternoon, when we stay'd in a Field the *Arabs* call *Aflayab*, so the whole Territory is Nam'd, from a Town of the same Denomination. All along this Way, being about seven Leagues there are Trenches gone to decay, which formerly brought Water from the River to refresh those Lands, and the *Euphrates* and these overflowing drowned them all. *Wednesday* the 15th, we mov'd before Sun rising to the North West, over mighty Plains, where we saw some *Gazelles* and Swine. Having pass'd half our Days Journey, we went a considerable way along a dry Channel, lying on the right

Karkuf
Ruins.

feet of it, which was a Lake, which very much Water, and
 was the reason that the water was Puddles in it, much re-
 sembling the water in the Lake of Bagdad. I was assur'd, that in the
 Lake of Bagdad, there were in the Land Boats as far as Bagdad.
 Having travel'd the League we came against a Ridge, lying on
 our left, and there Leagues distant in which there appear'd
 the first sign of a Town, and at the Foot of it, on the
 right side was the Lake of Bagdad, is a Town of Arabs,
 who are great Farmers. At half of the Clock, after travelling
 seven Leagues, we arriv'd in the Mouth of a Channel, a Place
 I cannot enough commend to all Travellers, that is, bring Eyes,
 or Springs, there being seven Wells in certain Wells, which were
 very good, and very, I say, for the fresh come had enough,
 and very good for Travellers.

At 10 o'clock

On the 17th

At 10 o'clock

At 10 o'clock

On the 18th

At 10 o'clock

At 10 o'clock

At 10 o'clock

On the 17th, we arriv'd at noon before Day to the North
 West, through a very plain Country, but the Land various, and
 travel'd seven Leagues by Day in the Afternoon, when we see'd
 the first sign of a Town, but no particular Name, for any particular Name,
 but from the Mountainside in another it call'd, goes under the
 Mountainside in the night, and the Water we found by the way
 was thick, where there was no current, and had a loathsome
 Taste, and where the Water before had been worse, for then we
 found the water good, but had. Early the 17th, we march'd
 a long distance, and arriv'd at the North West, over extraor-
 dinary plain and good Land, and having gone two Leagues, saw
 about the Distance of three from us on the Left, a Mosque, with
 a high minaret, which the Arabs call *Mosque Sami*. About
 the Leagues further we came to the Side of a dry Channel,
 where there were Wells, whose Water was like those before, whereof
 the Camel and Hiss drank, and we took some with us to serve
 further on. This Place the Arabs call *Ogale Keque Mohamed*,
 that is, the Wells of the Top of *Kette Mohamed's Leg*, those
 People naming the Distance between the Foot and the Knee *Ogale*,
 perhaps some one of that Name dog them. We had travell'd
 about eight Leagues, when a great Rain oblig'd us to encamp,
 at four in the Afternoon, in a Place destitute of Water, call'd
 by the Arabs *Ogale el Kib*, that is, the Wells of the Dog's Leg,
 from hence there are above a League distant. It is wonderful to
 see how plain and good those Lands are, and no less Pity that
 they should be desert and waste.

On the 18th, we mov'd after Sun rising, very wet with
 the great Rain in the Night, our way to North West, through
 a plain good Country, leaving the three Wells of dirty stinking
 Water, which I said gave Name to the last *Mosque*, on the right
 hand,

At 10 o'clock

At 10 o'clock

band, not far from the Road. The *Arabs* call the Place, where the Caravan lyes *Mamsel*, and is the same as the *Latin Mamsio*. Next we came upon uneven Ground, Brakes and stony barren Hills, along which we travell'd a considerable Space, till we came to a great dry Channel, all of it, and the Ground about of a white, scaly, brittle Stone, shining like Porrace. We pitch'd upon the Bank at three in the Afternoon, because there was a Well of Black, thick, foul and very stinking Water. The Days Journey was above six Leagues, and this *Mamsel*, or Station the *Arabs* call *Gomegme*. This Night such a heavy Rain fell, that we and our Goods were well soak'd, notwithstanding our Tents. *Sunday* the 19th, we began our Journey when it was Day, keeping still to the North West, over an uneven, craggy and stony Country, like the last, sometimes lighting upon spacious Plains, some of them clean and good Land, but most foul and full of Flints, Having gone about eight Leagues by four in the Afternoon, we stay'd in a pleasant, tho' dry Vale, by the *Arabs* call'd *Abu regemo*, that is, the Father of him that was ston'd, from a Heap of Stones gather'd in it by Hand. The Water here was poysonous.

Gomegme.

Abu regemo.

Monday the 20th, before Sun rising, we advanc'd to the North West, through various Sorts of Lands, some good, some Stony, and went about eight Leagues, by four in the Afternoon, when we halted by a dry and uneven Channel, by the *Arabs* call'd *Seylar*, leaving about half a League behind us a Well of Water that was bad enough, yet tolerable in Respect of what we had pass'd. Here about the first Part of the Night six *Arabs* fell in among us, and we being surpriz'd, they put all the Caravan into Confusion. We ran to Arms, and two of them being taken, upon Examination appear'd to be Shepherds, who having left their Cattle to others, were going that way to a Village, with some Camels, and eight or ten Sheep, some of which we bought, and kept strict Watch the rest of the Night. Our Company was now divided, some being gone to *Hyr*, others to *Hadyr*, and others to *Juba*, Towns lying along the Bank of the River *Euphrates*. *Tuesday* the 21th, we got up with the Day, and proceeded North West about two Leagues over uneven stony Land, till we came to a Brake under which lyes a deep Channel full of Water in rainy Weather, but then dry. Passing this Place we went on through spacious Plains of good Land, with some mixture of Hills and Roughness, and being over these Flats, a great Part whereof was till'd and sow'd, came to the Bank of the *Euphrates*, where we rested at four in the Afternoon, over against an Island there is in the middle of the River, with a

Seylar.

Farm.

Zawyhe
and Naze-
ria.

Farm, about 30 Palm-Trees, some watering Wells, and sow'd Grounds, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Zawyhe*; but the Place we were in, and all the Territory about it, they name *Nazeria*. Here the River runs North East and South West, and is about 400 Paces over. The Palm and other Trees hereabout, were the first we had seen since our Departure from *Bagdat*. The Soil on both Sides the River is very fat. All this Way we found much *Orizumum*, very tall and grown, and of an extraordinary Fragrancy. The Day's Journey was good 6 Leagues. Here we understood there was a *Caravan* at *Ana*, bound for *Aleppo*, which was a great Satisfaction to us, believing we should lose less time; and here we kill'd a Sheep we had bought of the *Shepherds*, which was some Refreshment, having eaten no Flesh in all the Way from *Bagdat*.

Me lyk
Nacerya.

Wednesday the 22th we set out with the Sun along the River Side, following its Windings, which are many, on a narrow Way the *Arabs* call *Medyk Nacerya*, that is, the *Streights of Nacerya*, from the little Way there is between the Mountains and the River that was on our Left. Being pass'd these Mountains and Streights, along which we had Sight of some Towns, Groves, Palm-Trees, and watering Wells, on the farther Bank of the River, we fell into open, plain, and good Grounds, cultivated, striking off a good Distance from the River, because there it takes a Turn. Then we return'd to it, and after some little bad Way, follow'd on over the same Plains North West and West, North West as far as a dry Channel, where the *Caravan* took up at 3 in the Afternoon, without any Water, but what we had taken at the River, when we left it, in Skins always carry'd for that Purpose, without which it were impossible to pass that Desert and others much less. In these Parts, along the River, there are many Farms, Mills, and several great Wheels, which being drove by the River, bring up Water to moisten those Fields, which are most of them till'd and sow'd. From henceforward almost all the Land near the River is Mountainous. This Place, where we

Ved Ga-
rabah.

lay at Night, the *Arabs* call *Ved Garabab*, that is the Channel that is Boundary to the City; for I suppose, the Liberty of *Anna*, whither we were going, extended so far. Our Days Journey was about 7 Leagues. This Night 3 Men on Horseback pass'd by us, being Merchant *Curdes* going to *Anna*, where their Goods were, and had been making their Complaints to the *Amir*, who is Lord of those Lands, of Wrongs done them by his Officers. Before Break of Day a Thief got in among our Company, and took away an Ass belonging to a *Mahometan* Inhabitant of *Anna*, without being observ'd by any but the Owner, who tho' he saw him

him lead the Beast away, had not the Courage to cry out, and the Thief to get off the shortest Way, cut some of the Cords of *James de Melo's* Tent.

Thursday the 23th we were going before Day, over various sorts of Lands till Noon, when we went down high and craggy Mountains towards the River *Euphrates*, that runs at the Foot of them, and on both whose Banks, the Town of *Ana* we were design'd for stands. This half Day's Journey was about 5 Leagues. When we began to descend from the Mountains, *James Fernandez*, my Comrade, and I, came out of our Cradles. I took the Ridge of the Hill, the better to observe the Situation of the Town, and what else is thence to be seen, which is a considerable Distance. Having done it I follow'd the Company, which was then near the River, on whose Bank, still of the Side of *Mesopotamia*, we continued that Afternoon and the next Night, which was very troublesome, keeping strict Watch for fear of Robbers, but glad it had pleas'd God to bring us so far in Safety. My Comrade, as soon as we reach'd this Place, cross'd the River, to procure Leave for us to go over, which cannot be done without it, and tho' he took much Pains, could not obtain it; but after he was return'd tir'd and vex'd, two of the *Amir's* Officers brought it him at Night, by the Procurement of a Jew, to whom *James Fernandez* was recommended. They would have had us go over immediately, but we forbore because it was dark, fearing some Trouble or Miscarriage, so that it was put off till Morning, and the Officers went away, but not without being well paid for their needless Trouble. *Friday* the 24th in the Morning we pass'd over the River which the *Arabs* call'd *Xam*, leaving *Mesopotamia*, by those People nam'd *Jazirey*, that is, *The Island*, from its lying between the two Rivers *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, which the Name *Mesopotamia* denotes. Having landed all our Goods and Equipage, we set up our Tents on a rising Ground, with much Rain, and rested our selves, but not much, the Rain and Baseness of the People obstructing. The Way we took from *Bagdat* hither, is not the same the *Caravans* usually go; for they strike higher to the Northward, which is farther about; and for this Reason, as also because this is safe, as least frequented, it was chosen rather than the other.

C H A P. VIII.

*The Description of Ana on the River Euphrates.*Antiquity
of Ana.

ANA, which in *Arabick* signifies *Pain* or *Trouble*, seated on the Banks of the River *Forat* or *Euphrates*, is a Town of great Antiquity, according to the Tradition of the Inhabitants, besides which the Scripture most certainly informs us of it; for in the 2d Book of *Kings*, Chap. 19, we read that *Sennacherib* King of *Affyria* threatening *Hezekiah*, ask'd of him among other things in his Letter; *Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arpad, and the King of the City of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivah.* [These two last are so written in the *English* Translation; but the *Latin* calls them *Ana* and *Ava*.] Which plainly demonstrates its Antiquity, and this clearly appears to be the same with that there mention'd, because he could not well pass out of *Affyria* into *Palestine*, unless he had first subdued these that lay in his Way, which is my Opinion under Correction, not questioning but in so many Ages it must be much chang'd from what it was. *Ana* is seated on both Banks of the *Euphrates*, upon a Winding that runs North East and South West. At the North End of this Turning is an Island (besides many other both above and below, all cultivated) about a Mile in Compass, with a Wall round it, but decay'd with Age, On the North Point of it stands a Fort, kept by a Garrison of 100 *Turks*, with some Cannon; and without it are Houses, Palm-Trees, Gardens, and a Market, and there was a publick Bath, when it belong'd to the *Caxel Bax*, or the *Persians*, who were Masters of all those Lands and *Bagdar*. The River here runs between uncooth and high Mountains, and on the Side of *Mesopotamia* there is but 100 or 200 Paces of Land between them and the Water; and to the Westward of the River, at the Place they call *Xam*, from 2 to 500 where widest. On this narrow Spot stands the Town, consisting of only 2 Streets, one on each Side of the River, of which that on the Side of *Mesopotamia*, being about 2 Miles in Length, is neither very Populous, nor inhabited by any but labouring People. The other on the Side of *Xam*, is above 2 Leagues in Length, and there is the best of the Town. The Street runs directly along the Middle of that Slip of Land, the Houses built on both Sides, all of them one or two Stories high, square, and flat roof'd, tho' small; only the *Mosque* is til'd, and the Water fall is but one Way, nor do

Fort in an
Island.

The Town.

I remember to have seen any other House till'd in all those Parts. Every House has its little Spot of Ground, or Outlet, some towards the River, and the others to the Mountains, and in them Abundance of Palm, Orange, Lemmon, Citron, Pear, Quince, Fig, Pomgranate, and many other Sorts of *European Trees*, besides Abundance of Olive, as large as great Chestnut Trees. The Soil is so good, assisted with the River-Water, that it produces all things in great Plenty and Exuberance, generally each Palm Tree Root brings forth 4, 5, or 6 most fruitful Trunks. Where the Plain is proper, they sow Wheat and Barley, which always thrives well. The Air is most serene, the Houses all of Stone and Plaster of *Paris*, or else of Lime, Stone, and Clay. Between the Mountain and the Grounds belonging to the Houses, is a moderate Ditch, which in Winter serves to receive the Water, and divert it from overflowing them, and in Summer to hold the Water drawn up with Wheels from the River to refresh them. The whole Number of Houses on both Sides, may amount to 400, of which 120 belong to *Arabian Jews*, who are not rich, but live decently, and are well look'd upon by the Lord of the Place and his Officers, tho' they pay for it according to Custom. These have Houses and Lands of their own, as well as the *Mahometans*, to whom all the rest of the Town belongs. These are divided into 2 Factions, the one descended from the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, and these are *Mahometans* in Name and outward Shew, and in other Respects look upon *Mahometanism* as it deserves, but are ne'er the better themselves. Their Ancestors worshipp'd the Sun, and I believe they still retain this and other Superstitions in private, which besides its being told me by many, I conjectur'd, by one who came frequently to our Tent, whilst we were there, and always discours'd about the Sun, asking me what I thought of him, and what Opinion the Christians had of his Beauty, Motion, and Effects, highly extolling his Excellency. The other *Mahometans* are Strangers that have settled here by degrees. The Lord of this Place is an *Arab*, call'd *Amir Hamed Aburixa*, the most potent of all that Part of *Arabistam*, and yet subject to the *Turk*, who has bestow'd many of these and the other Lands about upon his own People. The Duties of all Goods and Commodities passing that Way, are paid to the *Amir*, besides a small Acknowledgment to the *Turk*. It is set at so much a Load, and not by Number, Measure, or Value; and each Load pays about 5 Ducats; but reckoning the Frauds and Extortions of the Officers, they will amount to 10 and better. This is to be understood of valuable Commodities, as Silk, Cloth, *Indigo*, Spice, and the like; for Galls, Dates, and such others, they pay a Ducat a Load, which

Fertility.

Jews.

Natives.

Duties on Goods.

No Mir-
ket.

with the Exactions may be two. This Country affords an infinite Quantity of Dates, carry'd to *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*, *Damascus*, and other Parts to sell. The common Sort of People live on them, and other Provisions are not dear, except Rice, that is brought from *Bagdat*, to whose Government this Town is subject. Yet here is one great Inconveniency for Strangers and Travellers, and is that they have no publick Market to buy any Necessaries in, except Mutton, which was not to be had when we came. It is by the *Amir's* Order that they have no publick Market to ease the Inhabitants from Trouble; because the Country *Arabs* are so insolent that they fear neither God nor the King, when they have an Opportunity to rob; however, those who want any thing may buy it in private Houses. About 30 great Barks belong to the Town, and serve to carry Passengers, and trade to other Places up and down the River, in the midst whereof there are many Mills, and it has Plenty of good Fish, whereof the *Mahometans* make small Account. The Natives are generally white and some of them live decently. They commonly wear great loose Garments of Sheep's Skins down to their Heels, open before from the Neck to the Breast, and from the Belly downwards, with very wide Sleeves. When it rains they turn the Wool outwards; but when the Wind blows or it is cold, they turn it in; and this Habit over their other Cloaths, is usual throughout the Country. Here is Plenty of white Salt, brought out of *Mesopotamia*, from a Mine they call *Sine Sela*, 2 Days Journey distant; but Wood is very scarce.

Habit.

Trade of
Galls.

This Place is the common Road for the *Caravans*, going and coming to *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*, by them call'd *Tarabolis*, *Damascus*, and *Bagdat*, tho' they may go other Ways, paying the Duties. At our coming hither we found 2 Gangs or Companies, that had been 2 Months waiting for an Opportunity of going to *Aleppo*. One of them was of *Curdes*, carrying Silks; the other of *Mosulis*, being Merchants of *Mosul*, a Town of *Diarbeh* or *Karatmit* in *Mesopotamia*, on the River *Tygris*, trading in fine Stuffs, whereof there is Plenty, as also Galls, which are sent thence every Year to *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*, *Damascus*, and *Bagdat*, from which last above 12000 Camel Loads go every Year to *Bazora*, thence to *India*, and as far as *China*. They usually bring the Camels to feed here on the Side of *Mesopotamia*, because there is little Pasture on the other Side, and that far off and dangerous, and fetch them over the Day before they set out. To serve them on the Road they carry Sacks of Barley Meal, and Cotton Seed, and other things, which they work up with Water into Balls as big as Ostriches Eggs, and give them at Night besides their Grazing for.

Camels
Food and
other Part-
iculars.

for tho' they are Creatures that endure much Want of Food and Water, yet not so very much as some have writ of them; nor do they carry so great a Burden, 600 Weight being themost that is laid on the strongest and soundest of them, with which they only travel 8 or 9 Hours, and very often fall lame. There is much Difference between Camels, for those of Hot Countries are more fit for Labour, than such as are of Cold. The Camels have a Bunch in the middle of the Back, which is a great Conveniency for carrying the Load; and there are some that have two, forming as it were a Saddle between them; these are properly call'd Dromedaries. They all shed their Hair every Year in Winter, and it grows again in the Spring. Some are very swift in travelling, but they are few. They all load and unload lying on the Ground, and there only needs tying up either of their Fore Feet bow'd, as they lye on the Ground, to make them quiet. To conclude it is a Creature that expresses its Pain with doleful Cries, and perfect Tears. In all these Countries the Men Spin much Wool with Spindles, and the Women with Wheels; but I do not remember to have seen so many Men at it any where as here.

Spinning.

Some *Mahometan* Merchants Inhabitants of this Town came in our Company from *Bagdat*, and intended to go on with us to *Aleppo*. They being come to their own Houses, and thinking it more Discretion to spend the Depth of the Winter in them, than without Shelter in the Deserts, would not proceed any farther at that time; but made us stay, to bear them Company; when it should suit their Conveniency to travel. Thus the Duties being adjust'd on the 28th of *December*, and we very well pleas'd expecting to be gone in two or three Days, the *Amir's* Officers hinder'd us, not permitting the Camels to pass, at the Request of the Merchants of *Ana*, pretending that *Dendal* lay in the Way to rob us, he being a Nephew of the *Amir's*, and rightful Heir to those Lands, from whom the Uncle had usurp'd them. We disprov'd this Fiction by the Testimony of some Persons that came from those Parts, and affirm'd, that *Dendal*, and a Brother of his were gone with their Followers towards *Egypt*. This Fraud being detected, they invented another, that *Aleppo* was again besieg'd; but perceiving that nevertheless we were resolv'd to venture, they desir'd us to wait for 60 Camels that were sending to fetch the *Amir's* Dates, to be carry'd to *Aleppo* with us, which would return in eight or ten Days, and then we should presently depart. We were therefore oblig'd to stay here all the dead of Winter, in the Cold, Rain and Snow, under *James Fernandez's* Tent, without whose Kindness and Assistance,

sistance, I should have far'd very ill this Journey. We lay by the River Side, looking upon that Place as safer than any House in the Town, being jealous of the Avarice of the *Arabs*, which made us very watchful; for we were expos'd to the Importunity of all the *Beduynes*, that would call at the Tent to eat and drink; and none of the *Arabs*, from the highest to the lowest think this any Shame, if they cannot steal, which they like better. The worst is, that they beg as if it were their due, and take what is given, as if they did you some Honour and Favour; and the more you give them, the more they crave, all which must be manag'd with Patience and Discretion, and after all it is hard to avoid Trouble.

Whilst we stay'd here many *Turkymans* pass'd over with great Flocks of Sheep from *Fazirey* to *Xam*, driving them to sell at *Damascus*, *Tripoli*, *Aleppo*, and even as far as *Constantinople*. They here pay 20 Ducats Duty and Passage, for every Thousand Heads. There also came some Camels from *Mosul* loaded with Galls. This delay troubled us very much, seeing all Hopes of our Departure put off, and our selves consum'd with Cold, continual Watching, Frights, Oppression, and the Importunity of the *Arabs*. This must have made an End of us, had it lasted; but it pleas'd God that the *Curdes* and *Mosuli* Merchants, growing weary of so many Delays, agreed to go with us, notwithstanding the New Obstacles rais'd by those of *Ana*, which occasion'd much Contention; but all Difficulties being overcome, we caus'd the Camels to be brought over from *Fazirey*, in *Mesopotamia*, to *Xam*, where we were, on *Wednesday* the 12th of *January* 1605, and the same Day in the Afternoon, came the Camels, with the *Amir's* Dates, that had been sent for.

CHAP. IX.

Our Departure from Ana, and Journey through the Desert to Sukana.

T *Hursday* the 13th of *January* 1605, after fresh Contests and Debates, we departed from the River at 9 in the Morning, and leaving it behind us, went up a Mountain, not so high as craggy, and having travell'd about a League of bad Way, enter'd upon a smoother, but not more fruitful Country, where we

we stay'd, for all the *Caravan* to join. The *Arabs* call that Place *Tel alyud*, that is, the Jew's Hill, because they have their Houses at the Foot of the Mountain, on the other Side, in the midst of the Town, next the River, and from them that District takes Name. The Robbers had the Night before, in this same Place, fallen upon some *Turkymen* Shepherds, who were there feeding three great Flocks of Sheep. These seeing us set up our Tents, drew up close about us with their Cattel, which put us upon our Guard, fearing some Villany, which they, tho' Shepherds are apt to commit, when they meet with a fair Opportunity, and are bold and resolute. The first Watch fell to my turn that Night, for during this whole Journey either by Sea, or Land, in Towns or Deserts, I took my Turn of standing Sentinel, unless it were in great Cities. Having perform'd my Watch, with much Difficulty, as being in a Fever I went in, and lying down in my Cloaths on the Bed, which was a Blanket laid on a Chest, with several Knots of the Cord that bound it; as soon as I had laid my self, and began to feel my Fever and Head Ach encrease, I heard my Comrade, who had taken my Post calling me in Haile. I got up, laid hold of my Arms, and stood at the Door of the Tent, with my Firelock presented. The Occasion of it was, that the Robbers had fallen in among the Cattel very softly, and the Sheep making some Noise, the Shepherds and others ran out, and put them to flight, so that they carry'd But one off.

Saturday the 15th, we continu'd in the same Place with much Vexation, because those we had agreed with did not follow us, being hinder'd by Difficulties, those of *Ana* started after our Departure, perswading the Drivers of the Camels belonging to the other Merchants to delay their Passage, on Pretence that *Aleppo* was again besieg'd, and the Road infested by *Dendal*, and *Fyad*, the *Amir's* Nephews. Whilst we were under this Affliction, without any Remedy but Patience, and our Confidence in God, there came this same Morning a *Caravan* from *Damascus*, which passing by the Place where we were, in the way to the Town, certainly inform'd us, that *Aleppo* was clear, and the Road safe; which was so certainly true, that 8 or 10 unarm'd Men, had brought 100 Loaded Camels all that Way, without any Misfortune. This News somewhat satisfy'd us, and rais'd our Hopes of departing speedily. *Monday* the 17th, 80 Camels more came to the same Place from *Juba* and *Haddyr*, loaded with the *Amir's* Dates, to go along with us; and this same Morning the *Curdas* came out of *Ana*, with Part of the *Mosulis*, so that things began to be dispos'd for the Departure of the *Caravan*.

Friday

Ruman
ben.

Friday the 21th of January, it began to move about 8 in the Morning, we being the first, whom some others follow'd, all that march'd at that time making 120 Camels. We travell'd almost four Leagues to the Westward, over Mountains, uncouth and barren Lands, and then fell into others that were plain and full of Pasture, on which many Flocks of Sheep were feeding. In the midst of this Plain, are two high and round Mounts, separated from one another, which give Name to all that Territory, therefore by the *Arabs* call'd *Ruman ben*, that is, two Pomgranates, a Name very proper considering their Shape. Having pass'd them, and advanc'd three Leagues, we halted at four in the Afternoon, in a pleasant Meadow, full of green Grass, but without Water, the rest of the *Caravan* not following us, being detain'd by the Custom House Officers, because some had not paid the Duties, putting it off till that Day, for to avoid Confusion they use to do it in the Field, when the *Caravan* is setting out. The Payment being by the Load or Bale, is easily adjust'd, and there is a much better Method observ'd herein among the *Mahometans*, than in *Europe* among Christians. Saturday the 22th, we departed thence, and travell'd Westward, with a very high Wind, and cold Weather, sometimes over good Plain Fields, and sometimes through Brakes and Vallies, and over Hills. We had gone about five Leagues, when we came to a *Manzel*, where the *Caravans* use to stay, but we pass'd on, because there was no Water, and to shorten the next Journey, that we might reach the River, for all the way to it there is no Water. That *Manzel* is call'd *Jubab*, signifying, Wells of Water. At five in the Afternoon, we encamp'd in a Field without Water, by the *Arabs* call'd *Mecazar Jubab*, having gone five Leagues. All along this way there were many Flocks of Sheep Grazing.

Jubab and
Mecazar
Jubab.

Sunday the 23th, we mov'd at Sun rising toward the North West, over various Sorts of Land, till we came to a mighty Channel, then dry, the Bottom whereof, as far as we could see, was all of solid white Stone, as hard as Marble, and as smooth, as if it had been pay'd by Art, along which there were Abundance of little Caves, or Hollows, which the *Arabs* said were made by the Rain, of which Water they were full. Men and Beasts drank of it, and the rest was put up in Skins, there being no other thereabouts. As soon as ever we had taken it, two *Turkymans* come up a Horse back, with their Bows and Quivers, being lusty likely Men, to see whether there was any Water for their Cattel, and we were not pleas'd at the Sight of them, because it is best and safest to see no body along those Ways. We would willingly have reach'd the River this Day, but one of the *Crudes* obstructed

obstructed it, because he waited for the *Caravan*. Therefore leaving that Channel, we proceeded a little farther, to lie at the Foot of one of two Mounts, which like the last mention'd stand in the Midst of great Plains, and give Name to them, being call'd by the *Arabs*, *Aden them*, that is, *The two Ears*, a Name very proper. I went up to the Top of one of these Mounts, which are equal in Height and Shape, whence, the Country being so plain, a great Extent round about is discover'd. We halted here at one in the Afternoon, and it was so cold this Night and the next Morning, that at Break of Day we found the Water frozen in the Skins. This Days Journey was 5 Leagues.

Monday the 24th we march'd at Break of Day Westward, the Lands like the last as far as the River, which there glides very gently. That Place is a *Manzel* for the *Caravans*, by the *Arabs* call'd *Kahem*, from a little Tower or Tomb standing on the Bank of the River, either built by, or containing the Body of one of the Name of *Kahem*, which is the same as *Cain* among us. The *Arabs* have a Tradition, and most of the Company assur'd me there had been a great and noble City in this Place, which they highly magnifie, and stood on both Sides of the River; but no Footsteps remain of it at present. We had travell'd about 6 Leagues to this Place; most of the Camels which carry'd the *Amir's* Dates had left us, and were gone another Way 2 Hours before, the Owners of them, who were Inhabitants of *Sucana*, being gone thither to rest them, whilst the *Caravan* came up. Only we and the *Mosuls*, who could not make up 40 Camels, came to this Place, and not thinking it safe for so small a Company, as being much frequented by Robbers, we resolv'd to go find out the rest, and keep them Company. The *Mosuls* were for expecting the *Caravan*, being afraid, and with good reason, to cross the Desert, which commences there, with so small a Number; so that both Sides persisting in their Opinion, we came to hard Words, and were not far from Blows; but my Comerade *James Fernandez*, who was chief of the Strangers and Merchants, was positive, and in Spite of the *Mosuls*, made us move towards the others, whom we found after travelling 2 Leagues, just at Night Fall, in a Place the *Arabs* call *Telul mana hyat*, that is, *The Hills of the Wells of Water*, from one we found there full of Rain Water, which is dirty and loathsome enough; but Want made it appear clean and pleasant. The *Mosuls*, who would have made us stay by the River, perceiving we were gone, follow'd, thro' Fear against their Will, and join'd us far in the Night.

Kahem
Manfel.

Telul ma-
na hyat.

Turky-
man Hou-
ses.

Who they
are.

Breeding
of Lambs.

Women.

Tuesday the 25th we advanc'd at Sun-rising, towards the North West, over several Sorts of Land, till 5 in the Afternoon, when we enter'd upon spacious Plains, and in the midst of them found about 40 Houses of *Turkymans*, with their Families and Cattel, Sheep, Camels, and Mules grazing about. The Houses are all round, the Roofs convex, the Frame within of Poles or Canes, and the Covering without of Felts. They are all moveable, and so contriv'd, as to be roll'd up together, and carry'd on Camels from Place to Place. Some of them were very cleanly and curious, hung within, particularly the *Xeque's*, which was large and handsome. These *Turkymans* are true *Turks*, of the first that came out of *Turkestan*, and being pleas'd with a Country Life, they stay'd in these Fields, before possess'd by the *Arabs*, with their Families and Cattel, in *Tayffas*, so they call those the *Arabs* name *Cabiley*, and we Tribes, and the *Tartars*, *Orda*, or as we say *Hords*, which is the same. They are brave either on Foot or a Horseback, well Limb'd, strong, patient of Labour, and resolute in any Undertaking, living on their Breed of Cattel; but if they meet with any Opportunity of robbing, will not let it slip. Whilst the Ewes graze, they keep their Lambs shut up in a House; and in the Evening, when the Dams come home, let loose their Young, which all presently find out and know one another, as well as if there was no Number of them; when they are together they tie the fore Feet of the Ewes, that they may not stray, and the Lambs may suck quietly. When we came thither, I saw above 600 Lambs let out of a House, and it was pleasant to see them and the Ewes meet. When full they shut them up again, and the Ewes go back to graze. I thought this a good, safe, and advantageous Method of Breeding. The Men live upon Milk, and such things as they make of it, and tho' they had so much Cattel, would not sell us a Sheep, unless it were some salted and hung Carcases of such as died naturally, or by some Misfortune, which we would not have, and the Owners of the Camels bought them. We being apprehensive of some Trouble from those wicked People, *Mustapha*, who went with *James de Melo*, pretended he was the *Amir's* *Chaus*, that is, his *Envoy*, or *special Messenger*, and that he who carry'd the Dates was his Servant, putting me into the Number, alledging that I had Skill in Physick, and was sent by the *Amir* to chuse some things they were to buy at *Aleppo*. This Fiction made them shew us some Civility and Respect, treating us with some of their Sheeps Milk, which was no small Dainty. Their Women do not conceal themselves, but are of a very sturdy Disposition; they generally look after the Cattel. They are clad almost after the
Manner

Manner of the *Galicians* in *Spain*, all of them wear Neat's Skin Boots, short Petticoats, close Doublets, and very long Cloths wrapp'd about their Heads, in the Shape of a Pyramid. The *Arabs* call this Place *Meeenah*, and it has no Water.

Wednesday the 26th we left this Place at Break of Day, and travelling about 3 Leagues North, came into a Plain as spacious as the Eye could reach over, almost all inclos'd with a Ridge of fat Land, like a great Trench. Quite across it ran a Channel, no less level and even, about 50 or 60 Paces over, and tho' then dry, shew'd it must look very pleasant when full of Water. In this Place was another *Hord* or *Tribe* of *Turkymans*, with great Flocks of Sheep, many Camels, and other Beasts; the People decent and cleanly, but not so easy and civil as the last. They ask'd for some Dates, and were told none could be given, because they were the *Amir's*; but if they would take them they might. They made no Answer; but it plainly appear'd, that a little Matter would have perswaded them to take the Dates and all the rest; nor were we well pleas'd to see their Greediness. Near the Channel were 3 Wells of Water, where their Cattel drank; and our Camel Drivers fill'd their Skins and other Vessels, and so we went on. The *Arabs* call this Place *Mey al Meeenah* or *Methenah*, that is, *The Water of Meeenah*. We proceeded over several Sorts of Lands, most of them extraordinary good and plain, meeting some more Shepherds and Camels, and seeing many Hares, till having gone about 10 Leagues, we settled in a very plain Field without Water, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Tabakt Seguer*, where we endur'd much Thirst, the Water we had brought being so foul and ill scented, that there was no drinking of it.

Tabakt
Seguer.

Thursday the 27th we mov'd at Break of Day, over extraordinary plain good Lands, towards the North West, and having gone about 3 Leagues, pass'd thro' a dreadful Channel then dry, by the *Arabs* call'd *Sehel*, and the usual *Manzel* of *Caravans*. There were some Wells of good Water, at which we partly quench'd our Thirst, and travell'd on till about 5 in the Afternoon, when we encamp'd in a very plain Field of hard Sand, in which there were some Wells of good Water. The *Arabian* Name of this Place is *Jubeba*, and our Days Journey was 7 Leagues. *Friday* the 28th we proceeded as soon as it was Day to the Northward, over very plain, clean, and good Lands, only here and there some Stones. We met a great Flock of Camels, belonging to *Turkymans*, grazing; and having march'd 7 Leagues, encamp'd about Sun Setting, in a Place without Water, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Ragem al Kayma*, that is, *The Heap of Stones of the Pavilion* or *Tent*, from one there was for a Land Mark, made in

Jubeba.

that Shape. In all this Way we saw no Mountain, Hill, Eminence, or uneven Ground, but only when we took up our Quarters at a great Distance from us, a Mountain the *Arabs* call *Gibel el Bexar*, that is, *The Mountain of Bexar*, the Name of a *Hord* or *Tribe* of theirs living on it; and perhaps it was in Memory of this, that the *Arabs* gave the Name of *Bejar* to the City in *Spain*, which is the Title of a Duke. We saw many Hares, and hunted some, with a Dog my Comerade brought, call'd *Merzoko*, which in *Arabick* signifies *Good Fortune* or *Good Luck*, but he never had any so good as to catch one. The Truth is, I think none I ever saw in any Part of the World, ran so fast as these.

Saturday the 29th we got up half an Hour after the Sun, and advanc'd North West, over very plain good Lands, with the Mountain *Bexar* on our Right; and having gone 7 Leagues, took up at Sun Setting, among 10 or 12 Houses of *Turkymans*, who fed their Cattel thereabouts. Here as we were unlading, began a bloody and dangerous Fray, between our Camel Drivers and some of the *Mosuls*; for falling from Words to Blows, there were some broken Heads, and we had enough to do to appease them, which cost us much Trouble, rather for our own Sakes than theirs. The Occasion of it was about going to *Sucana*, a Village where those who carry'd the *Amir's* Dates liv'd, and they would wait there, as was said before, till the *Caravan* came to *Tayba*, which is another Village in the Way; and it being inconvenient for us to part from them in those Desarts, we were oblig'd to follow whither they pleas'd, contrary to ours and the Inclinations of the *Mosuls*, whom they had before promis'd to bear us Company as far as *Tayba*: Now the *Mosuls* contending that we should perform our Journey without them, and our Men opposing, because they would not break Company, and expose themselves to Danger, they fell together by the Ears, so that some of them came off with bloody Noses, and at length our Men prevail'd, and we were oblig'd to keep Company with those that carry'd the Dates. This Place is call'd *Ketef el Hel*, and has no Water, for which Reason we had provided before; saw Abundance of Hares, and great Flocks of wild Asses.

Ketef el
Hel.

Sunday the 30th, at Sun Rising we set out towards the North West, over plain good Lands, having high Hills and Mountains in Sight, from half a Day's Journey backwards. In these Plains we saw many great Flocks of Cattel belonging to *Turkymans*, and many of their Houses, but all separate and remote from one another. These were of the Tribe call'd *Beghdely*, which alone, among all those that graze upon the Plains, does not acknowledge the

the *Amir*, because it makes 8000 Horse most Archers, with some Fire Arms, so that they are above any Vassalage. Still we found very many Hares and wild Asses, and about an Hour and a Half before Sun Setting began to go down Brakes and craggy course Land, yet good, and came an Hour in the Night to some Wells of very bad Water, where the *Turkymans* were giving Drink to their Camels and Cattle. This Day's Journey was about 9 Leagues, to this Place by the *Arabs* call'd *Naquid*, signifying, the Deputy to any Master. Here we lay all Night with little Safety, and many Apprehensions, having somewhat higher on our Left a Channel famous in those Parts, tho' then dry, call'd *Gadyr ather*. Gadyr ather. Monday the 31th of *January*, we were up two Hours before Day, the Night extremely Dark, and mov'd on North West, over a very plain and spacious Vale, between Hills and Mountains, making all possible Halt, as fearing to be set upon thereabouts by Robbers. Thus we went till 9 of the Clock with much Rain, and then reach'd a Village, call'd *Sukana*, seated on a Neck of Land, between two Mountains, where we took up in an ancient, but spacious and strong *Khan*, about 100 Paces short of the Town, which consists of 150 Houses, all of them, small, poor and mean, made of unburnt Bricks, Mud Walls, and small Stones, and inhabited by *Arabs* and *Turkymans*.

This Town deriv'd its Original from a Fort, still standing in the middle of it, but much decay'd, built in that Place for the Security of the *Caravans* going from *Damascus*, and *Tripoli*, to *Bagdat* and *Bazora*, or returning thence; as was *Taybah*, for those of *Aleppo*, which us'd to be convey'd thus far by such a Number of Soldiers as was thought requisite, who having brought them safe to this Garrison return'd home. This Method has been broken ever since those Lands fell under the Dominion of the *Turks*. I remember there still was a little Iron Gun on the flat Roof of the Fort, which I suppose serves to scare Robbers. Sucana Village. About 200 Paces to the Southward of it, is a Spring of sulphureous, hot, stinking Water, rising and flowing into a round Pool, which is the Work of Nature, whence it runs to the Southward, and waters some Orchards and plow'd Lands thereabouts. That Water gives Name to the Place, for in *Arabick*, *Sukan* signifies Hot, all the Inhabitants drink of it, and there both Men and Women Bathe themselves without any Shame, which done, they go pray in a *Mosque* there is hard by the Pool. A hot Spring. The Salt they use there is made of the over-plus of this Water, after it has supply'd the Orchards and Lands, and is join'd by another, not so bad, which meets it at a Distance from the Source, in a Valley full of Salt Peter. In short, it is an open Village, very poor and

and wretched, where every thing is scarce and dear, especially Wood, instead of which they burn Camels and other Beasts Dung dry'd. The Air is unwholesome, the Provisions scarce and unsavory; and yet as bad as the Town is, I saw some Women like Angels in it. Here we stay'd five Days, not without Trouble from the Inhabitants, for there is no Town without a Mayor, Bailiff, or High Constable, and every one of them fancies himself as great as a King, that being as usual there as among us. We kept strict Guard, being as much afraid of the Inhabitants, as of those abroad. Here *James de Melo*, forgetting where we were, that it was not in *India*, where Passion has some regard to Reason, fell into a Rage with a Camel Driver, threatening him with his Sword, which might have cost him dear, had not much Intreaty and Compliance prevail'd. He met with some other Crosses in this Journey, for want of considering and weighing the Difference of Times and Places; for those who either cannot, or will not do so, had better stay at home. We waited here for Advice of the Arrival of the Caravan at *Taybah*, having a Man there on Purpose to bring it us, that we might go join it; which being brought on the 5th of *February* in the Morning, we immediatly loaded and set out.

C H A P. X.

Our Departure from Sucana, and joining the Caravan at Taybah, whence we set out for Aleppo, and were attack'd by Robbers.

Taybah
Town

Saturday the 5th of *February* we left *Sucana*, at 9 in the Morning, and having travell'd about two Leagues Westward, along the Foot of a Mountain, struck up it to the Northward, for two Leagues more of uncooth and dangerous Way, which we were forc'd to travel a Foot, and then came into a very spacious Vale, abounding in Pasture, enclos'd with Hills, and at the Foot of one of them, which lyes to the Northward, on a rising above the rest of the Valley, stands a Town of above 250 Houses founded on the Ruins of an ancienter that belong'd to *French* Christians. There is still standing a Tower or Belfrey built with Lime and Stone, which serves for an *Alcaran*, and under it a filthy *Mosque*, supported by Pieces of stately Marble Columns, which

which did belong to the Church in that Place. Here is a Tolerable Fort of Earth, on the Ruins of an ancienter, which was of Stone, and the Remains shows it to have been a good Structure and considerable Place. The Town is close built, the Houses of Clay and Mortar, the Walls of them Square, but the Roofs of the same Materials and Pyramidal. They call it *Taybah*, that is, a healthy Place, from the *Arabick* Word *Tayb*, signifying Health, or good Disposition, because the Air and Temperature is serene. At a small Distance from it is a sulphureous Spring, like that of *Sucana*, but much more tolerable, and better kept, as are some Gardens and Orchards on one side of the Valley. The Inhabitants are *Arabs*, living on their Cattle and Tillage. This Town and *Sucana* are also subject to the *Amir*, who is Lord of *Ana*, who holds them as a *Sangiach*, under the *Turk*; and as the *Caravans* of *Damascus* and *Tripoli* pass through *Sucana*, so is *Taybah* the Road for those of *Aleppo*, and in both of them a Duty of about 50 or 60 Maravedies being under eight Pence is paid for every Camel, either loaded or unloaded, for there are Camels carry'd to be sold at *Aleppo*; but the Extortions of the *Subaxes*, which are the Tax Gatherers, make this Duty much greater.

We came to *Taybah*, where the *Caravan* was in the Field a little before Sun set, having travell'd six Leagues. I had scarce time to see the Town, in Company with a *Mahometan* who was my Friend; yet made a Shift to take a View of it, and return'd into the Field to the *Caravan*, which now with ours made up 600 Camels, besides some Horses and Asses. This Night we lay something more quiet, because of the Strength of the Company, which amounted to about 200 Men, of several Nations, yet all this could not prevent that which afterwards happened.

Sunday the 6th of February, we departed *Taybah* at Sun rising, and travell'd Northward, over very plain and good Lands, abounding in Pasture, with Mountains on both Sides, at a great Distance. This continu'd two thirds of the Day; and after that uneven Mountain Grounds till Sun set, when we pitch'd in a Place without Water, by the *Arabs* call'd *Hahe Oje*, that is, the crooked Way, our Journey having been 8 Leagues. In those Plains we pass'd over, the Inhabitants of *Taybah* use to hunt the *Gazelles*, Creatures like Roes, which they do after this Manner. They set up two Rows of small Rods about a Cubit high in the Midst of the Field, forming a long and wide Lane, and to every Rod they tye a Rag, that may Wave with the Wind. In the Midst of that Lane they make several great Pits, cover'd over with Straw and Grass; then running about the Mountains and Plain in small Gangs or

Hunting
of Gazelles.

or Companies, they put up the Game, and drive it towards the Rods. The Creatures being in fear of those that pursue, and terrify'd by the Motion of the Rags fasten'd to the Rods on both Sides, fall into the Pits, where they are taken dead or alive. *Monday* the 7th the *Caravan* broke up before Sun Rising, and having march'd 7 Leagues to the Northward, over various Sorts of Lands, both as to Goodness and Position, till Sunset, lay that Night at the Foot of certain Mountains, near some Wells of very bad stinking Water, by the *Arabs* therefore call'd *Abumemem*, that is, *The Faker of the ill Waters*. All the Fields from *Taybah* hither, were full of several small Tufts of Bushes, most of which were Rosemary.

Tuesday the 8th the *Caravan* mov'd after the Sun was up, to the Northward, over very plain good Lands, with a Ridge of high Mountains at a great Distance on the Left, on one of which still remain the Ruins of a great City once inhabited by Christians, which I saw far off, tho' not distinctly; but all the *Mahometans* and some *Armenian* Christians affirm'd it as a most certain Truth, assuring me there were Altars, stone Crosses, and Pieces of Buildings of a wonderful Structure, still standing. Having advanc'd 5 Leagues, we took up our Quarters, by reason of a heavy and continual Rain, which began in the Afternoon, and lasted all the rest of that Day, and the following Night, with much Cold till Morning, when we were all well soak'd, no Tents, or other Coverings being sufficient to defend us; and yet we were very thirsty, there being no Water in the Place. *Wednesday* the 9th the Day came on very cloudy, close, and foggy; for which reason the *Caravan* did not stir till 9, and having travell'd little above half a League, was suddenly set upon by

Caravan about 300 *Arabian* Robbers on Horseback, arm'd with Spears, and assulted by giving loud Shouts; for by reason of a thick Fog, we did not see them till they were in the Midst of the *Caravan*, out of which they presently cull'd 200 Camels, which they could easily do, because they usually travel in separate Gangs, to avoid Confusion. We presently alighted from our Cradles, and handling our Arms, some Firelocks, and others Bows and Swords, soon gather'd all the rest of the *Caravan* in one Place, and fac'd them, so that they durst not break in again, tho' they attempted it. It was dismal to see, when we were almost at our Journey's End, after so many Fatigues as I cannot express, some robb'd of their Camels, others of their Goods, and many of their poor wretched Cloaths; for tho' of so little Value, they stripp'd them naked, with wonderful Quickness and Inhumanity. It pleas'd God they touch'd none of our Gang, and being convinc'd that there was

no more Booty to be got without imminent Danger, they went away with what they had, leaving us melancholy and fearful, lest they should return stronger. By good Fortune, the greatest Part of what they stole, consisted of Camels and Dates, belonging to the *Amir*, who is Lord of that Country, of whom I have spoken before. A Servant of his, who had Charge of them, being much concern'd at this Misfortune, resolv'd to go to them; and having secur'd himself and his Horse, by a certain Oath and Ceremony us'd among the *Arabs* in such Cases, and religiously observ'd, he went to them, and understood that the Robbers were of two *Hords*, or *Tribes*, the one of *Ebenkaiz*, and the other of *Eben Robyah*. Those of the latter were commanded by a Brother in Law to that very Servant of the *Amir*, who seeing him, and considering what had happen'd, was very much concern'd; and being about to restore the Camels, for there was no returning the Dates, which had all been distributed in a Moment, those of the other *Tribe* would not consent to it. They fell to Blows about it, and those of *Eben Robyah* got the better, from whom they took some Spears, and most of the Camels, which being deliver'd to the *Amir's* Servant, he return'd with them to his Company. Upon his Return, the Galls that lay scatter'd about the Ground were pick'd up, the best that cou'd be; for as soon as those Robbers have taken a Camel, they rip up the Sack the Loading is in, and if it be Cloathing, or any other thing for their Turn, they carry him away loaded, if not, they leave the Load and carry away the Camel, which is what they value most. Thus we waited till the Afternoon, when as I have said, the *Mahometan* return'd, and we stay'd there that Night, to put Things in Order, Two *Arabian* Merchants, Father and Son, being both of them wounded with Spears. That Place is call'd *Garra* or *Serige*. We kept good Watch all the Night, and being upon it in our Quarters, near Midnight, heard some mighty hasty Groans, towards the farther Part of the *Caravan*, which alarm'd the whole Company: The Occasion was, that a Thief at Night, slyly getting into the *Caravan*, made up to some Camels, and having unty'd one to carry him off, was discover'd; and being forc'd to fly, would not go without some Booty, and laying hold on a *Mahometan* Merchants Turbant, who lay asleep close by, ran away with it. The Merchant waking, made that Noise, which avail'd him very little. Such Tricks the *Arabs* often play, and sometimes they prove costly.

Thursday the 10th, at Sun Rising, the *Caravan* advanc'd Northward, over good Land, tho' not plain. We march'd all that Day without ceasing, and having travell'd 8 Leagues, encamp'd

*Garra or
Serige
Manfel.*

Drahem
Hill.

a little before Sun Set, because it began to rain, not that it was much, but by reason it made the Camels slip and fall, which oblig'd us to lie there all Night. That Place is call'd *Drahem*, the Name of a Fort formerly erected on a Hill hard by, which still retains that Denomination. There was no Water, and the great Want of it oblig'd us to go for it two Leagues off, upon Asses by Night, with much Dread; however it was brought, and we quench'd our Thirst, which had fatigued us very much. In this Place came up to us an *Armenian*, whose Name was *Jacob*, whom we had known at *Bagdat*, whence he came 16 Days before on Horseback, going for *Aleppo*, stay'd with us there that Night, and bore us Company the next Day, telling some News that divert'd us, and made the Journey easier. Friday the 17th the *Caravan* march'd from *Drahem*, over excellent Land, for a good Space, till we came to the Point of a Mountain, by which we pass'd, call'd by the *Arabs*, *Corna Zebad*, that is, *The Point of Civet*, or the *Civet Cat*, which is generally a *Mansel* or *Resting Place* for *Caravans*. Being come to this Point, we soon discover'd other Mountains on our Left, along the Foot whereof we went rounding a very great Lake, call'd *Gebal*, above 30 Leagues in Compass, and form'd by the Water of a Spring, rising in a Town there is on the other Side of it, and the Spring is nam'd *Ahen dabab*, that is, *The Golden Source* or *Spring*, for the great Value of its Water, which joins with the Rain in that spacious Place, and by its Nitrous Quality and Disposition makes it Salt, and in Summer the Heat of the Sun turns it almost all into Salt, so hard that it may be pass'd over either on Foot or on Horseback. It belongs to the *Grand Signior*, who farms it for a great Sum of Money, whence it is carry'd to *Aleppo* and other Parts. Holding on our Way, we came into narrow dangerous Passes, between the Lake and the Mountains, and some so slippery with the Rain, and difficult, that several Camels fell, and cost much Trouble to be got up, and what still made worst for us, it rain'd and was very cold and foggy. By the Way we saw the Ruins of some Towns, and some Houses standing, but empty, and on the Top of a high Mountain, the Foundations and Part of a great and curious Structure which appear'd to have been a Church; for all these Parts were inhabited by Christians. We halted not all the Day, and at Sun Setting came to a desert Village, call'd *Ach*, seated at the Foot of a pleasant Hill, in a delightful Plain on the Bank of the same Lake. It contain'd about 100 small Houses, but well built of unburnt Brick, all of them vaulted in the Shape of Pyramids; some of them founded on wrought Stones, the Ruins of another Town of more Note that stood there. They had been abandon'd

Lake of
Salt.

Ruins of
Christian
Structures.

bandon'd by their Inhabitants, who are great Knaves and Robbers, and were gone for fear of others greater than themselves; to a Place 2 or 3 Leagues off. On the North Side of it is a never failing Spring of very good Water. Here we took up at Night, having travell'd 7 Leagues this Day.

Saturday the 12th after Sun rising we set out to the Northward, along the Bank of the Lake, over excellent Land, with great Mountains or Lakes from 2 to 4 Leagues Distance from us. Having gone about 3 Leagues, we pass'd through a Town of about 300 Houses, built like those before, but larger, founded on the Ruins of another of more Consequence, as appears by the Remains of it. The Name of it is *Melhuah*, that is, *Salt Town*; for *Mel* in Arabick signifies *Salt*, from the great Quantity of it there made and taken out of the Lake. About a Mile farther we pass'd through another Town of about 120 Houses like the last, call'd *Safyra*. Two Leagues beyond that we met with a small Stream of pure clear Water, flowing from 2 Springs, over which we pass'd, call'd *Ahen Macuba*, that is, *The Springs of the Rusty Grounds*, because there are some thereabouts. Not far from hence we came to a Town call'd *Tal Aron*, that is, *The Hill of Thorns*, because it is at the Foot of such an one, and contains about 500 Houses, like those beforemention'd, but larger and more high. We were here inform'd, that at *Gebrahin*, a large Town, thro' which we were to pass this Day, there were 300 *Seahmen* Musqueteers, who being at Variance with the *Bassa* of *Aleppo*, had withdrawn thither, bidding us to look to our selves. Hereupon, fearing some Mischief might befall us if we fell into their Hands, by unanimous Consent we very hastily cross'd over plow'd Lands, for about 2 Leagues, to strike out of that Road, and seek another, for fear they should see and pursue us; and being got into the Way again, follow'd it as far as one of the many Villages there are in those Fields, which they call *Tal Axarab*, where the *Caravan* took up, because the Camels were very much tir'd. This was about 4 in the Afternoon, and those of our Gang considering how much of the Day still remain'd, how little Safety there was against the Mutinciers, and that the City was but 3 Leagues off, we resolv'd not to stop till we came to it. Thus being join'd by some others, among whom were 8 armed Men and 26 Camels, we held on our Way towards *Aleppo* on Foot, travelling hard, and with our Arms in our Hands, especially after we were got in among the Gardens, which extend 2 Leagues without the City, and made such haste, that we enter'd the Place at Sun-setting, having travell'd above 9 Leagues this Day, being just a Year and a Day since I set Sail from the Bay of Goa, and just 2

Melhuah.

Safyra.

Tal Aron.

Tel Axarab.

Arrival at Alepp.

Months

Months since my Departure from *Bagdad*. We proceeded thro' the City to about the Middle of it, where we took up in a *Khan*, in which 2 *Venetian* Merchants liv'd; to one of which, whose Name was *John Baptist Bagozzi*, the Goods my Comrade brought were consign'd; who having put them up there, went away to lodge with one *John Dominick Ruffiny* his Friend, desiring *Bagozzi* to lodge me, till he could provide for me, which he and his Companion did; giving me a Bed by my self, very decent and convenient, and treating me so affectionate and curiously for 2 or 3 Days I stay'd there; that I was very much oblig'd; but this is a frequent Practice among those *Venetian* Gentlemen towards Strangers.

C H A P. XL

Of the City of Aleppo.

Aleppo or
Hhaleb.

A *Leppo*, so call'd by the Christian *Franks*, *Armenians*, and *Greeks*; and by the *Moors* and *Turks*, *Hhaleb*, is the same City formerly by the *Jews* nam'd *Arian Sobah*, Capital of the Province of *Cemagena* in *Syria*. It is a Town of very great Antiquity, seated between 4 Hills, and taking up some Part of them. It enjoys a temperate Climate and pure Waters; for besides those brought to it by Aqueducts from the *Euphrates*, which is 2 Days Journey distant, and are distributed throughout the City, into many publick and private Fountains, some of them of curious Workmanship; it is wash'd round by the River *Singa*, by the Natives call'd *Kikan*, and by the *Hebrews*, *Kikantor*, which improving the natural Goodness of the Soil, renders it extraordinary fruitful, and therefore for a considerable Space about, it is beset with Gardens and Orchards, forming a pleasant and delightful Prospect by their Number and various Situations. However it is sometimes subject to the Plague, whether occasion'd by the Air of the Country, or brought from other Nations trading thither, among which are *Venetians*, *French*, and *English*, of whom I shall speak hereafter.

Singa Ri-
ver.

Suburbs.

Within the Walls its Figure is round, and they are ancient, built after the *Moorish* Manner; but without them the Suburbs are longer and larger than the City within. The whole City is divided into 45 Wards, 20 whereof are within the Walls, and the other 25 much greater without, which at the Ends of them have

have some Sort of Works and Gates. It may contain in all 26000 Houses, handsomely built, generally of Stone, well wrought, but some in particular as spacious, curious, and costly as can be imagin'd. Nor are only those of the *Turks* and *Moors* such, but even some of those belonging to *Jews*, and *Greeks*, and *Armenian* Christians are so noble, that they may serve to entertain Princes. There are 300 *Mosques* in *Aleppo*, 7 whereof are magnificent Structures, the Roofs of most of them and those of almost all the *Altarans*, some whereof are wonderful stately, cover'd with Lead, and most of those Structures being vaulted, and shap'd like Domes, it makes them very beautiful to behold.

Houses.

Mosques.

There are in the City several *Khans*, of those I said before were like the Cloisters of Monasteries, where Merchants Strangers lie with their Goods, and there the Natives keep theirs, because they are strong and safe Buildings, all of Stone, with great Gates, and massive Iron Chains, and in the midst of them, and at the Gates of some *Mosques*, curious clean Marble Fountains, with Plenty of good Water, some whereof for the more Neatness have Brass Cocks, that may run no more than is necessary, and the rest is convey'd away by subterraneous Passages.

Khans.

There is a Royal Hospital, endow'd with a great Revenue, tho' the Officers do not furnish it so well as the Prince expects, a Rank too common in other Places, where Christian Charity should be more prevalent. There are several *Succos*, that is, *Market Places* or *Squares*, all shut up, built with Stone and vaulted, very strong and handsome, full of Shops of all Sorts.

Hospital.

In the midst of the City, the Streets whereof are all pav'd with Marble, is a high Hill, equally divided on all Sides from every Part of the City, as round as a Heap of Corn, on which stands a Fort, which the *Mahometan* and *Jewish* Tradition says was founded by *Joab*, *David's* General; but it may be suppos'd to have been afterwards improv'd. They also affirm the Patriarch *Abrabam* resided some time on that same Place, and his Charity they tell us, gave Name to it and the Town; because the Holy Man us'd to distribute some of the Milk of his Cows among the Nedy, who being us'd to it, came at the proper Hour for their Portion; and when they came, said *Hhaleb*, which in the Syrian Tongue signifies, *Have they milk'd?* From which Question the Name was given to the Place. I write what was there told me by many.

Fort built by Joab.

To return to the Castle, the Situation of it is naturally strong, and by what is still to be seen, it seems to have been help'd by Art; yet at present it is not so tenable as it might be; for tho' it overlooks the City, and has some Canon, and there is round the

the

- the Hill a broad and deep Ditch, full of Water, with a Bridge over it, the Walls are not very strong, and the Conspirance is mean; besides that it has no Water but a Well, and that rather salt than brackish. An *Agá*, with a Company of *Janizaries* generally resides in it, and the *Bassa* lives below in the City. Within the Castle they coin Gold and Silver; the Silver-Money call'd *Kays*, ten whereof make a Piece of 8, and *Madinet*, 5 of which go to a *Kay*. This Mint, and the Customs were then form'd by the *Jews*, and the Customs alone, by reason of the late War, yielded that Monarch 200000 *Chaquins* clear yearly, and every *Chaquine* is worth about 13 *Royals*.
- Inhabitants.** The Tower is inhabited by Native *Mahometans* and *Turks*, and the two *Arabian* and *Turkish* Tongues are those generally us'd, tho' by reason of the Trade some speak *Indian*, *French*, *English*, and *Spanish*. Besides those *Mahometans* and *Turks*, several *Christians* live there as Natives, *Armenians*, *Maronites*, *Chaldeans*, and *Greeks*. There are also *Jews*, and of these about 1000 good Houses, in a separate Ward; but within the Walls, where they have a great Synagogue, which they affirm was built 1500 Years since, and is still standing. Many of them are rich, most Merchants, the rest Brokers and Handycrafts, as Goldsmiths, Lapidaries, and the like. There are about 1500 Houses of Native *Christians*, almost all of them without the Walls, and there every Nation has its Church, but all near one another, small, poor, and of a mean Structure; and if a Stick or Stone of them drops out with Age, it must not be repair'd upon Pain of Death. They have their Secular Priests, who may marry, and Friars of the Order of St. *Gregory* and St. *Basil*, who profess Chastity. They have also an *Armenian* Bishop, and he has presided, in my time, very generally reputed of a holy and Exemplar Life, and such I took him for, some times I discours'd with him.
- The Bassa.** A *Bassa* has the Government of the City for no certain time, with a Garrison of 3000 *Janizaries*, besides other numerous Troops, especially *Scymens*, whose new Invention and Numbers have very much eclips'd the Reputation of the *Janizaries* in those Parts. This *Bassa* is Supreme in Civil and Military Affairs.
- The Cadi.** There is a *Cady* who is Judge in Civil and Criminal Matters, and both *Christians* and *Mahometans* assur'd me, that he who has serv'd the Place, besides being an excellent Philosopher, was extraordinary upright in the Administration of Justice.
- The Mufti.** The Spiritual Government is in one they call *Mufty*, answerable to a Bishop with us, and among them, a Place of great Honour and Authority. When I came thither, this Dignity was possess'd by a Brother to that *Mahometan* my Friend. I mention'd speaking

speaking of the Cure of his Camel's Foot, who went before another Way from *Alexis Orem*, without any Caravan, and being come to *Alippo* long before us, and inform'd of my Arrival, found me out immediately, visited me several times very lovingly whilst I stay'd there, sending me very choice Presents, always offering to serve me upon Occasions; and thus converting me how advantageous it is to do Good, without Respect of Persons; since for some little Service I had done him, when it was in my Power, I found so much Favour from him in a Place, where it might have stood me in Stead, had I needed it.

The People are generally fair and beautiful; and the Women keep their Faces cover'd in the Street with a Sort of Gause; so that they can see without being seen; yet the Beauty of the Children is an Argument of theirs. They generally are well dress'd, as are the Men, most of whom ride about on Horseback. There are many curios and cleanly Baths about the City. All Necessaries for Life are very plentiful except Fish, because it is remote from the Sea; and yet I have seen *Venetian* Gentlemen make extraordinary splendid Entertainments of it, brought from *Scanderon*. At the time I was there all things were dear, because it had endur'd a close Siege for a long time, laid by the *Bassa* then governing, who coming with the *Grand Signior's* Commission, was refus'd Admittance by his Predecessor, for a Politick Reason, which was not out of the Way. He alledg'd that the Person appointed to succeed him, had Lands of his own close by, and it was not therefore convenient for his Master to give him that Government so near them, so that if he had granted him that Post, it must be because he was not rightly inform'd, for which reason he would not resign, till his Sovereign had a true Account. However, he was at last oblig'd to quit upon a second Order, and went away to *Constantinople*, carrying with him, as I was inform'd by Persons of Credit, 500000 *Ducats*, or *Chequins*; which amount to more, all gotten in two Years he had been Governour there.

The *Franks* trading there being *Venetians*, *French*, and *English*, live in *Khans*, for the greater Security of their Persons and Goods; and each of these Nations has its Consul, who is Chief, to decide Controversies among them, and treat with the *Bassa* in all things that are for the Advantage of his Country; for which purpose he has a *Druggerman* or *Interpreter*, maintain'd at the publick Cost. In my time there were 14 Families of *Venetians*, besides the Consul's. Every Family besides Servants has two Heads, one to serve in the Absence of another; and if the first dies, or goes away, the second succeeds him, which I thought a good Method to keep up the Commerce without Interruption. The Trade of

Beautiful
Women.

Turkish
Policy.

Europe-
ans at A-
leppo.

Vene-
tians.

of this Nation there is worth between a Million, and a Million and a half of Gold Yearly, sent from *Venice* in 3 or 6000 Pieces of Woollen Cloth, about as many of Silk and Brocade, Abundance of Cochineal, and the rest in Plate. The Returns are Raw Silk, Indigo, Galls, Cotton Raw and Spun, Cinnamon, Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, Pistachoes, precious Stones, Seed Pearl, Gold Coin, and other Commodities. From all this Stock they deduct so much *per Cent*, for a Bank they call *Cotimo*, which is to pay an Apothecary, a Surgeon and Chaplains, these being *Franciscan* Friars, who are very well furnish'd, having a Chappel in a *Khan*, where the Merchants meet to hear Mass and Sermons. It also serves to defray the Presents made to the *Bassa*, and other Officers, the *Druggerman's* Salary, and the Expence of three Expresses sent together every Month, by the Way of *Constantinople*, that in Case one or two fail, the third may go through. In short, the Consul's Expences in three Years, for so long they commonly hold the Place, amount to between 60 and 80000 Ducats or *Chequines*, which are not disburs'd without the Consent of the Merchants, who Ballot after the *Venetian* Manner. The Consul is always a Gentleman, and the Guardian of the Friars a Man of Note, who has Power from the Pope to absolve in all Cases reserv'd, provided it be not falsifying of Bulls and Letters. This is the Form and Method observ'd by the *Venitian*s residing there, who live great and splendid, behaving themselves nobly; from several of whom I receiv'd many Favours during my Stay, and it is usual with them to do the same by all Strangers they have a good Account of.

French.

The *French* also have their Consul, and the Person appointed to it for Life by the King, stays in *France*, and sends one over in his stead, who pays him near 3000 Ducats a Year for it. This Man has also his Chappel in his House or *Khan*, and a Chaplain to say Mass, where some of them go to hear it. There were five Families of them residing there in my time, but the Number of those that go and come is much greater than that of the *Venetians*. The *French* Trade may amount to 800000 Ducats, of which they pay 4 *per Cent*, besides the *Turk's* Duties; that is, two for the Consul, and two more for the *French* Ambassador, residing at *Constantinople*, and most of these 800000 Ducats go over in Plate. In other Particulars they are far short of the good Government of the *Venetians*. [The Reader is to observe, that since the Author's Time, the *French* Trade is vastly improv'd, as is the *English*, and there are many Alterations in other Particulars, but it is worth knowing how things were then, and how they are at present shall appear by latter Accounts from those Parts, which

are to follow this.] The French Consul has a particular Privilege from the Turk, of protecting any Foreign Christian, that is not of those Nations allow'd to Trade there, and any such under his Shadow, enjoy the same Immunities as the French, which is made use of by some Flemmings and Luqueses, to trade there. There were three Families of English, with their Consul, who is a Merchant, and their Trade might amount to 300000 Ducats, little of it being in Money, but Cloths, Kerseys, Lead, Tin, Copper, Arms and the like. Five or six Venetian Ships were employ'd Yearly in that Commerce; two or three English; and above twenty French. There were also two Families of Dutch, trading to the Value of 150000 Ducats, which is always to taken for the Common amount, for sometimes it may be more, and sometimes less.

English

Dutch.

This City is 80 Leagues from the Mediterranean, and all that goes or comes by Sea, is Shipp'd off, and landed at the Port of *Alexandretta*, which the Turks and Moors call *Scanderone*. The greatness of the Trade of these Nations in that Place, may be understood by this Particular, that only the Hire of the Camels to fetch and carry Goods to and from the Port, tho' generally very reasonable, rises to at least 80000 Chequines a Year, which is near 90000 Ducats; a Sum I should have doubted of, had I not computed it very particularly with some of those Gentlemen, for my own Satisfaction.

Hire of
Camels at
Aleppo,

They weave Abundance of good Silks at *Aleppo*, and in the Country about it very much hard white Soap is made, great Quantities whereof are exported to several Parts. For common Use they have very neat Copper Vessels tinn'd, and the poorer Sort of Earthen Ware, whereof much Plenty is there made, but not fine. They have also Glaz enough made in the adjacent Towns, indifferent Good. There are very curious Coffee Houses, remarkable for Structure and Ornament, set out with many Lamps, because the greatest Resort is usually at Night, tho' they are also sufficiently frequented by Day. There are also publick Places to exercise the Bow and Musket, and riding, for every Saturday in the Afternoon, Abundance of Men go out into the Fields a Horseback, sometime 1000 strong, exercising themselves by Skirmishing with Reeds, instead of Spears.

Manufa-
ctures.Coffee
Houses.

Exercise.

Every Year after the *Ramadan*, which is the *Mahometan* Lent, a Caravan sets out from *Aleppo* for *Mecca*, which joins another at *Damascus*, and thence they travel together. When I was there, one went off on the 4th of *March*, and it was wonderful to see the great Concourse of People, and with what Pleasure and Applause the infinite Numbers of Men, Women

Caravan
of Mecca.

and Children, of all Ages, and Conditions, attend those that are going two Miles out of Town. The *Bay*, himself, the *Musty*, and all the great Men went out to bear them Company, and there was a curious mock Skirmish with Reeds, and much Musick, all out of Zeal for their false Religion, for they believe their Sins are forgiven for accompanying those Pilgrims going to *Mecca* or *Medina*. In this *Caravan* there were near 3000 Camels, and many Horses, besides a great Number of other Beasts of Burden. It contain'd about 800 Men, Women and Children, a vast Quantity of Commodities, and a greater of Money, which is thence sent to *India*.

Gates. The City of *Aleppo* has 10 Gates, which are all shut at Night, and at one of them, that is under a Tower, is a dark Hollow, or Recess, grated before, and with a Tomb, held in great Veneration by the *Mahometans*, with Lamps and Candles continually burning about it. The *Franks* call that *St. George's Gate*, and some think his Body lyes in that Place, because the *Mahometans* say, that is a holy Knight, but it is most likely to be some one of their own, held in that Repute. Four Days Journey from *Aleppo*, that is, two to the River *Euphrates*, and two from it up in *Mesopotamia*, is the most ancient City *Orfa*, formerly call'd *Ur*, where the *Chaldeans* would have burnt *Abraham*, and there is a Place in it to this Day bearing that Name, and held in great Veneration. They there shew a Spring, whose Water breeds good Fish, to eat whereof is reckon'd a Sacrilege; because they say it sprung miraculously, to quench the Fire they would have burnt the Holy Patriarch in. Within this Town is a Well, which they affirm is the same, of whose Water *Rebecca*, whom they call *Raska*, gave *Abraham's* Servant and his Camels to Drink, when he went to seek a Wife for *Isaac*. I will conclude with *Aleppo*, where I have made too long a Stay, and return to my Journey in the next Chapter, and conclude this, declaring that the Country is good, tho' scarce of Wood; but the People wicked, and not at all affable.

*Orfa the
City Ur.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

My Journey from Aleppo to Scanderone, with the Description of the Country and that Place.

I Had been near 2 Months at Aleppo, waiting for a Ship to carry me to Venice, for they are not to be met with at all times; when we were inform'd that one, which was then loading at Scanderone, had near taken in all it was to carry from that Port. Upon this Intelligence, we who design'd to take our Passage in her, made ready, and having provided all Necessaries, departed that City on *Holy Tuesday*, the 5th of April, 1605, having join'd Company with 2 *Venetian* Gentlemen, which were *Peter dal Pame* and *Dominick Categary*, from whom I receiv'd many Favours, both at Aleppo and during our Voyage. *James de Mele* went also with us, as did several other *Franks*, who were not of our particular Gang, all designing for Venice in the same Ship. We left the City at 4 in the Afternoon, attended by all the *Venetians*, and most of the *French* Nation, of whom we took leave in loving Manner, at a Village 2 Miles distant, that being the Boundary of such Courtesy, they shewing a Concern, proceeding from their Goodness, worthy my perpetual Remembrance, and laying on me an Obligation not to be requited. We travell'd thence to the Northward, and passing by many Villages, lay that Night in one call'd *Nibal*, well pleas'd but ill accommodated. This Place is 4 or 5 Leagues from the City.

Wednesday the 6th we were going before Break of Day, between uncouth, stony, and barren Mountains, along which we saw the Ruins and Remains of several ancient Towns and Castles, and of some Churches. Thus we held on till Noon, when we came down from the Mountain to a deep but spacious Plain, where we alighted to rest a while and eat a Bit, for we had not yet broke our fast; but the Place being without Shelter, made us soon break up and go on. We cross'd a River of good clear Water, call'd *Afric*, about 70 Paces over, running East and West, fordable in some Places, and so we almost all of us pass'd it on Horseback. A He Mule passing last, that carry'd my Bed and a Basket belonging to *James de Mele*, miss'd the Ford, all the Loading was wet, and the Beast had like to be drown'd. *James de Mele* had some Papers in the Basket, which he said were of Consequence, and seeing them in the Water, he ran up roaring and

and crying they were worth mighty Matters. The *Venetian* Gentlemen, as being well acquainted with the Country, had hir'd 2 *Segmens* at *Aleppo*, one of them an Officer and the other his Brother, to bear us Company to *Scanderone*, because there is little Safety in travelling that Country, especially for *Christian Franks*, without such a Guard. One of these seeing *James de Melo* so much concern'd, leap'd into the Water, and took more Pains for the Basket than he ought to have done, since it caus'd us as much Trouble as we enjoy'd Satisfaction before; for the *Segmen* having fetch'd the Basket out of the Water, said the Owner of it had declar'd it was worth 10 or 12000 Ducats, and therefore he would be paid for his Labour accordingly. There was a long Debate and much Uneasiness about it, which was at last compounded for Money; that being the ready Remedy in all Places for such Evils, when rightly apply'd. We were afterwards inform'd, that the Chief of the *Segmens* had said at *Aleppo*, that 20 Ducats we gave him for conducting us were too little; but he would find some Opportunity by the Way to advance his Wages, and so it prov'd; for the Controversy yielded him above as much more. I was not surpriz'd at that manner of Proceeding, remembering I had seen greater Wrongs, by some People in our Parts.

When this Controversy was adjust'd, we beld on our Way, and went to pass that Night in a very spacious Meadow, where a great Number of Horses were grazing; the *Turks* using to put theirs to Graze in the Spring, before they take the Field. We settled by 2 Streams of Water, the one Sulphurous, the other Fresh and perfectly Good; and yet there were not above 4 Paces Distance between them, keeping a good Guard all Night. Thursday the 7th we got up two Hours before Day, travelling over very good Land, to others Uneven and Mountainous; after which follow'd some Boggy, and the Water there is on it breeds much Fish, look'd upon as unwholesome; and in the Fields there are Abundance of wild Boars, which not being eaten by those People, are not hunted, and consequently multiply very much. Next we came into another very spacious Plain, which we cross'd, in Sight of a very long Chain of extessive high Mountains, and passing over 2 Stone Bridges, built upon necessary Passes, the one of good running Water, and the other of Mud and Mire, came at Noon to rest us under the Shade of the Wall of another great and stately one, call'd *The White Bridge*, giving Name to the River that runs under it, the Breadth whereof is about 50 Paces, but deeper than the other before, tho' not so pure and clear. Both of them breed good Fish. Having rested there till two in the Afternoon, we cross'd over the remaining Part of the Plain;

till

till about half an Hour after 4 we began to go up the Mountain. Before I go any farther, I must declare in a few Words, that I know not what was most observable in the Way we travell'd so far this Day, whether the Position, the Goodness of the Soil, the Prospect, the Variety of Flowers, their Fragrancy, the Diversity of Birds, and Sweetness of their Notes, the Springs, the Rivers, the Lakes, or the Beasts that were grazing. It was then Spring, the Climate temperate, the Air serene, the Land fruitful, whence any one may infer, how much Satisfaction the Eyes and other Senses must receive, and how much Occasion there was to praise God. We began as I was saying, to ascend the Mountain, which is no way inferior to the Plain; for it is full of Springs, and Streams to Admiration, and cover'd with Lawrels, Myrtles, Planes, Olive, Fig, Almond, *Pistacho*, Pine, and Beech-Trees, besides a thousand Sorts of Herbs and Flowers, the Sight and Scent whereof make the Fatigue of the Ascent the more easy, tho' of it self it be painful, by reason of its great Height and Steepness. The Tops were bury'd in deep Snow, and being so lofty girt round by the Clouds, over which their Heads reach'd, and among the Brakes, which are many and dangerous, there are some Vales of good grazing Land. Travelling up the Mountain, we had a full Prospect of all those Plains and what was in them, as if they had been lay'd down in a Landskip, and discover'd that the two Rivers, the Springs, and Streams we had pass'd by, ran all to form a Lake, which I judg'd might be 5 or 6 Leagues in Compass, lying near a Hill, on which the City of *Antioch* once stood, and the Ruins still are. We went up the Mountain, till half an Hour past 6 in the Afternoon, when meeting with a gentle Stream, fit for our Purpose, we stay'd there all Night.

Deliciousness of the Country.

Ruins of Antioch.

On Good Friday, being the 8th of April, we were stirring two Hours before Day, and having gone up Hill an Hour longer, the Way sometimes good and sometimes bad, began to descend again to the Northward, and towards Break of Day came to a Town, seated on the Sides of a large Brake, and call'd *Bilan*, whence the Name is communicated to all the Mountain, therefore call'd *Gibel Bilan*, that is, *The Mountain of Bilan*. This Situation is not so good as others about it, and yet with the Help of Water, which rising on the Top of the Mountain, falls and spreads all over, it produces all things as well as if the Soil were of the best. The Quantity of Water is so great, that tho' it be divided by Art into 7 Streams, each of them has as much as makes a handsome Current, besides that which is convey'd into a Receptacle, and runs thence through 3 great Pipes into a Pool, all of curious clean Stone Work, the Waste whereof makes a Stream, which

Bilan Town.

which at 5 or 6 Paces distance, falls down a Brake, into a common Privy built over it, with three distinct Rooms and Doors, the cleanliest, most curious, and best fitted after their Manner, of any I ever saw among the *Mahometans*. There is in the Town a large *Khan*, handsomely built with Lime and Stone, serving to lodge the *Caravans*, when they are benighted there. Here is also a Coffee-House, another belonging to the *Cadi*, and some others, as also a *Mosque*, with an *Alcoran*, all of them of Stone. Besides which there were near 400 little Houses, without any upper Rooms, all flat roof'd, containing only one Chamber, built with small Stone, Clay, and Earth. This Town was much ruin'd and half unpeopled, by the frequent passing of the *Seymen* Soldiers; for wheresoever Soldiers come, tho' never so regular and well disciplin'd, they do more Mischief than Locusts. We stay'd there no longer than till the Mules came up with the Baggage, which was about half an Hour, and then continued going down the Mountain, which the lower we went was the better Land, and look'd more pleasant. It was Morning, and the fresh Air spreading abroad the Fragrancy of the Flowers, and the Noise of the Waters falling down the Brakes, moving the Nightingales and other Birds to sing, we could scarce be sensible of the Fatigue of Travelling. Thus diverting our Toil with reflecting on such Variety of things as occur'd to the Sight, we got to the Bottom of the Mountains, and enter'd upon the Plain, being in Sight of the *Mediterranean*, and of the Ships along the Shore of *Scanderone*, in a Bay ending there, between *Gomagone*, which is Part of *Syria*, and the Lands and Mountains of *Carmania*, that was opposite to us Northward, about 10 Leagues distant. At our entering upon the Plain, there rush'd out of an Ambush on us 50 Horsemen with Spears, appearing to be *Turks* by their Habit and the Language they spoke to us in, who frighted us sufficiently, but were soon known to be *Venetian* Merchants residing there, Friends and Correspondents to those we went with, and having Notice of our coming, met and kept us Company to their Houses; so that our Surprise was turn'd into double Satisfaction. After a friendly Salutation, we cross'd over the Plain, which is for the most part Fenny, and therefore very unhealthy, to the Shore, where the Port of *Scanderone* is, so call'd by the *Turks*, and by the *Franks* *Alexandretta*, which is the same thing. Here formerly stood a Town, inclos'd with strong Walls of Lime and Stone, some Remains whereof are still extant, with the Ruins of Houses within them. A thousand Stories are told of this Town, which I pass by as uncertain and of little Moment. At length we came to the Shore, where are some Houses belonging to *Franks*, living

Scanderone Port.

living there for the Convenience of Trade, which formerly was convey'd to Aleppo, 80 Miles distant hence, from Tripoli in Syria, whence upon some Differences with the *Bassas*, the Christians retir'd to this Place, about 15 Years since, yet like it not very well, because of the Inconveniency of carrying their Goods so far by Land. Here are some few Timber Houses, either cover'd with Boards, or thatch'd, except 3, which are of Lime and Stone, flat roof'd, and on the Top of one of them are 2 or 3 Brass Guns, wherewith they sometimes defend themselves against any roving Buccaneers that pretend to molest them. Among those Houses there are 2 Churches, the one of the *Latin Franks*, serv'd by an *Italian Franciscan Friar*; the other of the *Greeks*, under a Religious *Greek Caloyer*. Three Vice-Consuls reside there, the *Venetian*, the *French*, and the *English*, subordinate to their Consuls at Aleppo. This is the Bay of *Layaza*, describ'd by *Ariosto* in his 19th *Canto*, and there are still the two Castles, one to the Northward, at the Foot of the Mountain the Sea beats against, now almost ruin'd; the other to the Southward, still entire; these forming the Points of the Half Moon the Port did, and now does represent; tho' the Sea having thrown up Sand on the Shore, that on the South is at some Distance from the Water. It is call'd the Gulf of *Layaza*, taking the Name from a Town and Port that bears the same Denomination, of very great Antiquity, which is opposite to it, on the Coast of *Caramania*. There is a great Resort of Ships to this Port, for besides the *Venetian*, *French*, and *English*, coming to it, there are abundance of *Caramanials*, being Vessels very like the *Portuguese Caravels*, coming from *Egypt*, *Alexandria*, *Tripoli*, *Cyprus*, *Candia*, *Constantinople*, and several other Ports, with Merchandise and Provisions. Here we kept *Easter*, which was on the 10th of *April*, with very much Satisfaction, and the Ship only waiting for us, as soon as it was over we embark'd, as shall be said in the following Chapter.

C H A P. XIII.

Our Departure from Scanderone, and Arrival at Cyprus.

ON *Tuesday* the 12th of *April* we embark'd in a *Venetian* Ship that had been there 10 Months, being detain'd by the War at Aleppo, and had it sail'd at its proper Time, I must

thither reside, consisting of about 300 small Houses, flat roof'd, built with Stone and Clay; but appears to have been a very considerable Place before the *Turks* had it, and has still a square Stone Tower Standing, which now serves for an *Alcoran*, having belong'd to a Monastery of *St. Francis*, of the Cloister whereof there is still one Side, with the Columns and Cells, now serving for Cazerns, to quarter Soldiers. Opposite to it are the Ruins of a Palace, where the Magistracy resided.

Spaniards
not safe in
Turkey.

As soon as we came to an Anchor the *Venetian* Gentlemen landed, and *James de Melo* with them; but I stay'd aboard for more Safety; because *Spaniards* can never be so free in the *Turkish* Territories, being oblig'd, if they are wise to be always upon their Guard, and very cautious, for Fear of being known and falsely accus'd, especially such as cannot temporize and comply like that Gentleman. In short, his own Companions oblig'd him as soon as they were a shore, to return to the Ship, fearing he might be taken Notice of, for his Behaviour and bring them into Trouble, especially considering the *Bassa* was upon the Place, so that he went a shore no more. Two Days after they sent me a Note; importing, that if I pleas'd to partake of what little was there to be had, I might Land, they then expecting me on the Strand. I did so, and went with them to *Arniqua*, where we took up in the House of one *John Baptist de Francisco*, their Friend, who entertain'd us during our Stay, with much Civility, Affection and Generosity. When they all met to speak with the *Bassa*, who was then on the Walls of the Fort he erected, I bore them Company, took particular Notice of the Work, and of the *Bassa's* Discourse, which by his Answers discover'd his ill Inclination.

Gold in
Cyprus.

The *Venetian* Gentlemen had a Chappel there, and for their Chaplain a *Franciscan* Frier, a Godly Religious Man, as appear'd by his Behaviour, who without any Desert of mine, merely out of his Goodness and Humanity, Express'd his Affection a thousand Ways to me whilst I staid, and at my Departure made me some Presents of Relicks and Refreshments out of a Garden he cultivated with his own Hands. Discourfing with him on several Matters, he told me, that upon the Information of the Natives, he had some times taken of the Earth of the Island, and extracted pure Gold, a considerable Profit, asserting that he was a Religious Man, and that he would the Natives discover on the Report of that Frier, telling me so.

From India to Italy to Lon.

On the Shore I saw several Heaps of a very fine Earth of Clay, of several Colours, Dark, Green and Red, dug up in several Parts of the Island, whence they told me the Indians carry it to the Low Countries for dying. The Land produces the Turpentine Trees yielding excellent Turpentine, there is also an extraordinary good *Laudanum*, coming from certain Plants, a wild Sage, and the way to gather it, is by rubbing a Branch over them, to which the Gum flowing from them adheres, as they say they wither and decay, if touch'd with any other Instrument. There is also a considerable Quantity of Calamint, Opium, Agarick and Saffron, and many more of the Continent of *Caramania*, which produces them good and plentiful. Tho' that Island is naturally fertile, *Spices* are scarce and dear, by reason of a great Quantity of them had been among Cattel, so that the Ground is not fit to be us'd to be. This Country is very barren and unprofitable, to such as are not us'd to it,

CHAP. III

Our Departure from Cyprus, see —
Zane

We that were a shore
 would not suffer me to return
 they went themselves. We
 in the Afternoon, and laid
 Watch, when leaving the Port
 rain Winds, rather continued
 Day
 and very high Mountains
 opposite to Cassal Refuge.
 The same Day holding
 Levant Wind, we de-
 parted, near five in the
 evening, for

to the Greek Festival.

Ships returning from *Syria*, as we did, had at other Times suffer'd from Christian Ships and Galleys, coming up as Friends. The Galleys made a Smoke, which was a Signal of Security, but being suspected of no good Design by their Manner of approaching, they oblig'd them to keep off. Which they perceiving pursu'd the Ship in a Line all the rest of the Day, right a Stern, firing at her in that time 24 Shot from their Long Head Guns, but without doing any Harm; being answer'd by 2 of 6 large Canon, we had a Stern. Night came on, the Wind stiffen'd, and held till Morning, during which Time we ran about 80 Miles, and the Sea was high, and yet, the Galleys chas'd us till Day, when the Sun rising, the Wind calming, and being near us they slacken'd Sail, which they had not done before, and made another Signal, and were answer'd. Then taking a better Method, they sent a Boat aboard with a Knight of *Malta*, and the Commodore's Pilot in her, who having ask'd Leave, were admitted. They desir'd the Purser would go speak with the Commodore of the Galleys, who could not, because he was Sick, but sent his Mate, as those Ships generally have. He there made his Excuse, alledging they did not know the Galleys, and had Orders not to trust any, because of the Frauds and Deceits practis'd by the *Turkish* and *Moorish* Pirats, as was true enough. This, and a small Present sent him, of Pistachoes and Wash Balls satisfy'd him, and he gave us Notice of some Corsairs there were in that Sea, and particularly of a great Ship commanded by one *Spinola*, a *Genoese*, and Knight of *Malta*, who had fitted out in *Sicily*, whence Ships frequently go out a roving, against the Consent of their Order. *James de Melo* stay'd in those Galleys, having been aboard the Ship till then, and went away disgusted.

Candia
Island.

Friday the 13th, we discover'd the Island *Scarpambus*, and the next Day the Easternmost Headland of *Candia*, which is 60 Miles from the City, and they reckon 400 from the Westernmost Point of *Cyprus* to this. We coasted along the South Side of this Island, at 20 Miles Distance, plainly discerning the famous Mount *Ida* and others of equal Height, all cover'd with Snow, with cross Winds, till the 23th of *May*, when we pass'd them. This Island is almost as big as *Cyprus*, has Harbours on both Sides, but more to the Northward, inhabited by *Greeks*, subject to the *Venetians* [They were so when the Author writ, but now to the *Turks*] who there keep a good Garrison, and daily fortify it more and more, fearing to lose it to the *Turks* as they did *Cyprus*. The Contrary Winds and Currents, put us so much from our Course, that we were almost drove upon *Barbary*; whence the Wind veering strongly to the West, we stood again to the Northward

ward for 3 Days, till on *Saturday* the 28th we made a small Island, about 5 Miles in Compass, call'd *Sirival*, plain and without any other Habitation but a Monastery of *Caloyers* or *Greek Religious Men*, with some Cattel. It has good Water; and there the *Christian* and *Turkish* Gallies generally furnish themselves. As the Day clear'd up we spy'd the Island of *Zant* we steer'd for, being about 50 Miles North from the aforesaid small Island. We made up to, and rounding it on the East Side, cast Anchor in the Northern Port, at 6 in the Afternoon.

Sirival Island.

Zant is 60 Miles in Compass, girt almost round with high Mountains, in the midst whereof is a most spacious Plain, all full of Vineyards, Olive Gardens, and Corn Fields, which last afford only 4 Months Provision, the rest being brought from abroad; for which Reason, the State of *Venice*, to whom the Island belongs, has always great Stores of Miller in it, to supply the People at any time of Want. It is almost incredible how much is exported from the Vineyards and Olive Gardens, considering the Narrowness of the Ground; for they every Year, one with another, make between 15 and 20000 *Arrobas*, that is, 200 or 250 Tun of Currants, 16 or 18000 Pipes of Wine, and above 500 of Oyl, and the Wine is extraordinary good; for which reason the Island is resorted to by *French*, *English*, and other Ships. The Air is not very healthy, but the Soil produces much excellent Fruit, green, wholesome and fragrant Flowers, and Abundance of Honey; yet it wants Wood, which is imported from abroad, nor has it Plenty of Fish. In the City and about it there is much Water, but the other Parts of the Island are scarce of it, and I was assur'd they moulded their Bread in some Places with Wine at times, for Want of Water; I did not see it, but was told so by Persons of Credit. It has 2 Harbours, the best of them on the North Side, where stands the chief Town, containing about 3000 Houses, built with Lime and Stone, and til'd, the Structure reasonable good, at the Foot of a high Mountain, on which is a Fort, where the Governour resides, a Place impregnable by Art and Nature, furnish'd with much good Cannon; a strong Garrison, and all other things requisite for its Defence. The Natives are *Greeks*, and among them in the City, there are about 30 or 40 Families of trading *Jews*, besides others dispers'd in the Towns and Villages, whereof the Island has some few, to one of which call'd *Gayeran*, I was carry'd one Day to see the Festival of a *Greek Saint*, resorted to by almost all the Inhabitants of the City, from which it is 3 Miles distant. As soon as we came into the Town, we found great Fires in the Streets, at which they were roasting between 3 or 400 whole sheep, whereof,

Zant Island.

Greek Festival.

whereof such as go to the Solemnity, buy to eat: Then the Men and Women of the City and other Places, join with those of this same Town, and dance to the Vocal Musick of one singing certain Verses, and all the Dances answering by way of Chorus. After which they have Tilting and other pleasant Diversions. The other Harbour on the South Side, 5 Miles distant from this, crossing over the Plain, is call'd *Chery*, having a Town on it of the same Name, and near by a Lake, whence continually flows a great Quantity of a black thin Bitumen, like the *Naphtha* of *Babylon*. They also make Salt in the Island for their own Use, and some is exported. Those who trade here, besides the Product of the Country, export Silk, Wax, Hides, *Zafran*, Galls, and other Commodities, imported in considerable Quantities from the *Morrea*, formerly call'd *Peloponnesus*, lying opposite to the Eastward, but 10 Miles distant; on one of whose Mountains appears a stately Castle, vulgarly call'd *Castel Tornese*. All that Country was conquer'd by the *Turks* [and is since recover'd by the *Venetians*.]

The Night after we put into this Island, a *Turkish* Galley came into the Harbour, flying as they said from 2 *Christian* Gallies that had chas'd her; and the next Morning 7 arriv'd, belonging to the State of *Venice*, which were afterwards join'd by 3 more. As soon as the *Turkish* Galley was in the Harbour, Enquiry was made whether she was free or forfeit, and after many Debates they discharg'd her, so that she should immediately depart the Harbour; because it appear'd that the King of *Argier* was going aboard her to *Constantinople*. Upon Summons from the *Grand Signior*, and yet most Men believ'd this was a Fraud. According to Articles between the *Turks* and *Venetians*, no Galley belonging to the former, may put into any Port, or sail in the Seas under the Dominion of the latter; and such as shall be found in them, may be lawfully made Prize, and if they make any Resistance, all the Men put to the Sword, provided it be done within 24 Hours after taken; for when that time is elaps'd, they may not kill any Prisoner nor detain him Captive; but they are bound to set them all at Liberty; and whosoever shall do the contrary, is subject to be severely punish'd.

Agreement between
Turks and
Venetians.

Care to
prevent In-
fection.

We stay'd aboard the next Night after our Arrival in the Port, and went all ashore the next Morning, where tho' we had Certificates of the healthy State of all the Ports we had been at, they made Difficulty enough to admit and give us *Pratique*; for the State of *Venice* is extraordinary nice in this particular; and as a special Favour, we were kept shut up in a Warehouse, whilst the Officers belonging to the *Pratique*, or to take Care that no Ships from Places infected be clear'd, consulted about us; and tho'

tho' the Governour, the Proveditor of the Navy, and other Persons of Note, all Friends to *Peter dal Ponte* our Comerade, earnestly solicited on our Behalf, we could not be dispatch'd till 3 in the Afternoon, when they declar'd us to be free, so strict are they in this Particular. I was amaz'd to see what Abundance of Presents and Refreshments were sent *Peter dal Ponte*, whilst we were shut up there; for tho' we were near 40 of us, and did nothing but eat and drink all the Day, there was enough left to give the Guards they had set over us, tho' we did not pay them, as is us'd among us. This Obstacle being remov'd, *Peter dal Ponte* taking me and *Dominick Cateary* along with him, went to wait upon the Proveditor of the Navy, and then to the Governour at the Fort who both entertain'd him very Honourably and with extraordinary Affection. The rest of our time we spent otherwise, whilst our Ship took in some more Loading, her Arrival being very displeasing to others that were in the Port, because it is a Rule in all those of the State, that no other Ship shall load till every *Venetian* is serv'd.

There is a remarkable Fishery in this Port, which as such I noted down. In *July* and *August* a vast Multitude of that Fish they call *Savalos*, and we *Olaves*, uses to come from within the *Archipelago*, to this and other Islands, of which they take a Female alive, and tie her so with small Cords made of Horses Hair, that she cannot slip away. Then fixing a Pole or Cane in the Bottom of the Bay very fast, they tie her to it, leaving Line enough. The Males presently flock about her, and those who laid the Bait, lose no time in killing of them; yet such is the Eagerness of those Fishes, that the others are not at all scar'd; so that several of these Bait being set up, they take an infinite Quantity, the Flesh whereof they salt, and of the Rows make *Botargo*, much valued in all those Parts. I saw many black Slaves in this Island, some of them brought out of *Barbary*, but most of them by the *English*, who took them from the *Portuguese Guinea*, and *Angola* Ships. Twelve Miles to the North West of this Port lies the Island of *Cephalonia*, subject also to the *Venetians*; and 20 Miles to the Northward are the small Islands call'd *Scorzonari*; near which was the great Battel [we call of *Lepanto*] between the *Turks*, and the Confederate *Christians* under the Command of *Don John of Austria*. To conclude, the Women of this Island are generally beautiful, and when they go into the Country, ride astride like Men; both Sexes being very like the *Portuguese* of the Province between the Rivers *Duero* and *Munbo*, in their Way of Living, Songs, and Dancing.

Fishery.

C H A P. XV.

Our Departure from Zant and Arrival at Venice.

WE stay'd here 8 Days for want of a Wind, which we would not lose when it offer'd, but set Sail on *Sunday* the 5th of *June* at Noon, but were forc'd back upon the Winds veering about; so that we could not make through the Channel we were in, which is between *Zant* and *Cephalonia*. It is very remarkable that from *Ormu*z to this Place, I was always forc'd back to every Port I sail'd from, and could never make my Voyage till the 2d time. The same Wind that drove us back into the Harbour, brought thither a *Venetian Ship* coming from *Naples*, which among other things inform'd us of the Birth of the Prince of *Spain*, and the Promotion of Pope *Paul V.* The same Day we were told that the Pyrate *Murat Arrays*, was in the Gulf of *Venice* with 7 Gallies.

Wednesday the 8th the Wind began to spring up a little favourable, when we sail'd again in Consort with 2 other Ships, the one a *Venetian* from *Cyprus*, the other a small *English Vessel* bound for *Venice*, and believing this last being the lightest, would be there first, I deliver'd a Packet of Letters for *Venice* to an Acquaintance of *Zant*, that went aboard her; but the Sea is very uncertain; for that Vessel being forc'd into *Corfu* for want of Water, after many other Hardships, reach'd *Venice* about 20 Days after us. We had not sail'd above 12 Miles with a fair Wind before it came about, and brought us back to the Harbour again; so that having no Hopes of making our Voyage that Way, we would not enter the Port, but rounded the Island to the Southward, and having run upon a Bowling 3 Days, struggling with cross Winds, on *Thursday* the 16th we discover'd the Island of *Corfu* at a great distance to the Northward. The next Morning we were 15 Miles from Cape *S. Mary*, and then came up with that of *Otranto*, both of them in the Province of *Apulia* in *Italy*, at the Mouth of the Gulf of *Venice*. When we were 12 Miles within it, the Wind came contrary again, which kept us tacking up and down for some Days across that Breadth, which is of about 60 Miles. At length it pleas'd God the Weather mended, and we held on our Course along the Coast of *Valona*, formerly *Macedonia*. We sail'd by *Cutaro*, a Fortrels in that Country, belonging to the *Venetians*, not far from which is *Castel Nuovo*, and then the Republick of *Ragusa*

Ragusa, which preserves it self by paying Tribute to the *Turk*, and to the *Venetian*, the latter wherof every Month appoint a Governour of the People. We pass'd by a great Number of Islands, and Rocks lying thereabouts, close to the Coast of *Sclavonia*, by the Ancients call'd *Dalmatia*. On the 30th of *June* we sent our Boat to one of those Islands for Water, being in want of it, which came the next Day with Plenty of fresh Provisions, Bread, Fruit, and Greens. A *Turkish Chiaus* and a *Sangiack* were then in the Island, who came from the *Grand Signior*, to resign up to the *Venetians* some Lands in *Dalmatia*, as a free Gift.

Continuing our Voyage still upon a Bowling, by reason the Wind was contrary, we had a Sight of the Lands of *Ancona*, and on *Saturday* the 9th of *July* at 4 in the Afternoon arriv'd in *Istria*. Being so near, *Peter dal Ponte* and the rest went ashore to take a Boat, to carry them over to *Venice*; because great Ships bound for *Malamoco*, which is the anchoring Place at *Venice*, take a Compass, and are not there so soon; but the Boats go a shorter Cut, and therefore it is usual when the Ships come to this Place, to take Boat for those hundred Miles there are across to *Venice*. So we did, and our Comerades bringing the Vessel, we embark'd on *Sunday* the 10th; but in the midst of our Pleasure, there rose such Storms of Wind and Rain that Night, as made us all despair of our Lives, and lasted till Break of Day, when the Weather grew calmer, and we enter'd *Venice* on *Monday* the 11th at 8 in the Morning, where being clear'd by the Officers of the *Pratique Office*, or that regard the Health, every one went his way, blessing God for our safe Arrival. After resting my self and viewing some Part of so much as is remarkable and wonderful in that City, of which one ingeniously said, *It was the impossible Part of Impossibility*, I departed thence, and traversing a considerable Part of *Italy*, enter'd *Piedmont*, whence I cross'd the *Alps* into *Savoy* and *France*, and lastly came into these Provinces, where I took up in this City of *Antwerp*, whence I impart to you this short Account of my Travels, which might have been much longer, had I not design'dly abridg'd it.

N

THE



THE CONTENTS.

- C**hap. I. *The Motive I had to undertake this Journey, and a short Account of a Voyage I made before, from India to Spain, by the way of the Philippine Islands:* p. 1
- C**hap. II. *My Departure from Goa, and arrival at Ormuz, whence setting out for Bazora, I was drove back again.* p. 9
- C**hap. III. *My second setting out from Ormuz, and reaching the Bottom of the Gulph of Persia, where entering the Rivers Tigris, and Euphrates, I came to the City Bazora.* p. 13
- C**hap. IV. *My Departure from Bazora through the Desert, and a Diary of my Journey, till I came to Mexat Aly, a City in the same Desert.* p. 18
- C**hap. V. *The Description of Mexat Occm, our crossing the Country of Mesopotamia, and Rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and coming to Bagdat on the banks of them.* p. 31
- C**hap. VI. *The Description of Bagdat.* p. 37
- C**hap. VII. *Our Departure from Bagdat, we cross Mesopotamia again, and come to Ana, on the River Euphrates.* p. 44
- C**hap. VIII. *The Description of Ana on the River Euphrates.* p. 50
- C**hap. IX. *Our Departure from Ana, and Journey through the Desert to Sukana.* p. 54
- C**hap. X. *Our Departure from Sukana, and joining the Caravan at Taybah, whence we set out for Aleppo, and were attacked by Robbers.* p. 62
- C**hap. XI. *Of the City of Aleppo.* p. 68
- C**hap. XII. *My Journey from Aleppo to Scanderone, with the Description of the Country, and that Place.* p. 75
- C**hap. XIII. *Our Departure from Scanderone, and Arrival at Cyprus.* p. 79
- C**hap. XIV. *Our Departure from Cyprus, and Voyage as far as Zant.* p. 85
- C**hap. XV. *Our Departure from Zant, and Arrival at Venice.* p. 88

THE INDEX.

A

A <i>Burmentem</i> , the Father of the ill	
Water Wells.	Pag. 64
<i>Abn regemo</i> Vale.	74
<i>Acapulco</i> Port in <i>New Spain</i> .	7
<i>Acle</i> desert Village.	66
<i>Aflayah</i> Field.	45
Agreement betwixt <i>Turks</i> and <i>Vene-</i>	
<i>rians</i> .	78
<i>Allen dabab</i> Spring.	66
<i>Allen maruba</i> , the Springs of the	
Rushy Grounds.	67
Air of <i>Bagdat</i> .	71
<i>Alcoran</i> or <i>Steeple</i> , a curious Stru-	
cture.	25
What they are.	35
<i>Alleppe</i> City besieg'd.	43
Describ'd, Derivation of its Name,	
its River and Suburbs.	68
Houses, Mosques, Khans, Hospi-	
tals, and Forts built by <i>Joab</i> .	69
Mint, Inhabitants, <i>Jews</i> and <i>Chri-</i>	
<i>stians</i> , the <i>Bassa</i> , the <i>Cadi</i> .	70
Beautiful Women, <i>Europeans</i> <i>Ve-</i>	
<i>netians</i> .	71
<i>English</i> , <i>Dutch</i> , Hire of Camels,	
Manufactures, Coffee Houses,	
and Exercise.	73
Gates.	74
<i>Aly</i> the <i>Mahometan</i> Prophet, his	
Burial.	28

His <i>Mosque</i> .	29
<i>Ana</i> Town describ'd, its Antiquity.	50
Fertility, <i>Jews</i> , Natives and Du-	
ties on Goods.	51
No Market there, Habit of the	
People.	52
<i>Ancona</i> .	81
<i>Andseny</i> Island of Birds.	11
<i>Angan</i> Island.	ibid
<i>Antioch</i> , the Ruins of it.	77
<i>Achenbat</i> Springs.	46
<i>Arabs</i> , <i>Nibhelus</i> and <i>Nantaques</i> .	11
<i>Arabian</i> Robbers.	22
<i>Aram Sobah</i> , the Jewish Name of	
<i>Alleppe</i> .	68
<i>Arniqua</i> Town in <i>Cyprus</i> .	73
Author's Arrival at <i>Alleppe</i> .	69

B

B <i>Abilon</i> and <i>Bagdat</i> two different	
Places.	42
Old <i>Babylon</i> .	ibid
<i>Bagdat</i> City describ'd. No Stone	
there. Bridge of Boats.	37
Suburb in <i>Mesopotamia</i> .	38
The Wall.	39
Houses, Inhabitants and Baths.	40
Its Air and Trade.	41
Founded by <i>Abujasar</i> .	42
The <i>Bassa</i> 's Revenue.	43
<i>Bassa</i> of <i>Bagdat</i> his Revenue.	ibid
	<i>Bassa</i>

The INDEX.

Bassa of Aleppo.	70	Cradles to travel in.	44
Bax Dulab Wells.	44	Cure of a Camel.	27
Bazora City.	15	Cyprus Island.	80
Old Bazora.	20	Its Product, Inhabitants, &c.	73
Beghdely Tribe of Turkymans.	60	Gold there.	74
Beautiful Women at Aleppo.	71	Earth for dying.	75
Bexar Mountain in Arabia, whence			
Bexar City in Spain.	60	D	
Bilan Town and Mountain.	77		
Birds feeding on Dung.	10	D Anecas Boats.	32
Bolugo Bassa, an Officer.	41	D Dates, great Plenty of them.	16
Borneo Island.	3	Delicious Country between Aleppo	
Boterus, a Mistake of his.	41	and Scanderone.	77.
Bridge of Boats at Bagdat.	37	Devotion of Mahometans ridiculous.	
Bridges.	76		40
		Diet of Arabs very poor.	32
C		Doreka City.	14
		Drahem Hill.	66
C Amels, their Food, and other		Dutch at Aleppo.	73.
Paticulars.	52	E	
Their Hire at Aleppo.	73		
Camphir.	3		
Candia Island.	76	E Arth for dying in Cyprus.	75
Canzir Cape.	80	E Efegel Caravanserai.	30
Caravan, the Way of travelling with		English at Aleppo.	73
it.	19	Euphrates River.	14 and 34
Of Mecca.	73	Europeans at Aleppo.	71
Affaulted by Robbers.	64	Exercise at Aleppo.	73
Caravanserai describ'd.	27	Ezekiel the Prophet's Tomb.	30
Care to prevent Infection at Zant.	78	F	
Cattel how bred by the Turkymans.			
	58		
Cefalonia Island.	79 and 80	F Ertility of the Country about	
Ceyfadin Shore.	22	Ana.	50
Chilao.	12	Festival of Greeks.	77
CHRIST worshipp'd by Mahome-		Field Mice.	21
tans.	17	Fields of Salt.	19
Christians at Aleppo.	70	Fishery at Zant.	79
Coffee Houses at Bagdat.	38	Forces at Bagdat.	39
At Aleppo.	73	Fort at Bazora.	15
Coloquintida	22	In a Desert.	23
Cookery of Arabs.	26	At Bagdat.	38
Corna Zabadi, the Point of the Civet		In an Island near Ana Town.	50
Cat, a Mountain.	66		At

The INDEX.

Towns on the <i>Euphrates</i> .	34	To Ormuz.	9
Trade of <i>Bagdat</i> .	41	Ur City, now <i>Orfa</i> .	74
Of <i>Galls</i> .	52	<i>Uccela</i> Water.	26
Tradition of <i>Jews</i> and <i>Mahometans</i> .	69		
	6	W	
Tribes of <i>Arabs</i> .	73	Waving at <i>Bagdat</i> .	41
Turbants.	73	Wonderful Fortune of a King	6
<i>Turkymans</i> , their Houses, who they		of <i>Japan</i> .	
are, and Manner of breeding	58	X	
the Cattel.	14 and 37		
<i>Tygris</i> River.	18	X AT el Arab River.	13
The Way on it from <i>Bazora</i> to			
<i>Bagdat</i> .		Z	
V			
VED <i>Garabab</i> Plain.	48	Zant Island.	77
<i>Venetians</i> at <i>Aleppo</i> , their	71.	Zawyché Island in the <i>Euphrates</i> .	48
Trade.	12		
<i>Veraostam</i> Town and Point.			
Voyage from <i>Manila</i> to New	5		
<i>Spain</i> .			

VOYAGE

TO MADAGASCAR,

THE Adjacent ISLANDS, and Coast of *A F R I C K.*

By FRANCIS CAUCHE, of Rouen.

H Appening to be at *Diep* in *January* 1638, and being then 22 Years of Age, I was prevail'd upon by that natural Curiosity which inclines most Men to Travel, to enter my self aboard a *Dutch* Fly Boat bound for the Red Sea, and by the Way to leave a Colony in *Prince Maurice's* Island (otherwise call'd *St. Apollonia*) which is near to that of *Madagascar*, or *St. Lawrence*. The Vessels Name was *St. Alexis*, the Captain's *Alonso Goubert* of *Diep*, and under him 83 Men, and 13 Boys. Besides all Necessaries, Provision and Ammunition, there was put aboard a Bark taken in *Picars*, to be put together upon Occasion, being of above 100 Tun Burden; with Utensils for Building and Tilling the Ground, where it was intended to leave Part of our Men.

A

The

203. h. 118.137 .

Commodities for
Madagascar, &c.

The Commodities we took with us were true and false Coral, Glass Beads, Chains, Bracelets, Pendants, Girdles of all Colours, adorn'd with Bits of Glaz'd Ware, Enamel, Chrystal, Wood, Jet, Gilt and Silver'd Copper, true Garnets, false Pearls of Venice, Agates, Cornelions, Knives, Looking-Glasses, Scissars, Trowsers, Shoes, Hats, Caps, Hawker and other small Belts, and all sorts of Toys, to trade with in the Ports where we stop'd. But the War being then declar'd betwixt France and Spain, our main Design was to fight and take whatsoever Spanish Ships we met at Sea; and not only them, but any of the Mahometans and Gentiles trading to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, under Portuguese Convoys, our Flyboat which was light, sailing 90 Leagues in 24 Hours, having her Sides well fortify'd with 3 Planks strongly fast together, and carrying 32 Guns.

The Au-
ther's De-
parture.

We set sail from Delf on the 15th of January 1638, and the next Morning came up with a Merchant carrying the Colours of the Empire, and the Officers told us they were Daves. Our Captain commanded them to come aboard to shew their Pass; but they alledging their Boat was stav'd, we put out ours, went aboard them, saw their Pass; and their Commander having presented us with 2 Westphalia Hams, and a Dutch Cheese, we drank together, and parted about Night fall, at the Mouth of Cape Finisterre, near Compostella in Galicia, by the Romans call'd Promontorium Celsitum and Veridum, where we were forsaken by a Merchant of Diep, which had been appointed our Commodore by Lot, and kept us Company so far, the Commander of her now telling us he came out to trade, and not to fight, and therefore their Design was to go Anchor at Cabo Verde, to cut'd from the green Fields about it and the Isles adjacent, by the Ancients Hesperides and Gorgades.

A Caravel
taken.

The 21st we found a Spanish Caravel, coming from Brazil, which we chapt from Morning till 3 in the Evening, when we entered and made her, without any Opposition, and being continued 24 Days together, we parted the 31st by foul Weather.

The 22nd in the Morning being in 14 Degrees of North Latitude, almost in Sight of the River of Senega, we lay by, to fish, the Captain having given every Man a Line and Hooks, and a Bottle of Spanish Wine to him that took the first Fish, as is practis'd by all our Ships fishing that Way. We took abundance of Pickers and other Fish, which was a great Refreshment.

This done we held on our Course, making toward the Land, where we had like to have perish'd on the Night of the 28th, by meeting a Spanish Caravel, that lay at Anchor on the Coast fishing.

fishing, the End of whose Boltspit rent the Bottom of our Main-sail, before we saw one another, but thought we had struck on a Rock. Our Vessel making great Way, with all her Sails abroad and a fresh Gale, it was impossible to give her any Check. Hearing the Cries of those that were aboard the Caravel, we put out our Boat for Information, and found only 7 Portuguese, whom we brought aboard our Ship, and then sold the Caravel at Cabo Verde, with all that was in her, to Don Diego Vaz a Portuguese, residing at the Port of Ruffique, where he had a Ware-house, and gave 2000 Livres for her. We also bartered all the Goods that were in the first Spanish Caravel, taken at our first setting out for other Commodities, and left all the Prisoners. A Caravel says *Oforius lib. 2.* is a Vessel that has no round Top, nor any Timber across the Top of the Mast, but the Yard is made fast a little below the Top. The Sails are triangular, and their lower Points are but little above the Deck. On the Sides of the Caravel there are small Timbers like Masts, opposite to one another, and tapering gently. The Portuguese make use of these Vessels in time of War for Expedition, because they answer the Helm very readily, easily moving those Timbers like Masts, by which means they have less Trouble in Hoisting, Stacking, or Tighting the Sails, and taking the Wind as they have occasion. Vasco de Gama was the first Portuguese that made use of those Vessels for India and Ethiopia.

A Caravel
describ'd.

Ruffique
Port.

We continued 15 Days at the Port of Ruffique, to refresh us, where there is a large Village of the same Name, the Inhabitants whereof are all Blacks with thick Lips, tying up their Woolly Hair like a Steel Cap, and cover no Part but their Privities with a Cotton Cloot. Their Commander wears a pair of Cotton Breeches hanging down to his Ankles, and as it were a white Surplice, of very fine Cotton pleated, with a Hat on his Head, and Sandals on his Feet; they call him *Arquere*. The Portuguese are settled there, and acceptable to the Natives. In those Parts there are Abundance of Porcupines.

Proceeding thence on our Voyage we were under the Line on the 10th of May, where we met 5 Dutch Ships, the least of which carry 34 Guns. They came from the East Indies, and their Vice Admiral made up to us, with Orders to strike our Colours, but upon our Refusal desisted and came aboard us, and the Weather being calm, the Captains spent the rest of the Day in treating one another, and firing their Guns when they drank Healths to the King and the States. At parting they gave us three Guns, and we return'd five.

On

Diego
Ruiz I-
land.

On the 25th of June we came up with the Island of *Diego Ruiz*, lying in 20 Degrees of South Latitude, about 40 Leagues from *Madagascar*. We landed, and set up the Arms of *France* on the Trunk of a Tree, our Ship keeping out at Sea, not being able to anchor, by reason of the Depth; so that as soon as the King's Arms were fix'd, those who had done it, return'd aboard in the Boat, as they went.

Masca-
renhas I-
land.

Thence we made for the Island *Mascarenhas*, so call'd from one of that Family in *Portugal*, who first discover'd it, about 30 Leagues distant from the last, and 2 Degrees from the Tropick of *Capricorn*, where we also set up the King's Arms. It is uninhabited as well as the former, tho' it has good Water, and abounds in Wild Fowl, Fish, and Fruit.

St. Ap-
polonia or
Prince
Maurice's
Island.

After 24 Hours Stay in that Island, we went and anchor'd at that of *St. Apolonia*, one Degree nearer the Line, designing to settle there; but coming into the Port which lies to the South East, we found the Place taken up by the *Dutch*, who were building a Fort, had made Huts, and call'd the Island long before, *Prince Maurice's*. They gave us leave to come in to shoot and fish; but the next Day we left that Port, and anchor'd at the opposite North West End of the Island. That Port was defended by 6 *Hollanders*, who lay in a neighbouring Hamlet. An *English* Vessel of 28 Guns lay there at Anchor, carrying a *St. Andrew's* Cross at the Topmast Head, and was of 500 Tun Burthen, coming from *Bantam*, laden with Spice. The Crew offer'd to assist us in expelling of the *Dutch*, which we would not consent to, because of the Alliance between them and us. This Island is 4 Leagues in Length, and one and a half over. I wonder the *Dutch*, in their Printed Voyages of 1595, should tell us this Island was call'd *Cerne*, and by the *Latins*, *Cyanea*, none but they having given it that Name. It lies in 21 Degrees of South Latitude. The *Dutch* anchoring there on the 18 of September, 1598, gave it the Name of *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*. Its Shape and Ports are describ'd at p. 3. of the Second Book of the aforesaid Voyages, Printed at *Amsterdam* by *Cornelius Nicholas*, An. 1609.

Bantam.

Bantam is a City in the Island of *Java*, seated on the Sea Shore, next the Island of *Sumatra*. The Houses there are made of Canes only the main Props of Timber, the Tops thatch'd, the Inside hung with painted Calicoe or Silk. Its Latitude between 7 and 8 Degrees North. This City and Island are describ'd in the 2d Voyage of the *Dutch* to the *East Indies*, An. 1600, on the 28th Day of January, and in the first Voyage, L. I. c. 21, 22, and 23.

We stay'd 16 Days in this Island, and spent them in Fishing and Hunting, loading our Vessel chiefly with Beefs, Goats,

and Swine, Lemons, Citrons, and Pomegranates. Leaving it, we came over to the great Island of *Madagascar*, or *St. Lawrence*, the last Name given it by *Lawrence de Almeyda*, Son to *Francis de Almeyda*, the first Viceroy of the *East Indies*, for *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, who call'd it so from his own Name, or rather because he came upon it on *St. Lawrence's Day*, in the Year 1506 with 8 Sail. *Belle Forest* describes this Island among those that lie off *Ethiopia* l. 6. of *Africk*, c. 22, and in the 30th he speaks of those of *Cabo Verde*. This Island is above 800 Leagues in Compass, its Length 260, the Breadth in several Places 100. It commences to the Northward under the 12th Degree and some odd Minutes South, and reaches beyond the 25th, that is, from Cape *St. Sebastian* to Cape *St. Mary*.

Magin, in his Description of *Ethiopia*, fancies this Isle of *Madagascar* to have been known to the Ancients, and to be the *Corne* of *Pliny*, and the *Menuthias* of *Ptolomey*, tho' they knew nothing beyond the *Sierra Ligna*, which is the *Deorum Curvus* of the *Romans*, and the *Θῶν ὄρεα* of the *Greeks*. *Belle Forest* l. 6. where he speaks of *Africk*, c. 29 adds, that the Inhabitants of *Madagascar* had Camels, and fed on their Flesh, as also Stags, Ounces and Giraffes, suppos'd to be Beasts begotten between a Camel and a Female Panther, whose fore Legs are much longer than the hinder. All which is false, besides that no Man ever saw any of those Giraffes. The aforesaid *Magin* and others write, that this Island is infested with Lions, Tigers, Leopards, and Elephants, and that the Natives us'd to eat one another; and yet there is nothing of Truth in this Account of theirs, for it abounds in Kine, Sheep, Hens, Partridges, Pheasants, Turtle Doves, Goats, and an infinite Number of other Creatures, both of Land and Water; so that they have never been reduc'd to the Necessity of the *Brazilians*, who made Use of human Flesh for want of other Sorts, most of them being forc'd to feed on Snakes and Rats; whereas in this Island there is Plenty of all things for the Use of Man, as we shall make it appear.

Three Days after our Arrival in that Part, which is the South of the Island, at Port *St. Lucy*, near the Tropick of *Capricorn*, and toward the End of *July*, the King of that Province, call'd *Madagache*, and by others *Madegasse*, as also *Andianramac*, came to us with a Retinue of above four hundred Men, Blacks and Whites, their Heads, Feet, and Legs naked. The most receiv'd Opinion is, that those Whites came from *China*, but I rather believe them to be of *European* Race, because none of them have flat Noses and Faces like the *Chineses*. That King's Complexion was a little swarthy, yet whiter than the courser *Portugueses*. He wore a

False Account of Madagascar.

A Madagascar King described.

Short Pair of Breeches, made of Cotton with Silk Stripes; which cover'd the Bottom of his Belly, his Blattocks, and half his Thighs. On his Shoulders he had a Square Cloak, or Mantle, of the same as his Breeches, which serv'd instead of a Shirt, or Tunick, without Sleeves, girt about his Waist, and hanging down a little below it, with a String or Chain of Coral, like a Scarf adwore. His Hair was long and cut round at the Bottom; whereas the Blacks attending him, had theirs ty'd up underneath with Cotton Fillers, after the Manner of a flat Street Cap. He was very tall, well shap'd, his Countenance bold and beartie, his Tongue and Teeth as black as Jet, and so were all his Followers. In his Hand he held a Sort of Partisan, the Blade whereof was a Foot and a half in Length. His Retinue had each of them 5 small Darts or Javelins five Foot long, the Staves of them about the Thickness of a Man's little Finger, and the Spear 4 Inches long, and jagged on the Sides. The Whites were habited like the King, with this Difference, that his Garments were red, and theirs of blue Cotton with Stripes of red Silk, which the Country produces; and they call the Silk *Lande*, and spun Cotton *Poids*. The Blacks, for there are some of an Olive Colour, between white and black, were not flat nos'd, like those on the Continent, their Lips proportionable as ours are, and they wrapp'd up in blue Cloaks, the chief of them wearing Breeches, the others without any. Some of them were arm'd as well as the Whites, with a Quiver of 5 small Darts, and in it 3 other larger Javelins, the Staves of them an Inch thick, and the Spear shap'd like a Bear's Tongue above, and adorn'd at the Bottom with a hollow half Globe of Iron. The others had each of them a Javelin, the Spear of it a Foot long, narrow, very sharp, the Point of it on a little Square, that so it might be the harder to draw out when stuck, and the Wound the more dangerous. That Point is like those of our Cross Bow Bolts for Arrows. Their left Arm, and a great Part of their Body is cover'd with a Wooden Buckler, which is round, and 2 Foot Diameter, cover'd with Bear Skin, and painted according to every Man's Fancy.

His Reti-
nue.

Weapons.

Our Captain having Notice of that Prince's Approach with his Retinue; went to meet him, with 20 of our Men arm'd, as far as the Village they call *Ramac*, which is about 3 Musquet Shot from the Port of St. Lucy. That Village gives Name to the Prince, for *Ardiatramac* signifies *Lord of Ramac*. Our Captain told the King in Portuguese, that he came from France to visit and offer him some of the Wealth brought from that Kingdom. That Prince answer'd in the same Language, for he had been long at *Mozambique* among the Portuguese, that he and his Men were very

very welcome, provided they made no Disturbance in his Dominions, that he would supply them with any thing he had, in testimony whereof he desired him to accept of what he presented him. Immediately he order'd 20 Beeswax to be deliver'd to us, each of them having a great Entorsece or Lump of Fat on the Neck, very good and delicious to eat, 4 smooth hair'd Goats, of several Colours, plump and fair, 4 Sheep with long flat Tails, weighing 16 Pounds, 12 Gabbit-like quers, and as much Rice as 8 Blacks could carry.

He then took his leave, inviting us to go visit him at *Fanzaire*, the Place of his Residence. Those who have survey'd Cities and Towns, have carry'd them so far as to give them Names, and describe their Situations, imposing on our Forefathers; whereas there are none but Villages enclos'd with Palisades. Cosmographers tell us of several Towns, as *Amabassa*, *Tambale*, *Amipara*, *Bugi*, *Torumbala*, *Abandala*, *Mamala*, and others, of which *Belleforest* and *Magin* tell strange Stories without any Truth. The Village of *Fanzaire* is one of the best, and well seated at the Foot of a Hill, 16 Leagues from the Port of *St. Lucy*, and stands on the Bank of a River, that loses it self to the Eastward in the Sands, which rise above the Land near the Sea, from which the Village is but 4 Leagues distant, with large Vales all about it, abounding in Roots and Rice, above 16 Leagues in Length. The Ways are shaded on both Sides, the biggest of the Trees as thick as a Man's Thigh, like Plum Trees in their Branches and Leaves, bating that they are slenderer and longer, but of the same Verdure. The Fruit they bear is round, and as big as a Penny Loaf; the Shell as thick as a Nut, all close, the Rind on the Shell of a light Green, and within is an excellent Juice, somewhat sharp, good to quench Thirst, and running of it self. In the Pulp, which is tawny and very watry like our Melons, there are Abundance of Seeds or Kernels. We play'd at Bowls with them, and made drinking Caps of the Shells. They call this Fruit *Ousonne*. The Mountains inclosing these Vales, are cover'd with Lemmon, Orange, Pomegranate, *Banana*, and other Fruit Trees. There are 400 Houses in this Village, whither we went to visit the King, who had his in the midst of the great Street, on the Bank of the River. I attended our Captain with 15 others, all arm'd with Firelocks and Pistols. The King had sent the Chief Man of the Village to meet us, follow'd by 30 Men loaded with Provisions. He receiv'd us in his little Apartment, the House he us'd to live in having been burnt some time before. The Walls of it were of Planks, the Roof cover'd with Leaves of *Indian Canes*, which they call *Rove*. There were 6 Doors to this House.

Fanzaire
Village &
Country
about it.

*The Author calls them *Ban-lifers* which Dr. Smith calls *Jamaica Plants*, they are

the Threshold of the greatest whereof, looking to the Eastward, *Andiamamac* sat on a Piece of Tapisry, his Lance near him, resting against the Wall. He had provided another Piece of Tapisry like his own, on the Right Side of the Door, for our Captain, and Mats of small Rushes curiously wrought, for us. On his left Hand, on another Piece of Tapisry sat one of his Sons in Law, whose Name was *Andianferon*, a short thick Man, living in the same Village, rich in Cattel, and was afterwards our Protector.

After some such Discourse, as is usual upon the like Occasions, the King in the *Portuguese* Language, which he learnt in 4 Years he had resided at *Mosambique* among the *Portugueses*, offer'd us his Apartment, which was but 6 Fathom in Length and 3 in Breadth, incumber'd with many Hampers made of Rushes. We did not accept of his Offer, being satisfy'd with the House of his Son in Law *Andianferon*, who gave it us with a cheerful Countenance and extraordinary Tokens of Affection. There we were well treated for 4 Days, drinking a Liquor they call *Sic*, made of Honey boil'd in Water, like our Mead or Metheglin, and lying in Hammacks, being Beds of Cotton like Nets, hung by the Beams that went across within the Planks, which we had brought from our Vessel, being us'd to lie in them at Sea. *Andianferon's* Palace was such another as his Father in Law *Andiamamac's*, cover'd with *Palmito* Leaves, the Trunks whereof are as big as our Walnut Trees, without any Branches, with only a Cluster of Leaves at the Top, 6 Foot long and 4 in Breadth. The Floor was laid with the Bark of the same Tree an Inch thick. Several Hampers one upon another instead of Trunks, contain'd all the Wealth of those Princes. The Covers of them were made fast to the Hampers, with Cords made of

Their Houses.

* Mahault Dr. Sloan in his Catalogue of Jamaica Plant, says is the Mangrove Tree, of whose Bark Ropes are made.

* *Mahault*, which is a Sort of true Lime Tree, growing all about the Island, but more plentifully among the *Antavarres*, a People beyond the *Matatanes*, at the North Point of this great Island of *Madagascar*. These Cords are so knotted that none but he that has the Charge of them, can undo them without cutting. The chief of their Hampers, in which they keep their fine Coral, Chrystal, precious Stones, and other things of Value, is call'd *Sandoc*. In the others they put up their less valuable Toys of Glass, Laton, Earthen Dishes, which they call *Louies*, Cups made of Coco Shells, other Shells, Plates, Table Cloths, Napkins, and Spoons made of Lote Tree Leaves. In a Corner of the Room to the Westward, is a Hearth made of Glutinous Earth, on which they place 3 Stones, to support their great Vessels of a black shining Clay, bak'd in the Sun, in which they boil their Wine, Roots, and Pulse. Those Vessels, which hold

hold as much as the *Filettes* of *Burgundy*, have neither Feet nor Handles; round, wide at the Bottom, and narrow mouth'd, and by them call'd *Velangues*; and their Wood making little or no Smoke, they have no Chimneys in their Houses.

The next Morning after their Arrival there, we went to compliment *Andiamamac*, before whom our Captain open'd a Box full of several sorts of Commodities, which he shew'd, desiring the King to take what he lik'd best. He took for himself a String of Coral carv'd Beads, weighing 5 Ounces, and some Glas Bracelets for the Ladies, and in return gave us 50 Bullocks. After him his Son in Law *Andianferon* made choice of 5 Agates, some false Pearl Necklaces, and little Chains of white Laton, for which he gave us 22 Kine. All which Beeves were drove to Port St. Lucy, by some Blacks the King gave us. Having taken leave of the King and him, some Days after, we gave a Volley with our Fire Arms, in the Market Place of the Village, which so frighted the common People, that most of them fell down for Fear.

At our Return to Port St. Lucy, we unladed the Timber of our Bark to put it together, hoping, as we had at first design'd, to make a Voyage into the Red Sea. The Bark being fitted in 8 Days, and launch'd, the Captain and Master of our Ship fell at Variance, the latter contending he ought to load with Ebony, whereof there was Plenty in the Island, and to return into France, and the Captain on the other Hand insisting to proceed and seek out for some good Prize.

During this Contest, Sicknss began to reign amongst us, most of those that got Fevers being carry'd off in 3 Days. Those who escap'd at first, went about the Island, bartering their Commodities for Pullets, Kids, Oranges, and Lemmons, to comfort the Sick. I was one of this Number, with the Captain and some others, who keeping along the Tops of the Mountains, to seek out for what was to be had, the Air being there more temperate, continued in Health during that time; but when we came down to the Port, and onely one Surgeon was left out of 4, those who had been well before, fell into the same Distemper as their Comerades. To put a Stop to this Mischiefe, and seek some Remedy, it was resolv'd to leave that Port, and find out some healthier Place. Our fresh Provisions were put into the Ship, and the Sick Men into the Bark, and leaving Port St. Lucy, where we had continued full 6 Months, we fell down to Port St. Clair, which is 8 Leagues below the other to the Southward. But tho' the Air was better there than in the other Place, those Fevers being contagious, not a Man of us escap'd them. I was one of the last that fell sick, which help'd to recover some of our Men, whom I serv'd as Sur-

* *Filettes* in all other Authors are call'd *Fuillettes*, and each *Fuilette* contains half the Muid. The Muid is the third Part of a Tun; so that the *Filette* or *Fuilette* is the 6th Part of a Tun, or about 84 Gallons.

Barter of Goods.

Mortality of the French.

geon and Governour. In short, only 50 of us remain'd alive, and so weak, that we were 6 Months recovering our Strength, being so hungry that we could never be satisfy'd.

*Worms
that eat
thro' the
Sides of
Ships.*

But as one Misfortune seldom comes alone, it happen'd that our Ship prov'd to be in a very bad Condition, and was thought unfit to perform the Voyage, the Sea being in those Parts all cover'd with Worms, which shine in the Night like little Candles; and those cursed Vermine taking to our Ships, they eat their Way so far into her every where under Water, that is, from the Keel to that Part which is even with the Surface of the Sea, when laden, that were it not for pounded Glass and Cows Hair, us'd in the Sheathing, our Vessel had sunk; however Rottemen's following that Havock, the Water standing in the Holes those Insects had made, which ran athwart one another in the Planks, our Ship was judg'd unfit to return into *Europe*.

*The Ship
lost.*

We had Blacks that would do a Day's Work for a String of Glass Beads of several Colours, to make Bracelets of, and the Woods were near us; so that we built a Warehouse, into which we convey'd all the Commodities that were aboard the Ship, as also the Guns, Tackling, and Ammunition. Then we left her lying on her Side on the Sand, there being no Tide in that Place, to drive her any farther. The Blacks made their Advantage of her, carrying away all the Iron there was about her, either in Plates, Pins, or Nails.

*Barbarous
People.*

The Warehouse being finish'd, and all we intended to save put into it, our Captain sent me with *Claude Ferrand*, the Head Pilot, *William Read*, the Master Gunner, and *Elias Vasaque*, to view the Vale of *Angoule*, a Province abounding in Cattel, 16 Leagues from Port *St. Clair*, to the Left of *Fanzaire*. That Vale is compass'd all round with Mountains cover'd with Woods, containing 7 populous Villages, which acknowledge no Prince or Governour. Our Design was to barter some of our Commodities for Cattel; but those People thought of nothing but murdering and robbing us, which being discover'd by us, we demanded a Convoy from the Master of the first Village we enter'd, who came with some of the Inhabitants, to the House where we were promising to quell that Disturbance, or to die with us. He went to them, and return'd to us, endeavouring to adjust Matters between us; but those Villains attacking us in his Presence, and having laid one of them flat with a Musket Shot, the Storm grew higher, and we were fain to turn back to avoid it. The worst of it was, that we must go up into the Woods, to get out of that Vale, and they beset the Ways, securing the upper Grounds, whence they threw Stones at us, bidding us leave our Goods, to make
Amends

Amends to the Widow and Children of the Man I had kill'd, or not one of us should escape them. Then *William Read* fir'd his Piece at them, and 5 of them falling by that Shot, the rest were so daunted, that we had Leisure to get into the Country of *Andianamac*, whither they pursued; and he understanding how the Matter stood, reprov'd and call'd them Robbers; sending them away with Threats of Punishment.

The next Day we return'd to our People, who were at Port *St. Clare*, where was also a Dutch Ship of 300 Tun Burthen, coming from the Bay of *Amongil*, where they had bought Blacks, to serve them in the Island of Prince *Maurice*. They came to visit us in our Habitation, to see how it was with us, and what we had done with the People of *Madagascar* since our coming. They took 25 of our Men, our Bark being able to carry but 20, those that went aboard their Vessel, enter'd themselves in their Service at *Maurice* Island, and proceeded thence to the *Molucco* Islands.

When they were gone we sheath'd our Bark, because of the shining Worms abovemention'd, and made 2 Cables of one great one that had belong'd to our Ship, each of them 120 Fathom long, for our Bark, which was ballasted with Ebony and 18 Casks of Water, each Cask being near a Pipe; and Wood to burn. The Lading was 600 Ox-Hides, a Quantity of Wax, and that Country Gums, and a good Part of the Commodities we had brought from *France*, with 2 Iron Guns, carrying a Ball of 4 Pounds, and two Bras ones of the same Bore, which were stow'd down at the Bottom of the Hold, till they pass'd the Cape of Good Hope, because of the frequent Storms in that Part. *James Soulas*, who had been Master of the great Vessel call'd *St. Alexis*, went aboard the said Bark with 19 Men.

He departed Port *St. Clare*, by the Natives call'd *Yrapere*, about the End of *March* 1640, after having continued in that Port a whole Year. During that time, a Vessel of *Diep* coming from the *Red Sea*, under the Command of one *Digart*, there happen'd some Difference between them and us. That Vessel being of 200 Tun Burthen, was returning for *France*, with most of its Crew spent by Hunger and Sicknes, their Provisions being spoil'd, their Water stinking, and having lost their Boat in a Storm, with 20 Men in her. We supply'd them with Provisions and Refreshments, and after much vain Contesting, it was resolv'd, they should take aboard a considerable Part of the Goods that were in our Warehouse, to carry them back into *France* to the Members of our Company, residing at *Paris* and *Roan*, the chief whereof were *Berrulier*, and *Des Martins*, upon condition that those of

The Bark
departs for
France.

the Vessel call'd the *Margaret*, commanded by the said *Digart*, should share what they had equally with our said Company, at their Arrival in *France*. This done they set Sail, taking along with them our Captain *Alonso Goubert*, who took his Leave of us with Tears in his Eyes, and died six Months a'ter, at the Isle of *Rez*, before he reach'd home.

Another
Ship carries
off
some of the
Men.

He left the rest of the Goods that were in the Warehouse, in charge with me and *Sebastian Drouard*, on condition that we should be accountable to the Company, and deliver them to such Persons as they should send within two Years; and in case no Ship came from *France* within that time, to carry them off, then they should be my own, to dispose of as I thought fit. The Vessel that was departing for *France* being full enough, and there being some Men, who had no Kindness for our said Captain *Goubert*, there remain'd in the Island, by their own Consent, *James du Val*, *Abraham le Gaigneur*, and *Isaac Meldron*, all three of *Diep*, the last of which was some time after murder'd, by Order of *Andianraso*, Bastard to *Andianramac*.

Kindness
of a Prince.

As soon as Prince *Andianmachicore*, Son in Law to *Andianramac*, understood that our Vessels were gone, he came to us, with his Wife, and 200 Men and Women, to desire we would go live at his Village, as *Sebastian Drouard* and I had promis'd him, when we were at his House, to get Fowl and Refreshments for our Sick Men, then lying at Port *St. Lucy*. Those People stay'd 8 Days with us, during which time *Andianmachicore* caus'd a Village to be built close to our Warehouse, into which he put Families of Blacks to guard it, and give us Notice of what happen'd there, and what Ships came into the Port, when we were farther in the Island, to the Southward, towards the Point of it, which was *Andianmachicore*'s Place of Residence, he as well as *Andiaseron*, and others depending on *Andianramac* their Sovereign.

Amparouge
Village.

The Village when finish'd, was call'd *Amparouge*, where 12 Families of Blacks were left, with Cattel and a Quantity of Rice we gave them for their Subsistence. *Andianmachicore* being well pleas'd with the Booty of our great Ship, most of the Iron whereof fell to his Share, caus'd all our Luggage and Utensils to be carry'd by the Blacks that attended, to his Village, call'd *Mannhale*, 12 long Leagues distant from Port *St. Clare*, or *Ta-pere*, seated on the South Point of the Island, 2 Leagues from the Sea, where is a Port which we call of *Galeons*, because a Spanish Galeon once lay there a long time, waiting till a Storm that drove her thither was blown over.

At *Mamhale* that great Man gave us his Mother's House, whom he remov'd to his own, till we could Build one to our Mind. We were five of us, who put equal Shares of Commodities into a common Stock, to Live and Trade together. *Isaac Meldron* went to Traffick towards *Fanzaire*, and I towards the *Tapates* and *Machicores*. We brought home Provisions, Beeves, Sheep, Kids and Capons living lovingly together for six Weeks. But understanding that *Meldron* had hid 40 Pounds of Wax in a Black's House, to make his private Advantage, we parted the Goods we had before made a common Stock of. The aforesaid *Meldron* and *James du Val* withdrew to *Fanzaire*, the chief Village belonging to *Andianramac*, who was Sovereign in those Parts. *Sebastian Drouart*, *Abraham le Gaigneur* and I stay'd at *Mamhale*. Discord among the French.

I being resolv'd to Travel by Land along the Coast on the East Side, from one End of the Island to the other which is to the Northward, *Drouart* and *Gaigneur* Conducted me 4 Leagues beyond Port St. Lucy, where they bid me farewell, leaving with me 20 Blacks, a Master of a Village, and a Servant of *Andianmachicore*, who had given me all those Men to secure my Person, and the Goods carry'd by his Servant, whose Name was *Diambo*. Being at a Village belonging to one *Diamboule*, a Subject to *Andianramac*, I was told I had four Days Journey to Travel without meeting any Village, which oblig'd me to provide Meat before hand for my Self and Followers. The Austor set out to Travel the Island.

At the End of those four Days, we came to another Village Govern'd by a Black with long Hair, whose Name was *Dianzore*. There was great rejoycing in that Place for the Execution of two Cow Stealers, whose Hands we saw fix'd to the Points of the Stakes that enclos'd the Park, whence they stole the Beeves, Every Body had made Wine of Sugar, and having drank plentifully, *Dianzore* having lodg'd us in a House of his own, told us he had drank too much already, and would talk to us the next Day, and caus'd all his Men to be disarm'd, lest being Drunk they should quarrel with us. The next Morning he order'd us Wine made of Roots, Capons and Rice, and came himself to eat and drink with us. Rejoycing at an Execution.

Taking leave of him, we mov'd towards the Province of the *Matasanes*, still along the Sea Side, and reach'd it in three Days, Matata- passing through three great Villages, about five Leagues distant from one another, and being at the second Village, we were amazed to see those that came to us, having Notice of our coming brought us abundance of Provisions from *Andiampalola*, their Lord, which Matata- nes Province.

which we receiv'd for fear it should be look'd upon as a Contempt to refuse them, tho' we had no need.

Vinangue
River.

My Company, and those that had been sent to me, came two Days after to a great River, call'd *Vinangue*, which is the Boundary to the said Province of the *Matatanes*, and from the Place where we were could be seen 17 large Villages seated on the Banks, shaded by abundance of *Banana* Trees, and surrounded with Plenty of Sugar Canes.

Meeting
of K. An-
diampalo-
la. Immediately upon our Arrival, the greatest Prince of the *Matatanes*, before said to be call'd *Andiampalola*, came to us in a Canoe, which are call'd *Lacque* by a Name common to all Boats, but those that have eight Oars, as this had, bear the peculiar Name of *Lanejare*. It was row'd by Blacks standing, *Andiampalola* holding an Oar at the Stern with which he steer'd. On the Prow stood 17 Javelins, and as many Bucklers, belonging to those in the Boat. They all Landed as soon as they saw us, handling their Arms, and tying the Canoe to the Trunk of a Tree there was on the Shore. The King drew near me, saying, *Salame*, that is Good morrow, taking me by the Hand, and asking how I did, in these Words, *Anan Sarraco*. Then sitting down on a Mat his Men had brought, he made me sit by him upon it, asking who had Conducted me to him? I answer'd him, by the Interposition of the Master of the Village, who came with me, that the Ship I came in from *France* to the Island of *Madagafcar*, being gone back and not able to carry any more Lading than it had, I stay'd behind with four of my Companions, whom I had left among the *Madagasses*, to come kiss his Hands, and present him with some Commodities I had. He then took me by the Hand, made me rise, and put me into his Canoe with my Master of the Village, and my Company was immediately sent for in another Canoe which follow'd us. Every Man took his Place, the King ordering me to sit by him in the Poop, and the Master of the Village at the Head, whence discovering some Water Fowl, and having given me Notice of it, I went over to him, causing the Men to give over rowing, as soon as I was within Shot, I gave Fire at the first Aim, and kill'd two Ducks, a Teale and a Wigeon, my Blacks who follow'd us, leap'd immediately into the Water, and taking up those Fowl presented them to *Andiampalola*, who view'd their Wounds, admiring the Effect of my Gun, and telling his Men, it was easier for me to kill Men than Birds, and therefore it was convenient to be in Friendship with me. Then changing the Discourse, and having heard me Play on the Flageolet at the River Side, when he came over to us, he desir'd me to Play again, which I did with great Applause from all those that were

in our Canoe. It is here to be observ'd by the by, that tho' this River is above 300 Paces over, and at least 7 or 8 Foot deep, yet it has no Passage into the Sea, tho' near it, but like others we have already spoke of, is lost in the Sands the Sea has long since thrown up on the Shoars of this Island. *River lost in the Sands*

Being landed at *Andiampalola's* Village, he Conducted us to his House, and thence to another belonging to one of his Wives, whom he took home to his own, and sent us thither Pullets and Kids. This House was at the Entrance into a large Clofe, encompass'd round with Trunks of Trees, pointed at the Ends, in which there were three Rows of Houses, with each its Store-House, with the Provisions belonging to those they were inhabited by, that is, as many Women as Houses, with every Woman her Man and Maid Servant. *Andiampalola* had Marry'd them all, according to the Custom of the Country, and went sometimes to lye with one, and sometimes with another, as he pleas'd, the Blacks having as many Wives as they are able to maintain. *Polygamy.*

When these Men design to Marry, they go ask Parents for their Daughters, or else the Kindred, if the Fathers are Dead. When the Parties are agreed, he that is to be marry'd gives the Maidens Father or Kindred, Bullocks, Cows, Sheep, Collars, Chains, and other Baubles. If the Wife is cast off, she returns to her Father's House without any thing; but if she quits her Husband, the Father or Relations are oblig'd to return him all he gave upon the Marriage. *Marriages.*

Being often with the Wives of *Andiampalola*, I enquir'd of them whether they were satisfy'd with their Husband, and were not Jealous one of another. They told me they were not, that it being the Custom of the Country to obey their Lord, they were oblig'd so to do without any Contradiction. *Wives not Jealous.*

One of them hapning to lye in whilst I was there, another of them serv'd for a Midwife, and only she went into the House, shut all the Doors, spread some Mats about the Fire Place, near which was the Womans Bed, consisting of only two Mats, between which and some Cotton Cloths she lay. When she was Deliver'd they rubb'd her Face with the Juice of a yellow Root the Natives call *Auly*, which made it of that Colour. After one Moon she came out of her House, with a Cap of Rushes, by them call'd *Safron* on her Head, adorn'd with Beads and fine Coral, and her Head anointed with a sort of Oyl, call'd *Menach*. This is a Shrub two Inches thick, bearing a Leaf like that of the Vine, with five Points, of a pleasant Green, the Stem of a Purple Colour, shooting out a prickly downy Shel, like that of a Chestnut, in which *Lying in and Up-rising.*

The Author calls it
Latanier
which in
Dr. Sloan's
Catalogue
of Jamaica
Plants is
reckon'd one
of the sorts
of Palm
Trees.

Matatanes
Province.

Antavar-
res Pro-
vince.

Honey
Wax and
Gums.

which there are six Grains, Seeds, or Kernels like our Kidney Beans, of an Ash Colour, which being dry'd in the Sun and press'd, yield an Oyl of the same Name. Her dishevell'd Hair reach'd down to her Ancles. In her right Hand she had a Knife, call'd *Ancheffyllabe*, and in the other a small Broom, or Brush of Palm Tree Leaves cut like Thongs, which Broom is call'd *Miffaf*. That Knife and Broom she parted not with till three Moons were expir'd from the Day of her Lying in.

During our eight Days Stay there I was willing to view the Country, and went four Leagues up the River to the Neighbouring Mountains, which are cover'd with Ebony and other Trees, and have four Villages on them. This Province is twelve Leagues in Breadth, and above forty in Length, very Populous, abounding in Cattle and Meadow Ground, but more in Sugar, whereof they make their Liquor.

Leaving this Province, we enter'd upon that of the *Antavarres*, after four Days Travel, having cross'd six Rivers on Floats made of Trees, not daring to Swim for fear of the Alligators, which are there very numerous. This Country is Marshy, consisting of Plains near the Sea, and the Mountains at fifteen or sixteen Leagues distance, being thirty Leagues long, and twenty in Breadth, and has twelve Villages, the Way that I went, besides those on the Mountains, which are cover'd with Ebony Trees, by them call'd *Azeminthe*, signifying black Wood. I view'd this Province, having made but a short Stay at the principal Village. I never saw so many Bee Hives, made of the Trunks of Trees, for no Inhabitant is without a Number of them. I taught them to make Wax, promising, when I return'd to take a Quantity of it in Exchange for my Commodities. Before that time they us'd to eat it with the Honey. I made them melt, and cast it in hollow Canes as thick as a Man's Arm. Some Persons having presented me with two Pounds of a tawny Gum, by them call'd *Quizi-mieme*, that is, black Gum, I afterwards when I return'd to our Vessel caus'd a Surgeon to make Tryal of it, and he found it of the Nature of Scammony, but a gentler Purge. They have another sort of Gum, they call *Fouche*, that is white, like that which comes from *Arabia*, and another yellow. They make use of these two sorts to light them at Night, putting them into little Earthen Pots like Lamps; those bits being still soft take Fire at the first touch, and it is a pleasant and very sweet one. I have seen the Trees they draw the yellow Gum from by Incision, which they call *Mongue Mongue*, that is, yellow. They resemble the Fir Tree in the Trunk, having six or seven main Branches at the Top, full of little Boughs, shooting out Leaves like the Laurel, bating

baiting that they are narrower, without any Scent, and their Green darker.

Having stay'd a Fortnight among the *Antavarres*, who are all Black, arm'd with large Bucklers and long Javelins, like our Pikes, I proceeded still along the Sea Coast, towards the North Part of the Island, till I came with my Company into a Province, inclos'd on the left Side by high red Mountains, which have given the Inhabitants the Name of *Amboitsmènes*, *Amboits* signifying *Mountains*, and *Mène*, *Red*. These People have Plenty of Cattel, Grain, and Roots. Being come to the Mouth of a great River, on whose Banks there was a Number of Plumb Trees, we nam'd the adjacent Harbour, *Port aux Prunes*, or *Plumb-Port*. The Mouth of it is stopp'd with several Rocks, which is the reason that only Boats can come into it. A Quarter of a League above the Port is a Village, the chief Man's Name whereof was *Diamangay*, who came over to our Side, to take us into his Canoes, and carry'd us to lie at his House, where we continued 8 Days. Most of the Inhabitants of this Province, as well as those of the *Antavarres*, are clad in a Sort of Stuff, well wove, of several Colours, made of the Threads they draw from the Rind of the *Mahault*, before describ'd, after it is well beaten, whereof they make their Mantles or Cloaks, by them call'd *Lambes*, and their Girdles 8 Inches broad and 2 Ells long, call'd *Quilamboue*. It is full 35 Leagues Journey from this Village to another that is in the Province of *Anton Gil*, by the *Portugueses* call'd *Angoada*, and 16 large and populous Villages in the Way; but the Inhabitants are ill clad, only the richer Sort wearing Cotton Cloth; not that the Earth is ungrateful to them, affording a sufficient Sustainance, but because they are lazy, and will not trade.

Amboits-
smène.
Province

In this Village of *Angoada* we found 2 *Hollanders*, left there by their Captain, who as was said above, came to visit us at Port *St. Clare*, to buy Blacks, and transport them into *Maurice's* Island, and into *Brasile*, when any of their Ships came for them. The Price, as they told me, of a young Man Slave, was 4 *Spanish* Ryals, of a Maiden 3 Ryals, of a Boy of ten or a dozen Years of Age, 2 Ryals, of a Woman with a Child at her Breast, 5 Ryals. But they had them still cheaper of the King of the Province, who would have none but himself to trade with them for Slaves; for having presented him with a Piece of white Cotton Cloth, with black cross Stripes, making small Checquers, brought from the *East-Indies*, and but 2 Ells long, he gave them the Choice of what they would have. Besides taking them along with him to the Wars against the Mountaineers, who often came to attack

Angoada
Village.

C

him,

him. he allow'd them the third Part of the Prisoners taken, which considerably increas'd the Number of their Slaves.

When I had stay'd nine Days with those *Hollanders*, I desir'd them to carry me over into the Island of *St. Mary*, which they did. *St. Mary's Island* It is but half a League from *Madagascar*, and has a Village in the midst of it, inclos'd with strong Palisadoes; the chief Man of it treated us with Wine made of *Bananas*, which we in *France* call *Concom*. On the South Side this Island has a Point of Land, running out half a League South East into the Sea, with a Rock behind it, which at a Distance looks like a Sail. The South End is join'd to the North by 2 other Rocks. The Land is pleasant and fruitful. Between it and the Island of *Madagascar* runs a strong Current, from the North East to the South West, between 15 and 20 Fathom deep. Whales are taken in the said Streight after this manner. The Islanders go out in Canoes, which they row up to the Place where those Monsters appear; when near enough, they dart bearded Irons at them, made fast to Ropes of the *Mahaut*-Tree before describ'd, with Buckles there are at the other End of those Irons. The Fish being hurt, frets, and draws the Line they veer out, as also the Canoes, which does not daunt those who are in them, as being all excellent Swimmers. When the Whale is spent with struggling, they draw her to the Shore, cut her in pieces with Hatchets and eat her.

I return'd from that Island with the two *Hollanders*, to the Village of *Angoada*, and set out immediately for the Bay of *Anton Gil*. *Anton Gil Bay.* That Bay is inclos'd with Mountains, which falling gently, give Way for a curious River, that empties it self there to come down at its ease, there being 2 great Villages on the Harbour, the one on the right, and the other on the left, as you come in from the Sea. The latter is call'd by the *Dutch* *Spakemboorg*, in the Year 1595, as appears by their Voyages, printed at *Amsterdam* by *Cornelius Nicholas*, in the Year 1609, pag. 6 and 12, where is the Cut and Description of this Bay. The other is by the *Portugueses* nam'd *St. Angelo*. I have forgot the Name the Natives call it by. This River falling into the upper Part of the Bay, forms a small triangular Island in the middle of it, on which is a Village.

The Villages in this Country, as well as all the rest in *Madagascar*, are inclos'd with strong Palisadoes, there being nothing extraordinary in these along the Coast of *Anton Gil*, but that the Inhabitants of them stand Sentinel, and keep Guard on the Avenues and Entrance unto them, having a *Corps de Garde* in the midst of them, for fear of being surpriz'd by their Neighbours on the Mountains, with whom they are perpetually at War.

Before

Before the Gate of the *Corps de Garde*, hung 2 Drums, made of the Trunk of a Tree hollow'd, cover'd with Goats Skins well dres'd and extended. Within there were Pikes and large oval wooden Bucklers cover'd with Leather.

I waited on the King at *Angoada*, when he came to visit the *Hollanders*. He was 40 Years of Age, his Hair smooth like ours, his Face and Body all tawny, from his Waste to his Ankles hung a Piece of Calico the *Dutch* had given him, strip'd blew and white, and brought by them from the *East-Indies*, and it was girt about the Waist with a broad Sash of the Country. He had a Beard, and on his Head a Cap of Rulhes of several Colours, with a Spear in his Hand, the rest of his Body naked, his Arms and Legs loaded with Gold and Silver Rings and Bracelets. He receiv'd me in Friendly manner, inviting me to go see him in his Village, which was but half a League above *Angoada*, and gave me Liquor made of Honey to drink, in a Cow's Horn that held about 2 Quarts. I went accordingly to see him in his Village, where he entertain'd me very well; and after 9 Days Stay, I left that Bay of *Anton Gil*, which is in the Latitude of 16 Degrees and a half South, stretching out North North West, and South South East, 10 Leagues in Length and 5 in Breadth.

Having taken Leave of the King, I return'd the same Way I came, into the Province of the *Malegasses*, to the Village of *Mamihale* my Residence, where I found *Andianmachicore* and his Wife in a hot Dispute, she was for seizing upon all my Goods, because of a Rumour there had been spread abroad of my being kill'd; but he oppos'd her, alledging it would be a Breach of the Laws of Hospitality. However my coming put an End to the Controversy, and they receiv'd me with such Tokens of Affection, as satisfy'd me for all the Fatigues I had endur'd in my dangerous and tedious Journey, by which I reap'd no other Advantage but the Knowledge of the Ports and Rivers, and abundance of Cattel I gather'd in my Return, for Exchange of my Toys. But not being yet satisfy'd with my Journey, and Curiosity prompting me to learn more than I had done by travelling the Length of the Island of *Madagascar*, I resolv'd to cross it, to take a View of the midland Provinces and those on the other Side, opposite to the lower *Ethiopia*.

Tho' *Andianmachicore* dissuaded me, alledging that those People were barbarous and faithless, I could not be diverted from my Resolution, but set out, attended by a Master of the Village of *Ramesfouche*, whose Name was *Diamber*, and 19 Blacks. *Andianmachicore* had given me 4 Servants; besides whom I took along with me 4 of my Servants, loaded with my Baggage, Arms,

Arts to
disswade
the Author
from tra-
velling.

and Commodities. Passing thro' the Borders of the *Machicores*, to enter upon those of the *Tapates* (in the Maps they are call'd Manapates) a plain Country, we went to take up our Lodging in a Village, whereof one *Andianmarrophene* was Lord, who treated us well, and would have diverted us from going among the *Machicores*, telling us they were all Murderers and Robbers. I ask'd him how many of them there was, who answer'd *Rozine*, that is, 2000, to which I reply'd, that I and 4 more would beat them with my Guns and Pistols, which astonish'd him, putting his Hands before his Mouth, that being a Sign of Admiration among those People. Then holding on the Discourse with him, I inquir'd how far it was from thence to the Village of *Andianmarrophate*, who was a Lord in the Country of the *Tapates*. He answer'd it was 3 Moons Journey, which he did to put me by my Design; for proceeding on my Journey, I came with my Company in 6 Hours to *Andianmarrophate's* Village. That Great Man, contrary to the Information we had receiv'd, entertain'd us very kindly, and gave us Guides to conduct us to the Bay of *St. Augustin*, which is at the End of the Province of the *Machicores*. When I was about setting out from that Village, all those that had been commanded to attend me by *Andianmachicore*, return'd, believing what had been told them of the Cruelty of that Nation I was going to with my 4 Servants.

St. Augustin's Bay.

We spent 5 Days after their Departure before we reach'd the Bay of *St. Augustin*, and at length, after passing through several Villages, came to the River that falls into the Bay, being forked at the Mouth, by reason of a small Island that cuts it into two. It is in the Latitude of 23 Degrees and a half, just under the Tropick of *Capricorn*. Down the River there are 4 Villages, 2 on the Right, and as many on the Left; below the latter, on the midst of a Neck of Land, which runs across the Port, there are some Remains of a Fort and a Burial Place, in a little Island close by, there being large Stones, some lying, and some rear'd up on the Ground. This Fort was built by the *Dutch* in 1595, who also made a Burial Place for their Dead, that were taken away by the Scurvy and Fevers. On the North Angle of the Bay there were also Footsteps of another Fort the *French* had formerly rais'd against the Islanders, who are there more barbarous than in any other Parts, and this to secure themselves with their Sick, few that coast along the Kingdom of *Guinea* escaping Sicknels, before they reach *Madagascar*, where they are oblig'd to make some Stay, to take in Refreshments and search their Ships, which have suffer'd by the Length and Difficulty of the Voyage. See *Pyrard's* Voyage in 1601 and 1602, where he says, that near this little Fort

For they bury'd 40 of their Men, that died there in 3 Days, and therefore they call'd it, *The Burial Place of the French*.

The River Water is unwholesome, and full of Alligators and several Sorts of Fish. The Natives are swarthy, ill dispos'd, bearable, with lank hanging Hair, except in time of War, when they braid or twist it, that it may not incumber them in Fight. The Air is very intemperate, the Men large, well shap'd, circumcis'd, and yet never heard of the Law of *Mahomet*, there being no Temple or Mosque throughout all the Island. They know no more of God, but that they fear, without adoring or praying to him; and say, the Devil sends Diseases, but God kills them. However they believe the Immortality of the Soul, and say Heaven was made to receive them all promiscuously, when they leave their Bodies.

Whilst we were in a large Village on the Right Hand coming down the River, which is call'd *Dulce*, three Quarters of a League from the Bay, 7 Masters of the Neighbouring Villages of the *Matichicores*, attended by 50 Men, brought us 50 Beeves, whose Horns were 2 Foot high, with an Excrescence between the Shoulders, and twice as big and tall as ours. They also brought us Cotton Cloth strip'd with Silk, offering to exchange for my Commodities; but they seeking for nothing but long *Cornelian* Stones, or *Venetian* Garnets of a Lemmon Colour, which they call *Vagues*, and the *Tapetes*, *Ets-Ets*, which I had not, we drove no great Trade, having only purchas'd 15 Beeves, which they parted with for Chains of white Laton and false Pearls. They also presented me with 6 Pieces of Dragon's Blood, each of them 3 Inches long, like Ends of Black Puddings, marbled like the *Alicant* Soap, red, white, and black. They call this Dragon's Blood, *Auly Harre*, signifying, *Ointment to staunch Bleeding*, in return for which I gave them some small Coral; and they saying those Pieces of Dragon's Blood were made of pounded Leaves, growing on certain Trees about Port S. *Augustine*, I presented one of them with a small String of Coral, to shew me those Trees. He conducted me to a Wood, that is but 2 Musquet Shot from the Bay; where among Thorns and Bushes, he shew'd me a very spreading Tree, as big as a Pear-Tree, the Leaves long, but narrower than the Laurel, smelling like Violets in *March*; the Flowers and Blossoms white and very odoriferous, growing in round Clusters, and having only 5 Leaves each, very regular; they close up at Night, and are no bigger than a *French* Double (which is less than our *Farthing*). From the midst of them sprouts, a Fiber of a reddish Colour, which runs up in such manner as to represent a Dragon. These Flowers being pounded and put into hollow Canes, make those

Natives
and Cli-
mate.

Beeves.

Dragon's
Blood.

The Tree
it comes
from,

Pieces,

Stops
Bleeding
and bloody
Fluxes.

Pieces abovemention'd, after being dryd in the Sun, and the Canes or Reeds which inclos'd them broken off. Thus is the Dragon's Blood made, of which Apothecaries and Botanists give a very different Account. I have often us'd it with Success to stop Bleeding, following the Example I had set me by the *Machicores*, have stopp'd the Bloody Flux by Fumigations, putting this Drug into the Fire, and causing the Sick to receive it at the Fundament. (*Amatus Lusitanus*, on the 5th Book of *Dioscorides*, Nar. 69, says, without naming any Author, there are large Trees in the *Canaries* and Island *Madera*, call'd *Dragon* and *Dragon-Trees*, which distil red shining Drops, wherewith if any thing be touch'd, it receives a blackish red, and that those Drops are call'd *Dragon's Blood*, wherein he does not agree with the Author. See also *Matthioli* on *Dioscorides* lib. 5, c. 69.

The Author
Rides
on a Bullock

After seven Days Stay at *St. Augustin's Bay*, I return'd to *Mannhale*, the Place of my Residence, sending my Cattel before me; but the fifth Day, when I enter'd upon the Province of the *Tapues*, finding my self so tir'd and spent that I could not go, I mounted astride on that I thought the gentlest of my *Bullocks*. Nor was I disappointed, for he carry'd me very easily, and I cross'd Rivers on him with my Bundle before me. The *Tapues* were so surpriz'd to see me in that Posture, that they thought me more than Man, for being so bold as to presume to get upon a Bullock, which they had never seen, or dar'd to attempt.

Dutch
Ship cast
away.

In this Province of the *Tapues* one of them show'd me a Musket, a Collar of Bandeliers full of Powder, and in the Pouch, Balls and Flints. Others had Pistols, and others a considerable Quantity of Copper and Pewter Household Stuff. I understood by them that it all came from a Dutch Ship, which not long before had been cast away, between Port *St. Augustin* and Cape *St. Julian*, and that those who took it had exchange'd great part with them. I exchange'd my Musket with the first of them, who gave me his, a Bullock, a Cow, and a Pewter Pot for it. The others would not truck any thing, making great Account of the Kettles, Dishes and Plates they had.

Disposi-
tions for Cir-
cumcising.

Having nothing to do in that Country, I return'd to my House in the Village of *Mannhale*, about the beginning of *February* 1642, where I saw the publick Ceremonies of their Circumcision perform'd as follows. All the Masters of the Villages subject to *Andimachicore* came to him to appoint a Day to build a House, to Circumcise their Male Children, born in the Space of three Years, that Ceremony being only perform'd once in three Years; during which time all those Children eat no Eggs till they are Circumcis'd. The Day being appointed, every Man went away

to cut Wood to Erect the Structure in the midst of the Village of *Mamhale*, near the House of their Lord *Andianmachicore*, who is nevertheless a Dependant on his Father in Law *Andianramac* the King of the *Malegasses*. They set up Poles they brought on their Backs, on wooden Pillars, and on those Poles plac'd others Cheveron wise, to sustain vast Rushes, like Pikes which serve for Joists, cover'd with great Leaves of *Indian Canes*, by them call'd *Raves*, and these hanging one a little over the other, cast off the Rain, so that no Water can enter the House. This being finish'd all the outside is hemm'd in with large Palisadoes, to hinder Cattel from going in; for the House was open without any Wall, but only the Pillars supporting the Roof, like a Market House. Four Days after it was finish'd, the Parents of the Children that were to be Circumcis'd, made Wine or Liquor of two thirds of Water boil'd with one third of Honey. This Liquor boil'd in Earthen Pots, is pour'd into great Earthen Vessels, round below, with a great Belly and narrow Mouth. They place them on a Sort of large Hand Barrows, hollow in the middle, and carry them on their Shoulders before the Lord's Door, where they are set down between 3 Stones, so as the Bottom of the Vessels rests on the Ground, and the said Stones support the Belly. These Vessels are call'd *Cines*, and the Hand-Barrows, *Tacon*. This done *Andianmachicore* came out of his House, to go to the other provided for the Circumcision, before which he had caus'd a Bull to be ty'd to a Stake, drove into the Ground for that purpose. He cut his Throat, and having receiv'd the Blood into a Dish, went and daub'd all the Props of the new Structure, the Fathers of the Children that were to be Circumcis'd, following one after another. The foremost of them, when the Ceremony of the Blood was ended, gave *Andianmachicore* some of the Liquor made of Honey in a Purcelain Dish, which he took, and holding some of it in his Mouth without swallowing, spurted it against the Pillars that were daub'd with the Bull's Blood. Then ordering a *Banana-Tree*, which they call *Once*, to be brought him, with the Leaves and Fruit on it, he caus'd the Palisade to be open'd, and the Tree to be planted before that Gap. Then he took the mysterious Girdle of the first Barber in his Village, dipp'd in the Blood of the Bull he had kill'd, and hung it on that Tree. It is not lawful for any Person whatsoever, before the great Festival Days of the Circumcision, to enter the House appointed for that Use, or the Inclosure of Palisades, the Entrance into which is immediately made up with Stakes.

When the afore said Girdle is hung up in any Place whatsoever, no Man dares approach it, those People conceiving, that
Mead, or
Liquor
made of
Honey.
Supersti-
tion.
 whoever

rene, Mother to *Andianmachicore*, a Mother in their Language is call'd *Rene*. The other he gave to one of the Household Servants. Those Drums were a Foot and a half long, and 12 Inches Diameter, made of a hollow'd Trunk of a Tree, cover'd at both Ends with a Goat's Skin well extended, and held on by a Hoop and Cords, in the same manner as ours are, bating that they scrape off the Hair with a Knife, after it is strain'd. *Andianrene* caus'd the Drum to be hung about her Neck, and sitting down, rested it on her Knees, beating on both Ends, the one with her Hand, and the other with a Stick, without any Intermission. Whilst she beat the Drum, the pretended Prophet having streak'd his Face with red and white, mounted on the Top of *Andianmachicore's* House, holding a very light Pole about 6 or 7 Foot long, with a Pack-thread at the End of it, by which hung a Basket, at the Bottom whereof was a small Pullet, ty'd by the Feet with another Pack-thread. The Prophet held the Pole in his Right Hand, having a Wooden Dish on his Left Arm, in the Nature of a Buckler, fasten'd with 2 Straps, and in his Hand a Knife a Foot and a half long, call'd *Anchesyllabe*, and 11 Little Darts, by them nam'd *Leff Maceyz*, y, that is, *little Darts*; but those People always place the Adjective after the Substantive. That Man being on the Top of the House, knelt with one Knee upon the Ridge, and put the Pole under the other; then, his Right Hand being free, he took into it the Knife he before held in the Left, which was still fill'd with the little Darts, and began to gaze on the Sun then just rising, crying hideously, with horrid Postures and Threats; then beating the Air, as if he had been fighting with him for an Hour together, he let himself fall plumb from the Top of the House to the Ground, lighting on his Feet before the Door, over which hung the Basket, in which the Pullet was conceal'd, and into which he look'd several times, rolling his Eyes in a frightful manner, the Drum beating all the while without Intermission. Presently after he ran like a Madman throughout all the Village, putting his Head into every Door, as if he would see what was doing within, often changing his Posture, taking his Knife into his Left Hand, and then again into the Right, and the same he did with his little Darts, still threatning the Sun. As he pass'd by my Door I ask'd him whether he saw any thing in the Air, since he look'd up so often? Yes, said he, I see *Cine*, in the Shape of a Man, and will kill him. Then putting himself in a Posture to do as he said, he beat the Air with the Knife in his Hand. Then resting a little, he ask'd me for some Tobacco; I took my Pipe, fill'd it, lighted and gave it him. He took it, running like one distracted; then

Drums.

Mad A-
lions.

D

stopping,

ment on the Tip of his Toes, with a hoarse and slow Voice, adapted to his Musick, Sang as follows, without any Verse or Rhime, the Muses having never adventur'd to cross the Seas into those Parts.

Manne Voullamene, Voullafouche, Hangue, Hares, Angombe, Farres, Ampe embes, Vuomgembes, Ouufouches, Ouuiars Ouivambares, Ouuintes, Maumondres. Adding before every one of these Words that of *Manne*, signifying Rich, the rest being to this Effect. Lord rich in Gold, rich in Silver, rich in fine Coral, in Bracelets, in Kine, in white pounded Rice, in Honey, in Beans, in White, in violet Colour, in ash Colour, in black and yellow Roots. To this he added every other thing the Island afforded, either for Food, or Ornament, and at last he put me and my Companions into his Song, saying, *Rauuou rangandrie, oule uaza, toumoire antanez, andri, res manne voullafouches, voullamene, angue, harez, Vuoures, hosashors, oulemahae, miaffe, Oulematte toutouille empouuare empaguinere toutmoire andre.* Which is interpreted Word for Word as follows. You rejoyce, Sir, because the Christians reside in your Village, they are rich in Silver, in Gold, in fine Coral, in all sorts of Beads of several Colours, in false Pearls, in little Gilt, and Silver'd Chains, rich in Wit and Invention for Working, if they should dye all their Wealth would be yours Sir. That Musician Sang all the Night long before the Lord's Door, the two Drums at the same time making a mighty Noise before him, at the Entrance into the Circumcision House, at the East End whereof was Erected a little Chappel, like those us'd at Funerals, four Foot high, all of Wood, without either Nails or Pins, the Pieces only holding together by the Mortices, the Arch, or Dome cover'd with a Piece of Stuff made of Silk and Cotton of several Colours, under which was a fine Mat, and on the Mat a Cushion of the same Cloth, stuff'd with Cotton, on which *Andiammachicore*, came and seated himself at Break of Day, where he receiv'd the Presents made him by the Mothers of the Children that were to be Circumcis'd, being only Skaines of fine white Cotton, curiously spun. As every one presented her Skain, he put on the first, like a Scarf, hanging from the right Side to the left, the second from the left to the right; then the third from the right to the left, and so the others successively. When there was no more to receive, he rose up from his Place, and went to seat himself on another Cushion, provided for him in the midst of the Chamber, where the Fathers brought him their Children one after another, placing them on a square Stone there *Circumci-* was betwixt his Legs. The Child's nearest Kindred held his Arms and Thighs, the Father holding him under the Arm Pits. *tion.*

Then *Andianmachicore* cut of the Child's Fore Skin, at three Strokes and so he did to them successively. I being present at that Ceremony, and imagining that Cruelty was occasion'd by the Knives not being sharp, offer'd *Andianmachicore* a Razor I had in my Pocket, which he took, and then I perceiv'd there was some Mystery in it, and that the Fault was not in the Knife, since he cut off the Foreskins of the last at three Strokes, as he had done by the others before. I was yet more surpriz'd to see, that when *Andianmachicore* had cut it off, and deliver'd it to the Kindred, the sharpest of them snatch'd it out of his Hands and swallow'd it. As soon as the Wound was given the Child's Father kill'd his Pullet, and let the Blood run on it, and then binding him to his Side, as before, carry'd him to his Mother, who was among the others in a Neighbouring House, weeping and lamenting what their Children endur'd, and as soon as brought gave them Honey and Eggs, which when they had eaten, they took more of the Pullet's Blood, mix'd with that of the Bulls slaughter'd before the House of Circumcision, and apply'd it to the Infants Cods, binding some Cotton over it. When the Circumcision was over, *Andianmachicore* rose and sat down again on a Mat at the Door of his own House. On his right Hand, on other Mats sat the Fathers of the Circumcis'd Children, and the Kindred on the left, all of them cross legg'd. That Lord desir'd me to divert the Company with my Bag-pipe, which I did to the great Admiration of all that heard it, who said there were Spirits, shut up in it, or Men that spoke when I pleas'd, and that *Andianmachicore* was happy in having me, to Divert and Enrich him; all of them earnestly entreating me to go see them at their Villages, with my Instrument, and they would give me any thing they had. When I went home they sent me four Pieces of the Bulls they had Sacrific'd, the rest being divided among them, and his Perquisites sent to the Lord, being the Chines of them all. They spent the Night in Dancing, the Men following one another by two and two, without holding, Singing and Skipping; and the Women holding one another by the Hands in Pairs, repeated the same things the others had said, stopping between whiles to drink the Honey Liquor they had brought, Men and Women without any Distinction; the black Men and Women in long Cups like Boats made of the Leaves of *Indian Canes*, the Whites of both Sexes in black Earthen Bowls, which they call *Lounies*.

Some Days after these Ceremonies, I receiv'd the News of *Isaac Meldron's* Death, who had left me and my Companions, above eight Months before, to go live in a Village, the Master whereof

whereof was Father to *Rafatene*, Wife to *Andiamrazo*, Bastard to *Andianramac*, whom *Meldron* attended. The Village was call'd *Razemene*, signifying red and white, the Neighbouring Mountains being red, and the Rocks white. I will relate this Passage. *Meldron* being inform'd of my Journey to Port St. *Augustin*, believing I had made my Fortune there, and being jealous by reason of my Return from the Bay of *Anton Gil*, resolv'd to perform the like, without acquainting me. That Wretch, who Debauch'd *Andiamrazo's* Wife, was so ill advis'd, as to make use of him for his Guide, without any other Company of his own, but only a little Black, and his Comrade *James du Val*, whereas *Andiamrazo* had four Servants, and his Brother in Law with him. When they came to the Mountain *Amboule* which is three Leagues high, *Andiamrazo* communicated his Design of Murdering *Meldron* to his Brother in Law, for the reason afore said. He not consenting to it, perswaded *Meldron* to undertake some other Enterprize instead of going to *Anton Gil*, because of the Difficulty of the Ways, which were very bad, and troublesome to pass, besides that the Provinces he was to pass through, were at War with their Neighbours.

Hereupon they turn'd away towards the Province of the *Tapates*, and went to lye at the Village of *Manabarre* at the Hou'e of *Andianmausse*, one of the Lords, who was above an hundred Years of Age. Departing thence they went to Dine at the Village of *Ranfouche*, where they found a Man, who having born me Company in all my Travells, offer'd to Conduct them, which *Andiamrazo* would not consent to, for fear that Man should obstruct his Design of making away with *Meldron*, who being gone three Leagues farther, as he sat smoaking Tobacco under some Trees, was stuck through the Neck with a Spear *Andiamrazo's* Servant darted at him, by his Masters Command. Another Black would have done the same by *du Val*, but he being near *Meldron*, and hearing the Noise, started up and receiv'd the Stroke of the Javelin design'd to kill him on his Hat. He drew immediately, pursu'd *Meldron's* Murderers, who fled before him a long way, and not being able to overtake them, return'd to the dead Man, whose Sword he took and brought it me to *Mannhale*, where having told me this dismal Story, I complain'd to *Andianmachicore*, who immediatly sent away a Man Express to his Father in Law *Andianramac*, to demaund Justice of him for that Murder. That was so readily executed, that at our return from burying the dead Body, we found the Murderers Head, separated from his Body in the Village of *Fanzaire*, whether it had been brought in a Basket by two Men, to show us that Justice had been done. *Andianboule*, the Kings Nephew, being inform'd how the thing had hapned, was the Executioner;

His Death

Executioner; for as there is no Prison in that Country, so neither is there any particular Executioner. The first Man, without any Distinction of Rank, or Quality, that can catch him who is declar'd guilty, looks upon it as an Honour to be the Executioner, which he performs with much Trouble to himself, and Pain to the Person Condemn'd, as doing it with the Spear of his Javelin, which is not proper for cutting off a Head, as being too narrow and light; so that they rather saw than cut it off, two Men holding the Criminals Body under their Knees.

Not being satisfy'd with this Execution, we went to make our Complaints to *Andiamamac*, demanding of him to deliver up to us *Andiamazo*, who had caus'd *Meldron* to be kill'd. We found him at home with Tears in his Eyes, bewailing his Misfortune, and said he gave us leave to shoot him that had been the occasion of that Murder; asking what Death we put him to in *France*, who had caus'd a Man to be murder'd. We answer'd, that great Men were beheaded, and those of the meaner sort hang'd, or broke upon the Wheel. When we had so said, he show'd us the Head of the Person Executed, asking, whether we were satisfy'd. We answer'd, he must add that of *Andiamazo*. Take him said he, and do as you please. Then he sent us to lodge at his Mothers, where we had all that was requisite provided for us. The next Morning we went to the House of the King's Son in Law *Andiamferon's* Mother, to demand *Meldron's* Trunk of her, which was in her Custody, that we might make an Inventory of all that was in it. All was sold by Outcry, every Man buying what he had occasion for: I bought his Books, Charts, and other Instruments for Navigation, which I afterwards paid for to his Kindred at *Dieppe*, when I return'd home.

Having after this taken leave of the King, I went home to my House, where wanting something to do, I resolv'd to go visit *Andiamboule*, Lord of the Province of *Amboule* or *Anamboule*, attended only by 4 Blacks. At our entring into that Province we found several Villages burnt by their Enemies. It was 2 Hours in the Night, 3 Days after my Departure from *Mamihale*, when I came to the Village, which gives its Name to that Province and to its Lord. It was like all other Villages in that Island, inclos'd with Palisadoes, and the Entrance stopp'd up with Faggots of Thorns. The Sentinels and Guards posted there understanding that a Christian and some Blacks desir'd to be admitted, the Lord came to meet and conduct us to his House, where he gave us to eat. We were scarce settled before several Trumpets, which they call *Antsives*, made of such Sea-Shells as the Poets assign to the *Tritons*, began to sound dreadfully upon the Signal of a Fire, the Neighbouring People made from one Mountain to another, to notify the Enemies Approach. The Inhabitants immediately

*Amboule
Village and
Province.*

diately ran to Arms; the Lord ask'd me whether I would go to the War with him. I told him, that since I and my Company belong'd to *Andianramac*, it was not reasonable for us to take up Arms against his People. He was satisfy'd with my Answer, and bid his Women treat us well. Then he arm'd himself, or rather cover'd his Head with a Straw Cap, to which hung a great twisted Tail of the same Sort, reaching down to his Buttocks. This, I suppose, was to appear the more dreadful to his Enemies. Then having snatch'd up his Lance and little Darts, he caus'd the Barrier to be open'd, march'd with his Men, being about five hundred strong, by four in a Rank. I was amaz'd two Hours after, to see three of *Andianboule's* Soldiers bring as many of their Enemies Heads on the Points of their Spears, which they threw down in the midst of the Market-Place in the Village, where they were abus'd by the Women and Children, who pull'd out their Eyes, tore off their Hair, and after trampling on them, burnt them without their Village of *Amboule*. The Victors returning, the King caus'd 3 Beeves to be slaughter'd and distributed in Pieces among them. I did not stay any longer there; but knowing that *Andianramac's* Subjects were *Andianboule's* Enemies, took my Way along the Mountains, on the Tops whereof I found 4 Springs, so excessive hot, that there was no holding a Finger in them a Moment without scalding. The Natives are all Smiths, who having got the Iron out of the Mines, easily run it at the Fire, it being much softer than ours, whereof they make Pigs or Bars a Foot and a half long, and 4 Fingers broad, each of which is reckon'd worth a Cow. Hot Springs.

Being come down from the Mountains, I went to wait upon *Andianramac*, at his Village of *Fanzaire*, and told him what I had seen at *Amboule*. Thence I return'd to *Mannhale* to *Andianmachicore*, where I was inform'd by *Abraham le Gaigneur*, one of my Companions, that the *Machicores* had kill'd 9 *Mannhalians*, and carry'd off 400 Beeves, 14 of which belong'd to us. All the Country was in an Uproar. *Andianmachicore* immediately sent Notice to all the Villages under his Command, each of which form'd its particular Band with their Shell Trumpet. I had one made of a Bull's Horn, two Foot and a half long, bow'd like a Hunter's Cornet. *Andianmachicore* led the Van; I follow'd him with 6 Blacks, loaded with my Musquets and Firelocks, and a 7th that carry'd my Provender. Our Soldiers being in good Case and forward, as excited by the Desire of Revenge, march'd so fast, that I had much ado to follow them, having outstripp'd me half a League in less than an Hour. By the Way I found 2 of our Men, wounded by the Enemy, the one in the Arm, the other in the Belly, all the Rim whereof was cut, so that his Bowels appear'd. I dress'd

Iron Works.

drels'd them both, sewing up their Wounds, and clapp'd an Astrigent over them, till I had leisure to do better. These Men told me, that the *Machicore*s advancing their Van-Guard, which drove the plunder'd Cattel, except 60 they left with their Rere, consisting only of 30 Men, being overtaken by our Men, had halted and stood the Attack, till all their little Darts and Javelins were spent against us, had betaken themselves to Flight, and that they were left wounded where I found them.

Having heard this News, I follow'd the Army by the Track, through Ways almost inaccessible. About an Hour before Sunset *Skirmish.* I met 8 of *Andianmachicore*'s Servants, who brought a little Bier, to carry me on their Shoulders, by their Master's Order, to the Place where he was. I refus'd that Civility tho' extraordinary weary, and follow'd them through the Woods, till coming to the Top of a little Hill, I found our Army, weak and spent. Having wish'd *Andianmachicore* a good Night, he embrac'd me, and with Tears in his Eyes said, he repos'd more Confidence in me than in his own Men, who would not fight, unless he was always at the Head of them. This said, he made me sit down by him, and caus'd Water to be brought to refresh me. Whilst we rested, I told the Masters of the Villages, who sat also by us, that the *French* did not do like them; for they to secure their King, and that he might be a Witness to the Valour of his Men, plac'd him among their Ranks, to the end that if the Battel should prove obstinate, every Man might oppose the Enemy to save him; and that as soon as they had gain'd the Victory, they prosecuted their Advantage, till they had destroy'd all those that fled.

*Another
Action.* These Words wrought upon one of those Masters of Villages, who started up, beating the Ground with his Feet, and saying I was in the right, and that he was ready to lead on such as would follow him to Battel, whilst *Andianmachicore* in Safety beheld from the Place where he was, how he would behave himself. Seven Masters follow'd him with about 200 Soldiers, detach'd from our Troops. Yet, notwithstanding this mighty Resolution, not one of them had stirr'd, had not I, after taking leave of *Andianmachicore*, advanc'd with my Men to lead the Van. I had scarce march'd 1000 Paces before I discover'd a Party of the Enemy, who were at Supper, lying on the Ground between 2 Hills, upon 3 of our Beeves they had kill'd. I contriv'd to surprize them behind, slipping through the Wood that surrounded them, and being near, fir'd my Musquet upon 10 of them that were at Supper together, then taking my Firelocks from my Servants, I fir'd at the rest, who left 4 of their Companions dead upon the spot and some wounded; the rest fled and our Men persw'd without doing much Execution, as only killing
those

those I had wounded. Our Booty consisted in 60 Beeves, of the Number they had taken from us, and the Remainder of their small Supper. I caus'd all to be convey'd to the Top of a neighbouring Hill, where there was good Pasture, the Wood being above a Mile distant on every Side, for fear lest the *Machicores*, who were fled into it, should come and surprize us.

When the Night was shut in, I posted advanc'd Sentinels to secure all things, and some *Corps de Garde* to sustain them, whilst the rest suppd and slept. At Break of Day we return'd towards *Mannhale*, causing 8 Heads of our Enemies to be carry'd before us on the Points of Spears. Nothing but Shouts of Joy was to be heard all the Way we went. About Noon we met *Andianramac*, who hearing of our Design, was coming to our Assistance with 600 Soldiers and a great Number of other Men and Women, carrying the Utensils belonging to the Kitchen. Several Blacks that follow'd them, loaded with Rice and various Sorts of Roots, drove 60 Beeves. This King was supported by *Andianferon* and *Andianradame*, his Sons in Law, *Andianmadombe*, his Brother; *Andianradame*, *Finare*, and *Andianboule*, his Nephews; and by *Andianmbel*, his Brother in Law, who all came to the Assistance of *Andianmachicore*, tho' at that time *Andianramac* was at Variance with him; but the publick Safety was the Occasion of that speedy Succour. *Andianmachicore* being a good Man, thank'd his Father in Law and all his Kindred, whom he entertain'd at Supper, as also the Auxiliary Soldiers, when we came to the Village of *Mannhale*. The next Day, after many Expressions of Respect and Affection, *Andianramac* went home, and I follow'd him, with *Andianmachicore*, who would not forsake me. Being at *Fanzaire*, the Residence of *Andianramac*, I was present at the Ceremony I shall now describe.

Andianramac's Houfe had been burnt in the Year 1637, ever since which time he had liv'd in another, no better than what has been describ'd above. His Subjects built him another, in the same Place where the first stood before. They remov'd all the Remains of it, levell'd the Ground, cut Timber on the Mountains, which were 4 Leagues from thence, with small Hatchets, which they call *Felques*. They carry the Bodies of the Trees, after stripping them of the Branches, on their Shoulders, to the Place appointed to build on. As for Planks, they at that time having no use of Saws, squar'd the Trunk with their Hatchets, hew'd them with Iron Knives a Foot long, which they call *Hanches*, and others a Foot and a half in Length, call'd *Hanches Syllabes*, and lastly plan'd them with little Planes, the Iron whereof is an Inch long, thus bringing the Plank to what Thickness they thought fit. Their Wood is hard and of the Colour of our Oaks.

Building,
the Man-
ner of it.

How they
work in
Wood.

E

They

*Times of
Work and
Respite.*

The Floor.

The Roof.

*Carv'd
Work.*

They begin to work on the first Day of the Moon, and hold on till the 15th, after which they rest 6 Weeks, and those expir'd, fall to work again, and desist as before, till the Structure is finish'd, which after this rate, is a long time. They have a long Rule, which they lay on the Tree, after taking the Breadth they design, and that being very strait, they make a Mark along it with the Back of their Knife, with which and their small Planes they take off all that is to spare. The Whites set out the Heights, Lengths, and Thicknesses, and the Blacks, like their Servants do all the rest, the former thinking it more honourable to contrive than to work. The Materials being upon the Place, they make use of a Spade, which they call *Fangbals*, for digging and fixing of Blocks 4 Foot high and 12 Inches thick. These Blocks rise 2 Foot above the Ground, at 4 Foot distance from one another, on which they lay Beams 5 Inches square, which being tenanted at both Ends, are put into the Mortices there are on the Blocks, so exactly, that it is hard to see where they join. On these Blocks and Beams they lay a Floor of Planks well jointed, shooting at the Ends into Pieces of Timber, but 6 Foot in Length, and are fix'd below into the Beams, and above to others running above the Level of the Floor, well jointed and wrought, the whole knit together by Quarters, which keep the Sides steady, as being well mortic'd. The Roof was not unlike ours, either in the Ridge or Rafter, bating that between every 2 Rafters, which are 3 Inches and a half square, and 3 Foot distant from one another, there was a Cane reaching up to the Ridge, instead of a Lath, to support the Covering of the same Sort of strait Canes, four or five and twenty Foot long, laid across, to which they bound the Leaves of *Indian Canes*, or *Palmis*'s, with a Sort of Withies, by them call'd *Haetz-Fouche*, beginning at the lower Part of the Roof, so that the Leaves hanging over the upright, cover'd it from the Rain, and then fast'ning others a Foot higher to the aforelaid Canes, they hung over the first, as others did over these, and so on till they came to the Ridge. These Leaves, which are of a pale yellow, will last at least 20 Years against all Weather, becau'e of their Unctiousness and Thickness. I was very helpful to them in forwarding this Work, bringing them two Saws, to which they gave the Name of *Fanapes*, shewing them how to use them, for cutting and fitting of Timber that was too long, which sav'd them much Time and Stuff. I very much admir'd the carv'd Work they added over the 6 Gates of that Structure, as Festoons, Flowers, and Foliage, all masterly cut, tho' of all our Tools they had none but the Plane, all the rest being done with their Knives. This Structure was 30 Foot in Length, and 20 in Breadth.

As soon as it was finish'd, the King notify'd to all his Subjects, that he would go into it on the first Day of the Moon of *November*, of our Year 1641. Every Man brought *Andiamamac* his Present; some Baskets full of Mats made of fine Rushes, others in Baskets made of Canes whole Rice, Roots, Fruit, and Pulse. The Poor gave him Earthen-Ware, Dishes, Wooden Spoons, others *Banana* or *Palmito* Leaves, to serve instead of Table-Cloths, Napkins, Dishes, and Plates. The Rich brought him Bullocks, Cows, Sheep, and Goats, nor were the Hens and Pullets forgot. No Person came empty handed. Several brought little Baskets of green Ginger, by them call'd *Sacaurre*, which was thrown into a Ditch near that new House, and immediately cover'd with Earth. All these Presents were receiv'd by a Man standing near the King, who sat on a Tapestry Cushion at the Principal Gate of his new House, with the Great Men abovemention'd about him, sitting on Mats, cross Leg'd. He who receiv'd the Presents, every time he took one, said to the King; *Such a one has brought you such a thing, to make good the Loss you sustain'd in your House 5 Years ago.* The Blacks were the first that offer'd, and then the Whites. Some gave the King 30 Beeves, some 50 Sheep, and some 100 Goats. Every Village came in order as call'd, the Trumpet going before, follow'd by a Jar of Liquor made of Honey, carry'd by 2 Men on 2 Coultresses on their Shoulders; then follow'd the other Inhabitants of the Village, with the Presents we have mention'd; all which are put into 4 Store Houses, erected to that purpose before the King's Palace, and committed to as many of his Servants, who only may go into them; and under their Charge is a Sort of Cellar, into which they put the Wine presented to the King.

*Presents to
the King,
for his new
House.*

Two whole Days were spent in receiving those Presents, and on the 3d before Sun rising, all those People went and wash'd in the neighbouring River, and when they came out put on new Cloaths, brought to the Bank by their Servants, or themselves. Nothing was left in their Hampers at home, all that could serve as Ornament being brought out to make their Appearance that Day, the King setting the Example, who went first into the Water, came out first, and dress'd himself the finest he was able. His Wife with her Retinue, consisting of the Wives and Daughters of the Prime Men, chose out a Place in the same River, at a Distance from the Men, where they bath'd, and then dress'd themselves in their finest Trinkets, putting a little Cap made of black Silk and Cotton on their Hair, which falls in long downright Curls on their Foreheads, the rest hanging on their Shoulders. The Holes in their Ears were fill'd up with a thick flat Piece of Wood, to which is fasten'd a Bit of wrought Gold, about the Bigness of a Quarter of a Crown-Piece,

Washing.

*Women's
Dress.*

tinu'd the two first Days, promoting it with Tobacco, without eating any thing; but the third Day they laid on upon the Beef wonderfully, which they spit upon a Stick, and place it before the Fire, turning it when one side is roasted.

When these Ceremonies were ended, we were to part at last, and leave *Andianramac*, to return to our Houses. I had not been long at *Mannhale*, before *Andianracaze Andianmachicore's* Wife fell sick, they said it was out of Jealousy, having been told that her Husband when at *Fanzaire*, fell in Love with another of *Andianramac's* Daughters, call'd *Andianramise*, and that he intended to marry her. She languish'd some time, till a Fever ceasing her, she was oblig'd to keep her Bed. *Andianmachicore*, who lov'd her sent for the Physitian, in their Language call'd *Marabou*. On his left Side he had a square Piece of Wood, which serv'd instead of a Case, ty'd with a String to his Waste. There were several Gimlet Holes in the thickness of the Wood, which was about half an Inch. In one of those Holes there was a bit of Horn, in another an Alligator's Tooth, in a third some yellow Wood, in a fourth some Powder, and in the rest the Oyl they call *Amly* and Sand. Being near the Patient, he took out a Pallet, like those our Painters use, this being also ty'd to his Girdle with a Packthread on the same Side as his Case, from which he drew a little Horn full of Oyl, and pour'd it on the Pallet, mixing it with Sand with his Thumb, and spreading it to the Edges; then with his Fingers he drew unequal, and an odd number of Lines on the Oyl and Sand to 27. This done, the Physitian stood motionless and pensive above a Quarter of an Hour, considering what he was to do. Then he order'd the sick Woman's Servants to go fetch him nine several things, viz. Earth taken up in such a certain Place, a Pot shard, the Bark of such a Tree, the Root of such a Plant, certain Leaves, a bit of Wood that had been long stuck in the Ground, a Pigs Tooth, they call a Tooth *Pois*, the Parings of Nails, and some of a Bullocks Horn.

A Physitian.

His Medicines.

All this he mix'd and laid it on the Head of *Andianracaze* saying, *Is, Ros, Tail, Eef Lime, Ene, Fit, Vail, Sive*, which signifies, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine. Then he took all the things he had laid on the Patients Head, and gave them to a Servant to carry out of the Village, and bury them in a certain Place he appointed. Such was the judicious Practice of that able Physician upon this Occasion, believing he had done Wonders for recovering of *Andianracaze*, who still drawing towards her End he apply'd another sovereign Remedy, which is us'd to none but Persons of Distinction. He caus'd a Bullock to be kill'd by a white Man, and receiv'd the Blood into a wooden Dish, into which he dip'd his middle Finger, and touch'd the Sick

Ridiculous Cure.

Persons

another Place for interring the rest of the Whites without the Village, where stood several upright Tomb Stones, at the End of the Graves, and some little Huts made of Boughs to cover them. In this Burial Place there is a great Number of tall straight Trees, all prickly from the Stem to the Head, bearing neither Fruit nor Leaves, being the Symbol of Death, which when it comes is irksome to us, and having once seiz'd renders us incapable of any Production. To which I add, that the Bark of this Tree is black, as if it mourn'd for those that are bury'd by it. The Figure of this Tree may be seen in the *Dutch East India Voyage, An 1595. chap. 7.* where they add, that it is of the Height of a Pike, and the Thickness of a Man's Wrist, having a prickly Ball on the Top, bigger than the Body of the Tree. As for the Tombs of the great Men, which are in the aforesaid little Island, they are all Erected before the Chappels, and there is not one but what has wooden Birds of several sorts on it, with great Bullocks Horns. The Ceremonies of *Andianracas's* Funeral being over, the Company return'd to the Village, and came to my House, where *Andiammachicore* was, who would not go to his own, for fear lest it should refresh his Grief. When every Man had taken his Leave, and I forbid the Lamentations of the Women Servants, who came at Night to bewail their dead Mistress before my Habitation; after four Days, *Andiamouse*, who had never forsaken his good Friend, my Companions and I Conducted *Andiammachicore* to his House.

Some Days after, a Black sent by *Andiamramac* brought me the News that a French Ship was arriv'd in the Port of *Manafia*, which we call *St. Lucy*, the Captain whereof's Name was *Coquey*, and the Master's *John Regimon*. They brought Men to settle at *Madegasse* under the Command of *James Proni* and *John Forcambourg*. I sent *Sebastian Drouard*, with the aforesaid Black, to know what the new Comers intended, who 4 Days after brought me word, that there were 40 Men besides the Ships Crew, who design'd to build a Fort on the said Harbour. That 6 of them came with him to *Andiamramac's*, to ask his Leave to build it, which was easily granted, *Andiamramac* being no way concern'd at it, as knowing how small their Number was, whereof several were Sick. *Drouard* having given me an Account that those Deputies were at *Fanzaire*, and what was doing there, I set out to visit my Country Men. *James Proni* and 3 of his Companions bore me Company at my Return, to see what I did at *Mannhale*, desiring me to quit that Residence, and to retire with my Companion, to that he intended to build at Port *St. Lucy*. He and his Companions staid 5 Days at my House at *Mannhale*, where we agreed, that he should allow me 6 Months to dispose of my Goods, after which I should not Trade for any more than Food and Cloaths.

French
come to Ma
dagascar.

Many die.

Proni

The Ship
lost.

Proni return'd to his Men, whom he found in a wretched Condition, Sicknes having carry'd off 12 in less than 12 Days, and the rest being desperate, I Comforted them with some Refreshments, and yet of the 40 that came to settle with the said *Proni* at 2 Months End, only 14 remain'd, who are still Inhabitants of that same Place in *Madagascar*. In the mean while, *Coquey* and his Ships Crew, call'd the *St. Lewis*, they not being design'd to settle there, loaded with Hides, Wax, Gums and Ebony, in order to return to *France*, having gather'd all those Commodities in several Parts of the Island, particularly the Ports of the *Madegasses* and others, as far as the Province of the *Mataranes*; in its return from whence by a sudden Gust of Wind the Ship broke her Back, in such manner, that only the Planks above the Surface of the Water sav'd them all from perishing, and at length with much hazard, they Landed at the Port of Galeons, where having unloaded and left the said Ship, after saving the best of the Guns, Sails and Tackling, to the Disposal of the Natives, they buttred, with their Sails supported on forked Staves, to wait for their Bark, which was 14 Leagues lower, at Port *St. Lucy*. At the same time, that is on the first of *May* 1642. came into that Port another *French* Ship, belonging to our Company, with Orders to take in all that had been bought or barter'd by those sent before in the Ship *St. Lewis*, or purchas'd in the new Colony of *St. Peter*, by those sent to settle there at the aforesaid Port *St. Lucy*.

Another
French
Ship and
Colony.

The Ship that came last, built at *Dieppe*, with a Design to bring another Colony into the Island of *Madagascar*, was call'd the *St. Laurence*, carrying the Image of that Saint on her Stern; the Captains Name was *Giles Regimond*, a *Liegeois* Inhabitant of *Dieppe*, and the Master *Giles Regimond*, Son to the Captain. The Vessel carry'd 20 Guns, and brought 60 Men to be left in the Island, besides her Crew, with all sorts of Tools for Building and Tillage. As soon as they Landed, I went to them with my Companions, told them the Misfortune of the Ship *St. Lewis*, and invited the two *Regimonds*, Father and Son, to Sup with us in *James Proni's* Hut, who was to treat us. During our Entertainment the said *Regimond* enquir'd of me into the State of the Island, and what business there was for Merchants, he being a Member of the Company, and told before, that during my Residence there I had travell'd into all Parts, and observ'd what might be useful for Commerce. I inform'd him, that in the Province of *Mataran*, Neighbouring on that of the *Malagasses* or *Madegasses*, where we then were, stood 700 Ebony Trees, and that the Prince of that Province was *Andiampilola*, with whom I had a good Correspondence. That I went thence into the County of the *Auxurres*, subject to *Adiantalic*, where there was also Ebony, but not easily to be convey'd to the Sea. That besides Refreshments

Commodi-
ties of the
Island and
Ports.

freshments I knew nothing worth exporting from the Island. That as for Ports and Rivers fit to carry Barks, I had observ'd but 2 on the East-Side, from the Place where we were, to the Bay of *Anton Gil*. That the first he would meet with in his Way thither, was by the Natives call'd *Isolanhare*, and not being able to learn the Name of the other, we call'd it *La Riviere aux Prunes* and *Port aux Prunes*, that is, *The River and Port of Plumbs*, from the many Plumb-Trees

The next Day *Regimond* the Elder sent *Sebastian Drouard*, with my Information, containing the Situation of the Place and the Names of those in Authority there, to cause the Ebony to be cut down, and trade with the *Matatanes*. I was sent with 6 Men to the *Tapates*, to exchange such Commodities as he gave me, for Bullocks, Fowl, and other fresh Provisions. I went to my own House, where *Andianmachicore*, understanding what I design'd, gave me 10 of his Men to conduct me to the *Tapates*, among whom I stay'd 3 Weeks, during which time I sent *Regimond* above 200 Bullocks, abundance of Sheep and Goats, convoy'd by the Men he sent with me, and some Blacks. Returning my self with 80 Bullocks, and taking my way thro' *Mamhale*, where I stay'd 2 Days in my House, I was told that a Ship appear'd under Sail in the adjacent Road. I sent my Cattel before to Port St. *Lucy*, and went my self immediately to view that Vessel, going into a Canoo with some Blacks, and passing out at the Mouth of the River of *Rarn-Fouche*, enter'd the Port of *Galeons*, whence advancing a League into the Sea, I went aboard the Vessel, upon the Commander's Parole for my Security, who perceiving I was a French man, call'd me up to him. This Vessel had the Arms of *Denmark* on her Stern, with 2 Lions for Supporters; the Colours all abroad; the red for War on the Poop, the white for Peace, at the Main Topmast Head, and those of *Denmark* on the Boltspirit. Having inquir'd of me about the Country, where he was afraid to touch, tho' in much Want of fresh Provisions, tho' he had anchor'd at the *Cape of Good Hope*, which is 600 Leagues from the Place where he was; and being inform'd that the neighbouring Port of *Galeons*, by the Natives call'd *Isolangare*, was shelter'd from all Winds, excepting the Sea-Side, he anchor'd there and stay'd 2 Days, till he could find a better Harbour. His Men having search'd the adjacent Parts in a Boat, came and told him that 2 Leagues to the Northward they had found a Port shelter'd from all Winds except the South East, which is the least dangerous of all, and that it had 8 Fathom Water. Immediately they weigh'd Anchor and made thither, where they continu'd 6 Months, expecting the Season to depart, which is in *January*, *February*, and *March*.

I was still aboard that Vessel, but landed as soon as she came in, and lay half a League thence, at a Village call'd *Romppe*, whither two of *Andianmachicore's* Blacks, by my Order, brought me 6 Bullocks, 2 Sheep, and 2 Kids, some Capons, and Rice; which I presented

A Danish
Ship at
Madagascar.

sented the Commander, who gave me a Letter in *Portuguese* for *Regimond*, wherein he desir'd to see him. When I came to *Regimond*, he was angry because I had stay'd so long, and acquainted the *Danes* with the Ports and State of the Island. I told him, that as I did not belong to his Ship, he had nothing to say to me, and that as a Christian I was oblig'd to relieve other Christians. Three Days after, 3 *Danish* Factors and 4 other Men came in their Boat, and one of the Factors speaking *French*, said, they came to desire him to exchange some Commodities proper for that Country for such as they had in their Ship, or to sell them for ready Money. *Regimond* answer'd he would go see their Commander, and supply him and his, with all he could, dismissing them very well satisfy'd, with some Presents. Five Days after *Regimond* mann'd his Boat, and put into it a Bottle of *Ros Solis*, which is a Water distill'd with Cinnamon and Sugar, very comfortable for the Stomach; some wet and dry Sweetmeats, Bottles of *Spanish* Wine, Gammons of Bacon, a Barrel of Salt, a hundred thousand of all Sorts of String-Beads, 4 Tun of Rice, and a Barrel of Beer. I went in the Boat with 16 others, of which Number were *Regimond* himself and *James Proni*, Commander of the Colony of *St. Peter*. The same Day we departed from Port *St. Lucy* we came to that of *Isolangare*, they being but 4 Leagues distant from one another. The *Danish* Ship prepar'd to engage, hanging out their Fights, even on the Round Tops; but when they knew us, all was turn'd into Joy, Embraces, and Feasting. The Commander treated us with Pigs, Ducks, and other Fowl, he had brought alive from the *Molucco* Islands, and after the Entertainment presented *James Proni* with a Stag, and a Hind both alive, brought from the same Islands, and like ours, to breed in the Island of *Madagascar*, where there were none, keeping two Stags and two Hinds to shew in *Denmark*. *Regimond* presented the said Captain with all that was mention'd above, 6 Pieces of Ebony, each of them 6 Foot long and half a Foot square, and 2 Barrels of *French* Bread. In return the *Dane* gave him a *Persian* Jar, bound about with Cane Hoops to carry it by, containing about half a Tierce, and full of Sugar-Candy. Another full of white Citron Peel; another something smaller, of preserv'd Ginger; 2 others of little preserv'd Oranges and Lemons; a Bag of Pepper containing 2 Measures; a Bag of one Measure of Cloves; a thousand of Nutmegs; a Pot of preserv'd Orange-Flowers; a Bag of Cinnamon; 2 Pieces of Damask, 25 Ells long each, the one of a Violet and the other of a Rose Colour; 2 Pieces of *China* double Taffaty as long as the others, one of white Sattin and another of black Grogram; 6 Pair of colour'd Silk Stockings; 6 fine Calicoe Shirts; 4 Cotton Night-Caps stitch'd with white Silk; 2 Pair of *Persian* Breeches, which reach down to the Ankles; 2 Bundles of *Indian* Canes of several Colours and Shapes, great and small, being about 100, a whole Service of *China*-Ware,

French
and Danes
presents one
another.

Ware, and an Earthen Pitcher, made of Clay taken up near *Mahomet's* Tomb, with a Grate over the Mouth to pour Water through, which being expos'd to the Sun, cools instead of growing hot.

Having stay'd 2 Days in that Place and view'd it, we thought it convenient for us to settle our Habitation in. Timber was immediately cut down on the neighbouring Mountain, and a House erected, the *Danes* helping us, who had hunted about the same Port. Returning to Port *St. Lucy*, we caus'd some of those that were at *St. Peter's* Colony, to remove with their Effects to that of *Isolangare*. I stay'd not long in the former of these Places, *Regimond* having promis'd the *Danish* Commander to send me back to him presently, to trade with his Factors, bartering Cattel for the Strings of Beads presented him. I did so; and passing through the Village of *Ramac*, saw the two Hands of one of the Wives of *Diamboule*, who was Master of that Village, cut off by a Black that was Servant to the Husband, who had condemn'd her to that Punishment, having taken her in Adultery. They were cut off with the Spear of a Lance. She must have bled to Death, had not one of our Surgeons happen'd to be there, who fear'd the Veins with a Hot Iron, and then apply'd an astringent Plaster.

French Colony at Isolangare.

Punishment Adultery.

Proceeding thence to *Fanzaire*, I saw an Act of Civil Justice perform'd by *Andiamramac*. The Masters of Villages being met before his House, the Whites sat on his Right Hand upon Mats, and the Blacks on the Left. The Trial was about a Spot of Ground, contested for by 2 Men, who were standing, each of them having a Calf tied to the Stump of a Tree; both which, when the Case was decided, *Andiamramac* had for Fees of the Court. If the Sute be more considerable they must be Bulls. He tries Criminal Causes after the same manner in the Assembly, and by the Advice of the said Masters of Villages, but receives no Fees. There are no Prisons, the Criminal, whether present or fled, cannot escape; for as soon as ever he is condemn'd to Death, every Man looks upon it as an Honour to cut off his Head before Witnesses, not enduring that any Person condemn'd for his wicked Actions, should live among them.

Trial of Civil Affairs.

of Criminals.

In this Village I found one of the *Danish* Captain's Factors waiting for me, and went with him all over the Province of the *Malegasses*, where we bought 80 Bullocks, which he took away, with 6 Barrels of Rock Salt, carry'd by Blacks. These things were had in exchange for Strings of Beads. At the same time *Sebastian Drouard* and *Giles Regimond* the Younger, with others to the Number of 12, went to the *Antanarres* and *Amboimenes*, to cut down the Ebony I had told them of. It was their Misfortune that *Bonnallot*, one of the Frenchmen and a base Fellow, being intrag'd on account that a Black had stole some Matter of small Value out of his Hat, cut off his Ears and nail'd them to the Trunk of a Tree. The Black thus abus'd came in the Night with a lighted Fire-brand to set Fire to the Hat, which was

made

French
Slaughter'd
for com-
mitting a
Murder.

made of and cover'd with the Leaves of Indian Canes. *Bonualot* perceiving the Fire, discharg'd his Gun, which broke the Black's Thigh, notwithstanding which Hurt the Black dragg'd himself to the neighbouring River and swam it. The next Day he was found on the farther Bank by the French, who tied a Pedrero Charger with two Pounds of Powder in it to the Wretches Feet, and giving Fire to it, he died immediately, and they threw the Body into the River. *Adiampalola*, Lord of that Province, hearing of the Murder, arm'd his Men, and meeting the Murtherers some Days after in the Province of the *Antauarres*, slew them all except a young Man of *Calais*, about 18 Years of Age, who made his Escape, tho' wounded in several Places with Darts, making to his Hut, where laying hold of his Firelock, he beat off those that pursued him, who believ'd he would die of his Wounds. Those *Barbarians*, after they had kill'd *Bonualot*, ripp'd open his Belly, pull'd out his Heart, cut off his Privy Member and put it into his Mouth, and then threw his Body into the River; the others were kill'd with Spears and little Darts.

Andian-
palola
sends Pre-
sents to
Andian-
ramac.

Regimond the Elder hearing this dismal News, had Thoughts of taking Revenge on the *Barbarians*; but considering that if he undertook it, he might miscarry, and that whatsoever happen'd, they would destroy all those that were at the Colony among the *Matatanes*, he desisted. Those Islanders did really design what he imagin'd, and had executed it; but that the young Man who escap'd, retir'd to *Sebastian Dronard*, left at the Ebony Ware-house upon the River, near the Dwelling we had among the *Matatanes*, having then a sore Foot. *Dronard* presently gave Notice to one of our Factors, who was at *Andiampalola*, his Name *Herault*, who came to him immediately, leaving behind all the Powder, Arms, and Goods we had in that Place. At that time our Bark, which had carried Ebony to Port *St. Lucy*, return'd very fortunately for the young Man, *Dronard* and *Herault*, who got into it and went away with those that were in her before to Port *St. Lucy*. *Andiampalola* took it ill to be suspected of that Crime, and sent 6 of his Men to *Andianramac* to clear himself, whom they presented with 2 Gold Bracelets, 4 Silver ones, a great Necklace of 5 Strings, intermix'd with small Gold Pipes, round and hollow Grains of Gold, fine Coral, long Cornelians, and red Strings of Beads all threaded on Cotton. They added Sugar Canes, Rice in the Straw, Beans, Lupins, Pease and two Garments, the one for *Andianramac*, the other for his Wife, which Garments they call *Lambes*; two *Quilambes*, or Girdles; one *Sarrauai*, or Pair of Drawers, all of Cotton and Silk. Among these six Messengers was a Goldsmith of that Country, who follow'd his Trade some time in this Province of the *Madegasses*. He had Crucibles of brown Clay, whereof they make their Utensils, into them he put the Country Gold, which is very fine, and melted it without any

any other Ingredient, blowing with his Mouth through a Cane, the Fire his Crucibles stood on. The same he did by the Silver. He carv'd or cut on soft Stones, as our Goldsmiths do on Cuttle Bones, whatsoever he fancy'd, then pour'd his melted Metal upon it, which receiv'd the Shape and Figure he had cut, to which he afterwards added other Parts to finish his Work, making use instead of Borace for Soldering, of some small Pease of that Country, steep'd in Lemon Juice, into which he dip'd the End of the Feather of a Hen's Wing, and with it rub'd the Pieces that were to be joyn'd together, and with a Pair of Pincers clap'd them into the Fire, cov'd quite over with Coals, which he blew through his Cane, and it solder'd immediatly. All the People of that Province admiring his Secret, brought him what Gold and Silver they had to be wrought. He weigh'd what every one trusted him with, and return'd the same Weight. They call the Scales *Lanzaye*, and the Weights *Milanzaye*.

Goldsmith
of Madag-
car.

However all those Presents and this rare Workmanship did not divert *Andianramac*, who was troubl'd for those that had been cruelly murder'd among the *Antauarres*, and particularly *Giles Regimond* the Younger, and a Painter who had promis'd to draw his Picture by the Life. He went himself to comfort the Father, and sent for me to come to him. At the same time *Regimond* writ to me to pack up my Baggage, for he intended to Sail in a few Days, and to take me along with him. It was to me a very disagreeable Parting, being to leave my House, my Garden and part of my moveables, and what griev'd me most was to leave *Andianmachicore*, who lov'd me entirely; but my Comfort was, that I left what I could not carry away. He kept me Company as far as *Fanzaire*, where I took leave of him to go attend *Andianramac*, who was with *Regimond* at our Residence of St. Peter's. After much Grief and Lamentation, we prepar'd to part. We loaded by way of Ballast 200 Tun of Ebony, from 6 to 7 Foot long, which was convey'd in the Country Canoes, call'd *Lozques*, to the Ships Side, as well that of the Province where we were, as that of the *Matatanes*, *Antauarres* and *Amboimenes*. Then we Shipp'd our Provisions and Merchandize, after fitting the Bark we had brought in Pieces aboard our Ship. She was of 20 Tun Burden, and put to Sea with her Crew, consisting of 25 Men, and having left 60 Men under the Command of *James Proni* and *James de Fouquembourg* of Rochel, in our Colony of St. Peter at Port St. Lucy, we weigh'd Anchor on the 15th of August of the foresaid Year 1642, making for the Red Sea, with a Design to take some good Prize.

The Au-
thor de-
parts Ma-
dagascar.

We took our Course Southward, and being pass'd the Point of *Madagascar* that way, stood to the Northward, betwixt that Island and the Continent of the lower *Ethiopia*, where are the Kingdoms of *Cephala* and *Mozambique*. After three Days we discover'd the Island of *Comora*, lying between 12 and 13 Degrees of South Latitude.

Comora
Islands.

tude. We Landed in the Port of the chief of them, which has given its Name to the rest, and were receiv'd by the Governour, who wore a Turbant on his Head, and had a pair of Breeches that hung down to his Heels, and a little Shirt girt about him with a large Scarfe, in which stuck a Poinard broad at the top and sharp pointed at the bottom, with a full bowing Handle all set with Diamonds, and other precious Stones. Here we exchang'd Linnen for Provisions. Among the Islanders there was a number of *Arabs* and *Persians* who settled there, and others that came only to Trade, this Island and the others about it abounding in Fruit, Coco Nuts, Cotton and Cattel. We would have gone into a *Mosque* that stood open, being all of square Stones, the Walls and Pavement within cover'd with *Turkey Carpets*, but were refus'd Entrance. At the End of it was an Altar cover'd with a Carpet, without any Picture or Statue.

The Red
Sea.

From this Place to Cape *Guardafuy* by the Ancients call'd *Promontorium Aromatum*, which on the left side Guards the Mouth of the Red Sea, or Gulph of *Mecca*, we saw no Land. The Red Sea is also call'd the Gulph of *Arabia*, because *Arabia Felix* lyes on the right Hand entring into it; and in the midit of it near the Shore is the City of *Mecca*, by *Ptolomy* call'd *Mouchtura*, and famous for the Pilgrimages of the *Turks* thither, because *Mahomet* was born there, and which also, as has been said gives its Name to this Gulph, formerly call'd *Mare Erythreum*, from an ancient King of *Arabia* call'd *Erythrus*, as some imagine, and because *Erythrus* in *Greek* signifies Red, it has since been call'd the Red Sea; and not, as some have pretended, from its Red Sands, or from Red Marble among the Rocks, which are both false. The Truth after all is that this was call'd originally the Sea of *Edom*, from *Esau*, *Abraham's* Son, and *Edom* signifying Red, the *Greeks* in their Tongue call'd it *Erythrean*, the *Latines* *Rubrum*, and we the Red Sea. The Description of *Adessa* may be seen in *Belle Forest*, speaking of *Arabia Felix*: its Port is call'd *Zadem*. See *Srrabo* lib. 16. *Ptolomy* lib. 9. c. 11.

Being come to this Place, we sent out our Bark, which brought us Water, Lemmons, Oranges, Rice, Fowl and Guans, and then stood over to the right Side of the Gulph, towards *Arabia Felix*, to discover some Ships, whilst our own coasted along the left Side, leaving the Island *Zococora* behind us. The ancient Name of *Zococora* was *Dioscuris*, or *Dioscoria* producing abundance of excellent Aloes. Our Bark met a small Vessel coming from the *Malabar* Coast loaded with Cotton, Cloth, and Wool, with only 12 Men aboard, who surrender'd without any Resistance. We were satisfy'd with the Goods, dismissing the Men and the Vessel, which was made of Planks sew'd together with a sort of Withes, that held the Joints together, they being fill'd up, or caulk'd with Flax and Rubes, to keep out the Water. It had only one square Sail, made of Rubes wove together, without one Nail or Pin, throughout all of her.

The

The Figure of the *Malabar* Vessels may be seen in *Morisset's Orbis Maritimus*, lib. 2. c. ult. The *Malabar* Coast above mention'd is in the lower *India*, on this Side *Ganges*, beginning at Cape *Camorin*, by the Antients call'd *Cory*, and reaching to the River and Town of *Cangeracon*. The Cape runs out into the Sea to the 8th Degree of North Latitude, between the Provinces of *Decan* and *Narsinga*. It contains the Kingdoms of *Cananor*, *Calecut*, *Cochin*, *Caicolum*, *Conlam* and *Travancor*. See *Magin's Description of the East Indies*.

A Vessel
without
Nail or
Pin taken.

Proceeding onward in 23 Degrees of North Latitude, near the Tropick of *Cancer*, and before *Mecca*, we met 5 *Dutch* Ships. After the usual Salutes they made out to Sea, and we ran up in sight of *Suez*, which is at the bottom of the Gulph. Passing betwixt *Zibid*, an open Town on the Coast of the Kingdom of *Abissinia*, under the Tropick of *Cancer*, and the Island of *Sabega*, which is on the other Side of the Gulph, above *Mecca* in *Arabia*, we discover'd an *English* Frigate Convoing the Merchants that traded from one Side to the other. They of the Frigate would have pick'd a Quarrel with us, threatening to deliver us up to the Country People, as *Rovers*, but seeing us prepare to fight, they let us pass. At length, after ranging all the Gulph, we steer'd about towards the Mouth of it, and being in 15 Degrees of North Latitude, near the Island *Zeiban*, which is between *Zibit* in *Arabia* and *Mazua*, on the Coast of *Abissinia*, our Bark met a *Malabar* Vessel, built after the same manner as the other above spoken of, but much larger, having 30 Men aboard, besides the Passengers going over from *Abrabia* to *Arquico*. It carry'd 12 *Pedreroes*, and was loaded with *Scarlet Cloth*, *Gold* and *Silver*, besides a quantity of *Money*, most of which belong'd to an *Abyssin* Lord, who had been marrying a Wife in *Arabia Felix*. She was aboard the Vessel, Beautiful and Young, wearing a Tunick of white and red strip'd *Satin*, with a sort of *Mans Coat* of the same *Silk* reaching down to her Hams, a little red and white *Turbant* on her Head, and under it a white *Coif* of very fine *Muslin*. The Husband's Garment was of *Crimson Velvet* with *Gold Loops*; and his Servants being 12 in Number, had all *Cloaths* equally strip'd black and white from top to bottom, as also *Turbants* and *Scimiters*. The Sails of the Vessel were made of *Rushes*, as are those of the *Malabars* and *Japoneses*, but longer than those before mention'd, the Commanders Name was *Lalo*. As soon as our Bark discover'd them she hoisted the red Flag at the *Topmast Head*, and fir'd a Gun, to give notice to our Ship that we spy'd a Sail; and then chas'd the Vessel till we came up, which as soon as we did, she presently sent to order the stranger Vessel to strike her Sails and disarm; and they refusing so to do, the Bark fir'd 4 Guns. That daunted them, but much more when our Ship laid her aboard, they demanded to *Capitulate*, and surrender'd upon Condition, that no Wrong should be done, either to the new marry'd Lord, his *Retinue*, or the Vessel.

Another

fel. This being granted, we made *Lalo* come aboard our Ship, and brought with him all the Money we found aboard his Vessel, with some Pieces of Scarlet Cloth, and 8 Cows, leaving them 4 with their Provisions and Water, which was in great Jars, as also a considerable part of their Goods. The ready Money amounting to above 200000 Crowns, satisfy'd our Captains Avarice, which made him undertake that Voyage.

Another
rich Price

Having taken leave of one another, we held on our Course to return to *France*, but Fortune which favour'd us beyond our Wishes, brought into our Mouths a Merchant Ship, bound from Cape *Guardafu* for *Xael*, without any Defence, which having possess'd our selves of without any Opposition, we took out most of the Goods being Silks and Callicoës of all Colours, with raw Silk and Cotton, leaving the Ship and Merchants to go where they pleas'd.

Condition
of Sr. Peter's
Colony.

We steer'd our Course thence to *Madagascar*, and without meeting any thing worth observing, Anchor'd at Port *St. Lucy*, at the beginning of *November* 1643, and Landed at our Colony of *St. Peter*, which we found weakned by the Loss of 14 Men, and all the rest sick of Fevers, through the Temper of the Air, and the Vapors rising from the Marshes all about it; for no Man Lands to go to it without wetting his Feet, it being seated on a low Ground, over which the Sea Water spreads. We were surpriz'd at our coming thither, to find a Woman of the Island at *Proni's* House, Dress'd after the *French* Fashion, whom he according to the Opinion of the Natives kept as his Wife, but according to the *French* Notion, as his Concubine. *Andianramac* had perswaded him to that Match, thinking by this Alliance to be the safer from him and his Men. That Woman whose Name was *Andianramariuelle*, was Daughter to the Deceas'd *Andianmarual*, a great Lord in those Parts, Neice to *Andianramac*, Sister in Law to *Andianmachicore*, and Sister to *Andianbel*, all of them Powerful and our Good Friends.

Table Bay.

In fine, we departed the Island of *Madagascar* for *France*, in the Month of *March* 1644, leaving 36 of our Men to settle there. Having pass'd Cap: *Agulhas* or *Needles*, where abundance of great Reeds are seen floating on the Water, and many Sea Dogs swimming, we put in near the Cape of *Good Hope* to a small Island encompass'd by a River of fresh Water, call'd *Table Bay*, and by the *Dutch* *Baij Wan*. The *French* call the Island, *la Biche*. All Ships that touch there, of what Nation soever, stick a Staff into the Ground, tying a Bottel to the top of it, and in it a Paper giving an Account of the Day they came thither, from whence, and some particulars of their Voyage; so that here we found News of *Digart's* Vessel and of the *Dane*. We went about 4 Leagues up that River with our Ship and Bark, and taking the Opportunity of the Flood, brought them both aground, where we broke up the Bark to serve for Fuel, that Bay being enclos'd on all Sides with naked barren Rocks. Then having cleans'd our Ship, we set

set her afloat again at Anchor, the third Tide, and in 15 Days furnish'd our selves with Water, Sea Wolves, as big as Calves 4 Months old, Sea Dogs, other Fish and Foul. The Cape of *Good Hope* above mention'd, was by *Vasco de Gama*, who first Sail'd beyond it, call'd *Tormentoso*, or Stormy, because of the frequent Tempests Ships meet with there, and having acquainted King *John* the second with it, at his return into *Portugal*, he finding that way the *Indies* were laid open for his Ships, gave it the Name of *Cabo de buena Esperanza*, or *Cape of Good Hope*, in the Year 1497. The Figure of the *Cape of Good Hope*, of that of *Agulhas*, or *Needles*, and of the *Table Bay* may be seen in the *Dutch East Indian Voyages* of the Year 1595.

*Cape of
Good
Hope.*

The *Cafres* inhabiting those Parts, came down to the Shore to see us Fish, arm'd with Spears and Darts; some of them quite naked, others wearing a Sheeps Skin on one Shoulder like a Cloak. To prevent their doing us any harm and make them familiar, we threw them some Sea Wolves, we had kill'd with Staves, striking them on the Nose, there being no other way to kill them. Those Barbarians immediately broil'd what we gave them and eat it all, without any cleaning. They have hideous Countenance, scarce any use of Reason, and less Religion, living in little Houses cover'd with Straw, and mud Walls. Being at length somewhat familiar with us, for some Strings of Beads, and Coral they gave us a Quantity of Fish, two Bullocks, two hairy Sheep, with large Tails, yellow, black, and white Land Tortoise Shells, the upper side figur'd with Lozanges and little Squares. The rarest of them were no bigger than a Goose Egg, the others like a Man's Fist. We also got two Ostrich Eggs and Feathers, with Elephants and Sea Horses Teeth, in Exchange for Copper and Brass Plates

Cafres.

Five and twenty Days after our Departure from this Place, we anchor'd in the Road of the Island of *St. Helen*, so call'd because first discover'd on the 21th of *May*, which is that *Saints Day*. It lyes in 16 Degrees of South Latitude, the Air is very wholesome, and the Soil no less fruitful, for Oranges, Lemmons, Goats, Swine, Geese, Turkeys, Salt and Fish. It is water'd by several Rivers, which fall into the Sea, in the middle of which it lyes to refresh, and relieve all Sailors. Here we found 3 *Dutch Ships*, and the *English Frigate* above mention'd. We Landed, and made merry with those that came in the other Ships, for besides what I have already said it abounds in, we there kill'd a Number of wild Boars, Partridges and Queests, gathering great Store of Purslane to pickle with Salt and Vinegar, for the rest of our Voyage, and then being in good Condition, we some Days after set Sail, for the Island of the *Ascension*, where we stay'd but 6 Hours, to take Sea Tortoises, whereof there are great Numbers. Having brought 60 of them aboard, we turn'd those upon their Bellies which we had before laid on their Backs, to chuse them, for if we did not they would dye, not being able to turn themselves. Sailing thence we

*St. Helena
Island.*

Return to
France.

at length pass'd by *Huessant*, the Westernmost Cape of the lower *Briany*, and Anchor'd at *Comer*, a Cape and open Town opposite to that of *St. Matthew*, at the Mouth of the Bay of *Brest*. There we spent 15 Days in cleansing our Ship, which was Convoy'd by 5 Men of War, appointed to Guard the Coast, as far as *Havre de Grace*, where we lay at Anchor 24 Hours, and went thence in Company with 4 Dutch Ships to *Dicpe*, where we arriv'd, through the Goodness of God, on the 21th of July 1644.

Of the Religion, Customs, and Manners of the People of Madagafcar. As also of the Birds, Beasts, Fishes, and Plants there and in the neighbouring Islands. And first of the Religion and Manners.

HAVING given an Account of my Voyage, it will be proper to declare what Advantage I reap'd by it, in the Knowledge of those People, and such living Creatures and Vegetables as are scarce, or not to be found in other Parts.

Religion.

I have already observ'd that during my long Abode in that great Island, I could not discover any Religion those People had, there being no Temple, and having never seen them pray or call upon any God; or worship any Statue; and when I ask'd them whether they did not own a Creator of all things, who rewarded the Good and punish'd the Wicked, in this World and in the next, they answer'd, they very well knew there was a Devil, by them call'd *Tayusddeck*, who cause Diseases and Barrenness, and a God that kill'd them; so that the latter was more to be fear'd than the former. That all Men were made by themselves, and went indifferently to Heaven after their Death. That it was sufficient that the Wicked were punish'd in this World, both by the Devil, who tormented, and by other Men who chastis'd them without any Exception of Persons, as I had often seen. However it is likely that the Law of *Mahomet*, which is observ'd by their Neighbour Nations on the Continent, opposite to their Island, has in some measure reach'd them, for as much as they practise Circumcision tho' with different Ceremonies from the *Turks*, and do not work on *Friday*, which is so strictly observ'd, that *Andianmandombe*, Elder Brother to *Andianramac*, shut himself up in his Chamber every *Friday*, and would not speak to any Man, but I could never learn what he did there, tho' I was very familiar with him; no more than I could the Ceremonies and Manner of their Marriages, which none of them would reveal to me. Tho' they seem to have somewhat of *Mahometans*, yet some are confin'd to one Wife, and others have several Concubines, which their false Prophet allow'd them for multiplying of their

their Sect, which being addicted to War, by that means is supply'd with mighty Armies, all Men being Soldiers, without any Knowledge of the Lawyers Profession, which weakens all Christian Countries, so many applying themselves to it, and living upon the Substance of others, without any Thoughts of Arming against the Enemies of our Faith.

It has been said before that when the Husband puts away his Wife, he quits all Claim to what he gave her Father for her, and if the Wife leaves her Husband, she is to restore all he bestow'd on her, which is taken from the Law of *Mahomet*, by whom this sort of Marriage is call'd *Chebin*. It has been also observ'd, that there is only one Stone set upon an End, where they are Bury'd, with some Figure according to Fancy; as also that most of these Islanders eat no Swines Flesh, that they Sacrifice Bullocks and Pullets; that they place Bullocks Horns on their Tombs, as the *Jews* did at the Corners of their Altars, that their *Marabou* is to them as it were a Priest to Sacrifice their Victims, and for want of him it is done by the Whites, as Men come of an innocent Race, such as *Shem's* was, and not as the Blacks, who descend from *Ham*; that they cut the slaughter'd Bullocks into small Pieces, and distribute them to all Persons, reserving only the Rump, with part of the Chine for the King, as also a Piece of the same Chine, a Piece of the Heart, and another of the Liver for the Slaughterer. It is to be observ'd, that if there be a Christian among them, they desire him to do this Office, out of what Consideration I know not, but they have often oblig'd me to perform that Function; I believe it was because I took no Share, or else because the Whites are Masters of the Island, and even those Whites, who say they came from the *East Indies* respect the *Europeans*, as being whiter than themselves. For this reason they call a Christian *Vaza*, that is, very white, having so much regard to that Word, that they call a little Spring, which I had convey'd through Horns into my House at *Mannhale*, *Ranne Vaza*, that is, the Christians or the white Mans Fountain. The same they did by a little Wind mill I made in the same House, to turn my Spit at the Fire. There was not one of them at first, but brought me Meat to have the Satisfaction of seeing it roasted, so much they admir'd my little Workmanship.

I am farther perswaded that they have much of *Mahometans*, because the Islands of *Comora*, lying between them and the Continent of the lower *Ethiopia*, are for the most part inhabited by *Arabs* and *Persians*, who profess the *Mahometan* Religion, and even in that Point of the Island, which is next them, there are some and the former that can write, do it in *Arabick*. Besides they eat no Creature but what has been blooded, abhorring all that's strangled; and Entertain no Body in Discourse, or to eat with them, without sitting cross leg'd on a Carpet, or Mat, after the *Turkish* Fashion; neither do they perform any Ceremony without washing first.

Divorces.

Buryals

Sacrifices.

*More
Tokens of
Mahome-
tanism.*

Years, Months, Weeks, &c. They are acquainted with the Course of the Sun and Moon, the first whereof they call *Manssuandre*, and the latter *Vonde*. They divide their Year into 4 Seasons, and 12 Lunar Months, with some intercalary Days. The Moon contains 4 Weeks, and every Week 7 Days. They begin it with the Day dedicated to the Moon, that is *Monday*, which they call *Litenin*; and so *Tuesday*, *Tallat*; *Wednesday*, *Allwoubie*; *Thursday*, *Camis*; *Friday*, on which they do not work, *Zona*; *Saturday*, *Sabouffe*, and *Sunday*, *Allahade*. The Day is nam'd *Andre*, and the Night *Alle*; last Night *Lefalle*; this Night, *Anhalle*; and to-morrow Morning, *Amaray Ampisse*.

Punishments. They know the proper Seasons for Planting and Sowing, and in regard that Life and Sustenance chiefly depend on those two things, they punish those that Steal Plants and Grain, as they do those who take Cattel, cutting off both their Hands. And because the Wife robs her Husband of his Right in giving her self up to others, she undergoes the same Penalty. Murder is immediately punish'd with Death.

Succession. The Sons, as is practiz'd in many Eastern Countries, do not succeed their Fathers in their Principalities or Governments, but the Sons in Law. Neither *Andianramac's* Son nor Brother will succeed him in the Principality of the *Malegasses*, but his Son in Law.

Beasts of Madagascar.

Bullocks. The Island abounds in large Bullocks, which have a great Lump, or Excrecence, of all Fat, very delicious to eat, between their Neck and Shoulders.

Sheep. It has great Numbers of stately large Sheep, with Tails two or three twenty Inches about, and of the same length; their Horns turning inward, and they cover'd with Hair, instead of Wool, the said Hair being of several Colours, and their Ears hanging. The Ewes have 4 Lambs at a time, tho' they have but two Dugs.

Goats. The Goats both Male and Female, are taller than ours, their Hair smooth, white, black, and red. They call a Sheep *Angondu*, and a Goat *Offe*.

Swine. The natural Swine of the Island (for there are others carry'd from Europe) have 5 Claws on each Foot, being no bigger than a Cat, the Tail turning in a Ring, and hide themselves in the Rocks, like the Badger, defending themselves against the Dogs after the same manner, that is with their Teeth and Claws. They are good Meat, very white, and cover'd with short soft Hair.

Cats and Rats. There are Cats with Tails of several Colours, wild and tame; and great Rats good to Eat, grey above and white underneath. There are also Cats that feed only on Tamarinds, being long Body'd, sharp Snouted, short Footed, and their Tails long and spotted.

Salamander. The Salamander is half an Ell long, with a sharp Snout, large Eyes, a long smooth Back, as is the Tail, has four great sharp spreading Claws on each Foot, the Back work'd with Croffes, between two Streaks, which

which run from the Neck to the Tail, and that is forked at the End.

The Camelion is of an Ash Colour, shap'd like a Lizard, the Body flat, the Back sharp, bristling in the Nature of a Saw, from the Head to the Tail. It has 4 Feet, with 3 Toes on each; the Tail long, by which it hangs to the Boughs of Trees, as it does by the Feet. It moves slowly, always shaking, and is 8 Inches long from the Head to the Tail. The Head flat, the Eyes small, black and sprightly, the Snout long, and defends its self with the Teeth, without doing any Harm. If put under a black Hat, it appears of a violet Colour. It is said to live upon the Air, yet I can affirm I have seen one catch a Fly, with a very fine Fiber, or Thread it darts out of its Month, 3 Fingers long, and swallow it. There are also yellow Cameleons, and others green, which are smaller than the Ash Colour'd. All Cameleons have their Skins plaited from the Neck to the last Joint of the Tail, and a sort of Crest on the Head. Camelion.

I have seen a sort of Creatures in St. Mary's Island, and the Bay of Anton Gil, which live upon Land and in the Lakes made by the Sea, being as big as Rabbits, with a Hogs Snout, always grunting, and all the Body cover'd with Prickles like the Hedge-hog; the Feet short, and the Tail long. The Figure of this Creature, and that of the wild Cat may be seen in the *Dutch East India Voyage* of the Year 1595, *Chap. 34.* Amphibious Creatures.

The Province of the *Madagasses* is pester'd with a vast number of Monkeys of several sorts. There are some brown of the Colour of Bevers, their Hair Downy, the Tail long and broad, which they turn up on their Backs to defend them from the Rain and Heat of the Sun, sleeping thus cover'd on the Boughs of Trees like the Squirrels. In other Points they have a Snout like the *Martin*, and round Ears. This is the most innocent and harmless sort of them all. Among the *Antavarrs* there are some of the same sort of Hair as these, with a sort of white Ruff about their Necks. There are some as white as Snow, of the same bigness with those above, long snouted, and grunting like Swine. They are no where but among the *Malegasses*, on the red Mountains, by the Natives call'd *Amboimenes*. The Natives believe the Monkeys can speak, but will not for fear of being made to work as Men do. Monkeys.

The Crocodils or Alligators, tho' amphibious Creatures, shall here pass for four footed Beasts. They breed among the Rushes on the Banks of the Rivers. There are some 25 Foot long, cover'd with Scales and therefore hard to be kill'd, unless it be underneath the Belly, where the Skin is very soft, and easily pierc'd. The Mouth is large, thin set with sharp Teeth, the upper Row reaching out beyond the lower Jaw, which is fix'd, the other moving, which Nature has providently contriv'd, the Creature being very low on its Feet, so that it almost drags on the Ground, and therefore if the under Jaw mov'd and the upper were fix'd, like other Creatures, it could catch nothing and must Starve. Alligators.

This

Lizards. This Contry abounds in small speckled *Lizards* like ours, which they call *Annohis*.

Tortoises. Tortoises being also of an amphibious Nature shall have a Place here. They float on the Water, or lye on the Sand to bask in the Sun. Their Shells are so large, that one of them might serve to cover a small Room that could hold ten Men, and so hard, that to take out the Flesh within, they must be cut open with a Hatchet on the Side, where the joining is. They lay between 4 and 500 Eggs, as big as a Hens. The Flesh is fat, and delicious as Veal. There are some smaller in the Islands about *Madagascar*, but yet they are 3 or 4 Foot Diameter. Their Shell is in some Places darker than others, drawing to red. It is extraordinary fine when polished; they make of them Trunks and Caskets, adorn'd with Gold and Silver, and other Moveables of great Value, not only in *Europe*, but in the *East Indies*. It is reported, but I did not see it, that the People of the *Maldivy Islands*, when they take these Tortoises, place them near the Fire till they quit their Shells, and then put them into the Sea again, where in some Months they get new Shells. *Pyrard* in his Treatise of *Animals in the East Indies*, Chap. 2. The Natives of *Madagascar* call the Land Tortoise *Fame tanne*, and that of the Sea *Fame Rioc*.

Birds of Madagascar.

Flamencos Birds. Here is a sort of Birds they call *Vnourees fouches*, that is, white Birds. They have a broad Beak, bowing without upwards, with which they dig in the Sand, and Ouse as it were with a Shovel, fetching up the Prawns and little Fishes, on which they feed. They have a long Neck and Legs, as are their Wings, the Feet like our Geese, their Feathers red on the Back, and white on the Breast and Belly, we call them *Flamans*, from the *Portugues*, *Framengos*, that is *Flemmings*.

Ducks. Their Ducks are as big as our Geese, having an Excrecence of black Flesh between the Beak and the Head, flat and round, like a *Spanish mill'd Royal*, baiting that it bends a little on the Beak, somewhat like their Hatchets, and therefore the Natives call that Excrecence *Feique*, signifying a Hatchet, and the Birds *Vnourees Feiques*. They are Feather'd like our Ducks.

Birds of Nazareth seem to be Ostriches. In Prince *Maurice's* Island I have seen Birds bigger than Swans, without any Feathers on their Bodies, which are cover'd with a black Down, their Breech quite round, the Rump adorn'd with curl'd Feathers, as many in Number as the Bird is Years old. Instead of Wings they have Feathers like those last mention'd, black and bowing. They have no Tongues, the Beak thick, bowing a little downwards, long scaly Legs, with only three Claws on each Foot. They make Noise like a Goose, and are not so well relish'd as the *Fouches* and *Feiques* above mention'd. They lay but one Egg, as big as a Penny Loaf, by which they place a white stone, as big as a Hens Egg, and that on Grass they bring together for the Purpose, and build their Nests in

in the Woods. If the young One be Kill'd, there is a grey Stone found in its Guizard. We call them Birds of *Nazareth*, perhaps for having been found in the Island of *Nazareth*, which is above that of Prince *Maurice*, in 17 Degrees of South Latitude. The Grease of these Birds is of excellent Use to supple the Nerves and Muscles.

The Pheasants of these Islands are larger, and more beautiful than ours, having very high Copple Crowns on their Heads, like Peacocks, their Wings red underneath and brown at top, their Necks of the colour of a Pigeon. Pheasants.

Their Partridges are also bigger than ours, their Bills red, some of them tawny, some black, and the Natives call them *Vnouhres Maherres*, strong Birds, because they fight and kill one another, as ours do at their Coupling time. Partridges.

In Prince *Maurice's* Island and *Madagascar*, there are white, black, and red Turtle Doves, Wood Pigeons and Stock Doves; as also red Hens, with Woodcocks Beaks, to take the which they need only show them a Piece of red Cloth, and they will follow and suffer themselves to be taken by Hand. They are as big as our Hens, and excellent Meat. Doves and Red Hens.

Besides the common Hens, like ours, there are *Pintados*, by the Natives call'd *Acangues*, their Heads like a Sparrow Hawk hooded, their Beak strait, short, and strong, their Feathers speckled Grey, Black, and White, very smooth, wherein they differ from the *African* Hens, whose Beak is bowing, and their Breech is Downy. I brought 14 of them with me, when I return'd home, but sav'd only one alive, which I gave to a Friend of mine at *Dieppe*. The Figure of the *African* Hen is in *Marcgravius* p. 192. Hens.

The Herons in this Country have great thick Beaks, bowing gently downwards, like the *Polish* Cutlasses. Their Feathers are of a Violet Colour, their Wings reach as long as their Tails, their Thighs down to the Joint of the Leg are cover'd with small Feathers, the Legs long and slender, of a light Grey, as is the Beak. Their Chickens are at first black, when grown bigger of an Ash Colour, then white, next red, and lastly of a Violet, or Dove Colour. They feed on Fish. There are such Herons in *Brasil*, and call'd *Guara*, the Figure of them is in *Marcgravius's* History of *Brasil*. l. 5. c. 8. Herons.

Here are several sorts of Birds of Prey, nothing different from ours in *Europe*; I have found Frogs and Lizards in their Prey. Nests, the latter are by the Natives call'd *Annobis*.

In Prince *Maurice's* Island I have seen a sort of Birds of an excellent Rabos for-Taste, with Beaks like Woodcocks, a very large forked Tail, whence cado. Birds the *French* call it *Ciseaux* the *Costurier*, that is, *Tailors Sheers*, and the *Portugueses* *Rabos Forcados*, or forked Tails. They are so tame. that they may be taken by Hand, and kill'd with a Stick; their Breast is white, the rest black. They feed on flying Fishes, and Birds. The Figure of them, is in the *Dutch Voyages* to the *East Indies*, l. 2. p. 4. In

- Thrushes.* In *Madagascar* I have seen Thrushes of a dark Grey, with yellow Beaks; and others black, having a Tuft between the Beak and the Head.
- Parrots.* In the Province of the *Malegasses* there are black Parrots, as big as our Crows, call'd *Vuoures meime*, that is, Black Birds. The Green ones, which we name Paroquets, are by them call'd *Massifsey*, signifying small, and are smaller than a Thrush. There are others yet smaller, in Prince *Maurice's* Island, with yellow Necks, and the rest green, no bigger than a Lark. The beautifullest and most numerous in *Madagascar* have grey and violet Colour Feathers, and eaten, taste like a Wood Pigeon. The Parrots build their Nests on the *Palmiro* Trees, at the End of the Branches, they are made of bruiz'd Reeds, with only one Hole to get in at, like our Swallows Nests.
- Sweet Singers.* In the Province of the *Malegasses* there is a sort of Birds as small as *Canary* Birds, which have very harmonious wild Notes, their Wings yellow underneath, and all the rest of the Body red. I brought some to *Rom*.
- Dwarf Herons.* The Dwarf Herons have a Beak like a Woodcocks, their Body as big as our Hens, there are some grey and purple, others white, their beautifullest Feathers on the Neck and Rump; their Legs are long like all other Sea and River Fowl, that feed on Fish, and delight to be on the Sands and Rocks.
- Penguins.* We call'd a small Island lying 4 Leagues beyond the Cape of *Good Hope*, the Island of Birds, from the mighty Number of several Sorts there is in it. There are Penguins, only differing from those at the Streights of *Magellon*, in that these have their Beaks bowing, and the others strait, like a Heron. They are as big as a Goose, weighing about 16 Pounds, their Back cover'd with black Feathers, their Bellies white, the Neck short and thick, with a white Rim about it; their Skin is very thick, having little Wings as it were of Leather, hanging like little Arms, cover'd with harsh small Feathers white and black, which they use in Swimming, and not to Fly, being seldom on Land, unless it be to lay their Eggs and hatch them. They have short Tails, and their Feet flat and black. They hide themselves in Holes they make on the Sea Shore, never above two together, laying on the Land and setting only upon two Eggs, which are as big as *Turkey* Eggs.
- Margos.* In the same little Island there were *Margos*, bigger than Geese, with grey Feathers, their Beak sharp and bowing at the End like a Hawk, their Feet little and flat, the Claws joyn'd with Skins. They sleep on the Sea, are very broad betwixt the Wings, and build their Nests in the Grass, in which there are never above two Eggs, they feed on Fish.
- Grand Goats.* I wonder'd to see a sort of Fowls as big again as the former, perching on Trees, tho' they had Feet like Geese; their Feathers also grey, and lay Eggs as big as a Penny Loaf. They feed on Fish, and put it into a natural Pouch they have under their Neck, the *French* call them *Grand Gossiers*, that is great Gulleets, their Flesh is not well relish'd. We made Caps of those Bags or Pouches they had under their Necks.

In the same little Island there were other Black Fowls, as big as a Hen, which fly high, building their Nests on the Rocks; have Yellow Beaks longer than a Hen's. We call'd them Cormorants. In short that Island is full of Birds and their Eggs. In less than an Hour we gather'd our Boat full of the former and a Pipe full of Eggs.

Cormorants.

When we drew near the Island of St. Helena, which is 200 Leagues from the Continent of *Africk*, call'd *Terra do Natal*, a Number of Birds flock'd to our Ship, we took Abundance of them with Bits of Flesh, wherewith we baited Hooks. They are as big as Pidgeons, their Feathers Black and White in Squares chequerwise; for which reason we call'd them *Damiers*, that is, *Draught Boards*. Their Tail is large and their Feet like a Duck's.

Damiers.

The Bats in Prince *Maurice's* Island are as big as Crows, their Heads like a Foxes. They sleep hanging on Trees by little Hooks there are at the Joints of their Wings. There are such in *Brasil*, which suck Men's Blood in the Night, fastning upon a Limb they find Naked. See the general History of the *Indies*, l. 2. c. 80.

Bats.

There are also Birds so small, that their Body does not outweigh two Bees, being somewhat of their Nature, as flying about the Flowers, and alighting on them to draw their Sustenance from them. They are Brown, and call'd *Colibri*. *John de Lery* in his *American Voyage*, makes mention of such a Bird he saw in the Country of the *Toupinambous*, and by them call'd *Gounimbuch*, a little bigger than a *Horner*, singing to Admiration, and always sitting on the Grass the *Americans* call *Anasi*, or, on the Grass, with the Gullet continually open to sing, so loud and delicately, that it is nothing inferior to the Nightingale. It differs from that of *Madagascar* in that the Plumage is Grey.

Colibri.

When the Natives of *Madagascar* find any Swarms of Bees on the Trees, or in hollow Places, they carry them to a little Inclosure there is about their Houses, and shut them up in Pieces of a very light Sort of Wood, between 2 or 3 Foot long, cut in Length in the Nature of a little Boat overturn'd, made hollow, daub'd with Honey, and open at the Ends. These Bees are smaller than ours, but their Honey is better. They call the Bees, *Lallais*, the Wax *Lite*, and the Honey *Farremammi*, signifying Sweet Sugar.

Bees.

Since I have plac'd the Bees among the Birds, because they have Wings, it will be convenient to add the flying Pismires, which are like ours, but have one peculiar Quality, which is, that they leave a Glutinous Matter on Thorny Bushes, whereof the Natives of *Madagascar* make use instead of Glue, to hold on the Iron of their Lances and little Darts. This Substance or white Gum, serves also for an Astringent, and strengthens the Nerves and Muscles that are any Way griev'd. I have had this Gum from our Apothecaries; and it is of a dusk Colour, clinging to the Thorn. I believe Age has so chang'd the Colour. The Greeks and Latins, according

Flying Pismires.

ding to *Dioscorides*, l. 1. call it *Cancarnum*. The *Arabs*, *Lach*; the *Botanists*, *Laque*. It is describ'd by *Amatus Lusitanus* on the afore said Book, Narrat. 23. Sealing Wax is made of it.

Of the Fishes of Madagascar.

Captain
Fish.

The *Captain Fish* is taken on the Coast of *Madagascar* and out at Sea; they bait the Hook with a Linnen Rag, which the Fish being ravenous, swallows and is taken. It is like a Perch, a Foot broad, and a Foot and a half in Length. It has Teeth, all the Body streak'd Lozenge-way, having very sharp Prickles on the Back, and 7 Fins, the Scales lying close one upon another, are of a pale Gold Colour, brownish at the Extremity, the Back being of a fine Lake Colour, inclining to red. Some of them have the Back Bone wav'd with *Azure*, or *Blew*, as is the Tail, which Blew declines into Green towards the End. There are two Sorts of it in *Brasil*, represented by *Marcgravius* in his Natural History, l. 4. c. 3. The first Sort call'd by the *Portugueses* *Pudiano Vermello*, and by the *Brasilians* *Aipimixira* and *Tetimixira*, the other *Pudiano Verde*.

Tunny
Fish.
Pilchard.

The *Tunny Fish* is taken in the same manner as the *Captain*, follows Ships, and is somewhat like a Salmon, but more Scaly.

The *Pilchard* is Grey and Flat, smaller than the *Captain*, the Ridge of the Back very high, with Prickles like the Carp, which it also resembles in Colour and the Shape of the Scales, being of a Silver and Gold Colour, with Strait Black Streaks running from the Head to the Tail. The *Brasilians* call this Fish *Acara Pinima*. The Figure of it is in *Marcgravius*, l. 4. c. 6.

Moon-
Fish.

The *Moon-Fish* was so call'd by reason of its Roundness, having so small a Mouth, that it can scarce bite at the Hook: It plies about the Rocks, as do the *Captain* and *Pilchard*. The Skin of it is so very hard, that a Knife will scarce cut it; being flat, rugged, and without Scales, like the Gurnet, of a Greyish Brown, the Tail forked, and has an unpleasant Taste. There is another Sort, only differing from the first in that its Mouth is wider, with a stiff long prickly Ridge on the Back, and 2 weaker, like Threads, on the Belly, the Skin of a Brightness like Silver, but the Ridges Black. The first of these Fishes the *Brasilians* call *Guaperma*, being but 5 or 6 Inches long, and 3 at most in Breadth. It has some long and other short Prickles on the Back and under the Belly. *Laet* has the Figure of it in his Description of the *West-Indies*, l. 15. c. The other the *Brasilians* call *Abacarnaia*, the *Portugueses* *Pieixe Gallo*, and *Gesner* *Gallus Marinus*. I suppose from the great Ridge rising on the Head, like a Heron's Tail.

Feints, or
Carana
Fish.

The *Feints* are 6 Fingers broad and a Foot and a half long, the Skin scald White, with Black Spots: It delights in fresh Water. Its Eyes are on the Top of the Head, close to one another, like those in flat Fishes. The Figure of them is in *Marcgravius*, l. 4. of his Natural History of *Brasil*, by the Name of *Carana*.

The

The *Mullets* in this Island of *Madagascar* are 2 Foot long, as thick as *Mullets* a Mans Leg, taken in the Rivers in Autumn, very fat and well tasted.

The *Flying Fishes* are found throughout all that vast Interval there is *Flying Fish* between the 2 Tropicks. When we were under that of *Capricorn*, making towards Prince *Maurice's* Island, one fell in the Night upon a Comrade of mine's Cheek. He thought I had given him a Cuff as he slept, and was for quarrelling with me, and had not the Fish been found at his Feet, when Light was brought upon the Disturbance, we had fallen together by the Ears.

In the River of *St. Clare*, in the Island of *Madagascar*, I have seen a *Becune*, or Fish, which the *French* call *Becune*, with a Grey Skin and no Scales, 2 Bill Fish. Foot and a half long, 3 Inchesthick, with a Beak 5 Inches long, and extraordinary strong Teeth both above and below.

There is another Sort in the same Place that has a smaller Beak, by the *French* call'd *Orphi*, three Inches about, and above 3 Foot long, the upper Part of the Body of an Olive Colour, the under Part of a Silver Whiteness. It is good fry'd, and exceeds an Eel. *Orphi Fish.*

In Prince *Maurice's* Island we took an extraordinary Fish, which we *Old Fish.* call'd *Pielle*, that is, *Old*, because the Body of it was all full of Wrinkles, the Scales rising several Ways and sticking in unequally, with several Tucks and Folds. It is as long and thick as a Cod, of a dark Grey the Head large and flat, the Body also flat, and the Skin very harsh.

The *Dorados*, or *Gilt Heads*, go in Shoals in those Parts, are flat, their Head square; they are 4 or 6 Foot in Length, thicker upwards than downwards, their Eyes near the Mouth, which is small in proportion to the Body. All the Back cover'd with a prickly Ridge, tapering off towards the Tail. These Fishes are by another Name call'd *Sea-Breams*, and *Dorados* because they look Yellow in the Water, and shining like Gold. The *Brasilians* call them *Guarapema*, or *Guara Capema*, *Dorados*, or *Gilt-Heads.* and the Figure of them is in *Marcgravius*, l. 4. c. 11. of the Hist. of *Brasil*, who at the next Page gives the Figure of a Sort of *Dorado*, that has a great Gullet and sharp Teeth; so that they often snap off a Man's Arm or Leg in swimming. The *Brasilians* call it *Piraya* and *Pirhanha*.

There are 2 Sorts of *Porpoises*; the one have a Swine's Snout, and are therefore call'd *Sea-Hogs*; the other has a flat Mouth, and because they seem to have a Cowl and a Cassock coming over their Head, and reaching down to cover Part of the Belly, they are call'd *Sea-Monks*. These are 7 or 8 Foot long, with long cleft Tails, all their Skins smooth, and when cut open they are like Pork. The same way they come the Storm follows. I have seen a vast Number of them on the Coast of *Ginea*. *Porpoises*

The *Tunny-Fish* is smaller than the *Porpoise*, as is the *Bonito*: The *Tunny-Fish* and *Bonito* are struck with an Harping-Iron, but the *Tunny-Fish* and *Bonito* are taken with a Hook. There is a third Sort of *Porpoises*, and other bigger *Porpoises*. *Tunny-Fish and Bonito*

bigger than a Yearling Heifer: The *French* call them *Souffleurs*, that is, *Blowers*, because they blow strongly; they, as well as the other *Porpoises*, have a Vent or Hole between the Nose and the Eyes, through which, raising their Heads above the Water, they spout up Water like the Whale. They feed on Fish, and are not good to eat, as are the other *Porpoises*, whose Skin is brown, whereas the great ones are black and hideous to behold, for which reason we also call'd them *Chauderonniers*, that is, *Tinkers*. When Shoals of them appear bouncing and skipping, a Storm is to be expected to follow.

*Small sort
of Fish.*

We often took some Fishes but 4 Fingers long, with great round Heads like Mouths, the Eyes on the Top of them, with a sharp Ridge from the Head to the Tail on the Back, and another underneath, beginning at the Middle of the Belly, and finishing where the other ends. Some of them have several Streaks running like Rings round their Bodies, others have none of those Streaks, like our *Ponting*, but that their Skin is darker. When the Sea throws them on the Rocks of *Madagascar*, they immediately leap again into the Water, not being able to live out of it. The Flesh of them is delicious, and tastes like our *Ponting*. The *Brazilians* call them *Punaru*. Their Figure is in *Marcgravius's Nat. Hist. of Brasil*, l. 5. c. 13. In the same Chapter he gives us the Figure of the Fish *Amore Pixuma*, which is in all respects like the *Ponting*, but that it is of an Iron Colour.

Thornback.

There are *Thornbacks* of such a prodigious Magnitude, between Prince *Maurice's* Island and *Madagascar*, that one of them will serve 300 Men.

*Other small
Fish.*

In the same Parts there are abundance of Fish smaller than *Herrings*, like the *Pinsru*, which cling so fast by the Back to Ships, that it is hard to remove them. They are round, brown, and have a smooth Skin.

*Lobsters
and Craw-
Fish.*

This is the Method we us'd to catch *Lobsters* and *Sea Craw-Fish*, as thick as a Man's Arm. We put a Quantity of bruisd Muscles into Baskets, made of Rushes or Canes, wide above and narrow below, like our *Wheels*; those Creatures seeking for their Sustenance upon the Rocks, got into our Baskets, and could not get out again. The Natives have given them the Name of *Fannefues*, signifying *Shell-Fish*. In the Rivers they take *Craw-Fishes* differing little from ours in Size or Shape.

Crabs.

As for *Crabs*, there are of them all about the Island of *Madagascar*, in the Sea, in Rivers, and Springs, and even on the Tops of Mountains, where there is any Coolness, from the Shade of the Trees and the Moisture of the Grass. The Natives call them *Raz*, *Raz*, are afraid of them, and run away when they meet them, both because of their Deformity, and by reason that going barefoot, they are

are afraid of their Claws. Their Bodies are round, thicker than a Man's Wrist, flat underneath, the Eyes small and sticking out, with ten winding Claws, and four Joints in each, those before thicker than the others, diminishing as they remove from the Inside; the Ends of the Fore-Legs bristly, except the foremost of all which have Claws an Inch and a half long, very sharp, with Teeth or Knobs on the Inside. Their Back rises above the rest of the Body, representing the imperfect Figure of a Head Piece, on a Back and Breast-Plate; they are redder there than in any other Part of their Body, and hold their Colour when boil'd, without changing at all. Wheresoever they have their Being they dig Holes in the Ground like Rabbits, whence they fall in great Numbers and with much Noise, when they find it rains, as living on the Frogs it produces and nourishes, and on the Grass. If any body happens to lie unburied in those Parts, or any Carrion, it is all soon devour'd by those Creatures, which is excellently relish'd to our Taste, but not for the Natives, who loath them. The Description and Figure of these Crabs is in *Marcgravius's Nat. Hist. l. 4. c. 19.* by the Name of *Gnaia*, and in *Laet's Description of the West Indies, l. 15, c. 13.* There are Crabs in the *Maldivy Islands*, as *Pyrard* in his Voyage informs us, and so large, that their Holes look like Caves, their Claws being thicker than a Man's two Wrists.

There is a Sort of *Craw-Fishes* both in the Sea and Rivers, which is all Legs without any Body, by the *Portugueses* call'd *Ostra* Bodiless
Crabs.
dos Mangues, or *De Pedras*. They cling to Ships, having many Fibres like little Feathers about their Feet, wherewith they cleave so fast under the Prow and Stern, that they cannot be got off without breaking. They live when parted alunder.

Trees, Shrubs, Plants, Roots, and Flowers of Madagascar.

There are several Sorts of *Palmitos*, by the *French* call'd *Lataniers* (which in *Dr. Sloan's Catalogue of Jamaica Plants* are in English term'd *Indian Canes*) in *Madagascar* and the adjacent Islands. They extract their Juice, making an Incision at the Foot of the Trunk, so as not to cut them down with a Hoe, or small Hatchet. It is nourishing and good to drink, having a sharp and sweetish Taste. The Fruit of it resembles a Pear in Shape, but only the Peel of it is eaten. This is the smallest Sort of all, and the great ones distil their Liqueur, not at the Trunk, but at the Leaf folded back. The Body being smooth, strait, and tall, they cut Notches in it to stay the Hands and Feet, and climb to

to the Top, where they tie several Gourds or Calabashes to the Branches and about the Body above; then climbing the Tree, they bow and bruise the Leaves, so that the Liquor coming from them may fall into those Calabashes, the Point of the Leaf being put in to them. This Liquor is excellent to drink fresh, but grows aigre in two Days. -The Figure and Description of this *Palmito* is in the fourth Book and tenth Chapter of *Pison's* Book of the Virtue of Simples in *Brasil*, by the Name of *Pindoua*, so the *Brasilians* call it.

Banana
Tree.

The *Banana* Tree is known not only in *Madagascar*, and the adjacent Islands, but also in *Brasil*. It delights on the Tops of Mountains, where there are Springs, puts out its Flower or Blossom at the middle of its Leaves, whence it hangs down like an Artichok, of a purple Colour, from which grow long hanging Cods, eight Foot in length including the Fruit, which are six Inches long, an Inch thick, white when within, and yellow when taken out, and put into the Sand to ripen, for eating. This Tree being pithy, and soon sprouting, is cut down at the Foot every Year, to gather the Fruit with more Ease. The Body of it is as thick as a Man's Thigh, always ready to be cut down, as never without Fruit. The Leaves of it are very beautiful, as it were Edg'd with a Galoon all round, six Foot long, two in breadth, of a lively Green. The Fruit will not keep. The People of *Madagascar* call the Tree *Once*; the Fruit, when not ripe, *Once Maute*, and when ripe, *Once Mamy*. Both the Eastern and Western *Indians* call these Trees *Bananas*. The Fruit is excellent preserv'd. *Pyrard* in his Book of the *West Indian* Animals and Trees, Chap. 9. says, This Tree is nine or ten Foot high, the Body of it as tender as a Cabbage, as thick as a Man's Thigh, with several Films over it, like an Onion, which being taken off they come at the Pulp, as thick as a Man's Arm, good to make Pottage; the Leaves an Ell and a half long, serving for Table Cloths, Napkins and Dilhes. The Fruit is delicious, three Inches thick, and a Foot long. This Tree is cut down every Year and puts out several Shoots. The Pith of it serves instead of Pap for Children. The *Dutch* have inserted the Figure of the *Banana* Tree in their *East India* Voyages, Anno. 1595, Chap. 15. and tell Wonders of it. *Serapion* and *Avicen* call these Trees *Musas*; but the Fruit of these, as well as the Blossom, rise upwards from the midst of the Stem, whereas the *Banana* Trees of *Madagascar*, let them hang down from their Leaves. The Figure is represented by *Pison* in his fourth Book of the Virtues of *Brasilian* Simples, Chap. 26.

Cotton-
Tree.

The Cotton Tree grows in the Province of the *Tapates* in *Madagascar*, and particularly in a Vale near the Sea, by us call'd the Port of *Galcons*, and by the Natives *Tannemene*, signifying, red

red Land, it being all of that Colour. This Tree, by them call'd *Foulesauche* is never above eight or nine Foot high. It has many long slender Brances, the Leaf long, and as big as a Penny Piece the Bark of the Colour of the Elm. The Fruit of it is a sort of longish Nuts, which part into three, having so many Shells, and in every part there are seven Grains or Kernels, like Vetches wrap'd up in Cotton, which is thus order'd in *Madagascar*. When the ripe Nut has burst and shew'd its Cotton, the Women and Maids beat, and draw out the Cotton, first with their Hands, and then with a little Switch, then they spin it, holding the End with the left Hand over a Stick, which serves them instead of a Spindle, tho' not shap'd like it, baiting that at the lower End it has a round Weight to draw the Thread to it. They turn this Stick with their right Hand on their Thighs which are naked and shining, till it is full, and then laying it into a Basket, they take other Sticks or Spindles to do in the same manner. When their Spindles are full, they wind it up about the left Hand and Elbow, with the Right, till they have made a Skain. Some of this Cotton they leave in its natural Colour, and Dye the rest of such Colours as they please, then lay it all on a Loom, like those of our Weavers, but not so wide, and intermix some of the Country Silk, all in Stripes. This Stuff is very lasting, as being close, and well wove, and the People of the South Part of this Island drive a great Trade with it, for no Cotton grows in the North End. *Mathiolus* on *Discorides* l. 2. c. 96. mentions other Sorts of Cotton, by the *Latins* call'd *Bombax*, as he does again l. 3. c. 115, which is not the sort we speak of, that of *Discorides* being an Herb, and ours a Tree. But I never read any where but in *Mathiolus*, that this word *Bombax* signify'd Cotton, which is call'd *Gossipion*, and *Xylon*, as is the Tree that bears it, describ'd by *Pliny*, l. 12. c. 11, and l. 19. c. 1. There are whole Woods of it in the *West Indies*, and almost throughout the *East*, thus *Pyrard* describes it, in his Account of the Indian Animals, and Trees. The Tree which bears the Cotton grows to the Height of our Rose Trees. The Leaf is like that of the Maple, the Blossoms come out like the Rose Buds. When the Blossom is fallen, the Bud blows, and puts forth the Cotton, in which is a Seed, and that they sow, as we do in Nurseries, and those continually produce Cotton, us'd by the *Indians* to make their Cloth. The shape of the Cotton Flower describ'd by our Traveller is like a little Bell, and yellow, as those of the Gourds. The *Toupinambous*, who have this Tree call it *Ameni-jou*. See *Lery's* Description of *America*, Chap. 15.

There is another sort of Cotton Tree, whose Trunk and Branches are like the Fir Tree, the Leaves three Fingers broad, at a Distance from one another, the Shell of the Fruit being also three fingers

Another
Sort.

gers.

gers long, three corner'd, of the bigness of an ordinary Apple, When ripe it opens, and discloses a very fine and white Cotton, which nevertheless the Natives of the Island make no Use of. I made excellent Quilts of it. This Tree grows only in the Province of the *Malegasses*.

Indigo. - The Colour the Natives of *Madagascar* most delight in is the Blew, coming from the *Indigo* Plant, as the *Portugueles* call it, as also *Erva d'Anir*. It grows like Broom, having such long slender Roots, the Leaf broader, somewhat resembling that of *Senna*. It has little Membrans, which proceeding from the Rim in the Middle draw wavy and equally towards the Edges. The Stem is not above an Ell in Length and an Inch thick. When the Tree is 3 Years old, the Flower somewhat resembles the Herb *Heartseale*, and the Seed that of *Fennel*; it is gather'd in *November* and sow'd in *June*. After 3 Years standing this Plant dies, or is cut down as useless. The Dye drawn the first Year from its Leaves pounded is heavy and red, by the *East Indians* call'd *Nomi* or *Nonsi*. That of the second Year, of a Violet Colour; and whereas the first sinks in Water, this floats on the Top; the same *Indians* call it *Cyerce* or *Ziarie*, being the perfectest, and dying Cloth of a curious Blew. The 3d Year's is heavy and black, call'd *Catteld*. The *East-Indians* cut off the Branches of this Tree and put them into a Cistern, laying Stones on them, as we do with our Hemp, to keep them down for some Days, till the Water has taken a dark Violet Colour. Then they pour that Water into another small Cistern, often stirring it with Sticks, and scum it, then after letting it settle, they drain off the Water, and the Settling is laid on Cloths. When that Substance begins to dry, they take it up by Handfuls, squeeze it, and make little Balls, which they lay a hardning on the Sand. The Tokens we know good *Indigo* by are, its being dry; of a Violet Colour, and shining, and if thrown into the Fire that it sends out a Purple Smoke and leaves little Ashes when burnt. The *Madagascar Indigo* has very much of that we have here describ'd, the Stem and Branches are of a blewish Green, as are the Leaves, which resemble Vetches, the Blossoms of a yellowish White, and produce Cods hanging in Clusters, full of a black Seed, like our Lentiles. The People of *Madagascar* do not use so much Ceremony in extracting the *Indigo* as the *East Indians*; they bruise the Leaves and Branches whilst tender, and make Balls of them, weighing about 3 Pound each; which they dry in the Sun. When they would dye any thing, they pound one, two or three of them according as there is Occasion, and put the Powder into Earthen Pots, boiling it in Water over the Fire, then take off their Pots and let them cool, dipping their Cotton in that Liqueur, as also their Silk, which they take from Worms, whose Shell is as big as a Man's Wrist,

and

and very thin, and they spin it like Cotton. After some time, they take the Silk and Cotton out of those Pots, being Dy'd of a dark shining Blue, and use them in all their Cloathing. The Figure of this Plant is in *Laet's Latin Description of India*, Chap. 2. where he writes the strange Method those People use to extract the Dye. The same is also in *Marcgravius's History of Plants*, Chap. 1. where he describes several sorts of it, as does *Francis Ximenes*, in his Book of the Plants in *New Spain*. The *Mexicans* make the Dye after another manner than the People of *Madagascar*, which see in *Laet of the West Indies*. L. 7. c. 9.

There is another sort of *Indigo* in this Island, which does not grow up like that spoken of, but creeps along the Ground, and Ground
Indigo.
clings to it by little Strings, which are so many Roots. The Leaves of it are opposite to one another by two and two. The Branches spread three Foot, bearing Shoots a Finger long, cover'd with little Blossoms, which are Purple, with a mixture of White, in the shape of an open Head-Piece, of a good scent. *Julius Scaliger* in his Book of Plants, says this is by the *Arabs* call'd *Nil*, or *Nir*, signifying Blue. The *Guzarats* call it *Gali*. *Garcia d'Orta*, represents it as an Herb that is Sow'd every year, and like our *Basil*, the Leaves whereof Dry'd, are of a Dark Blue. *Clusius* believes it to be our *Woad*, by the *Latins* call'd *Glastrum*, and by the *Greeks*, *Isatide*; but this is nothing like *Basil*. *Pyrard*, in his Book of *Indian Beasts*, and Plants, Chap. 6. says the *Indigo* brought to the Kingdoms of *Cambaya* and *Suratte* is like *Rosemary*, which the oftner it is wetted and dry'd, the finer Blue it makes. In the *Dutch East India Voyages*, An. 1595. Chap. 8. they tell us, the *Indigo* Plant of *Madagascar* is like *Rosemary*, but smaller; between *Rosemary* and *Thyme*, the Figure of it is in *Amatus Lusitanus*, Lib. 2. Narrat. on *Discorides*, 182.

The *Tamarind* Tree has the Body, Limbs, and Branches like an *Elm*, and bears in a great Cod, a sort of Fruit having a Stone
Tama-
rind.
in the Pulp, one single Fruit fills the whole Cod from end to end, and of it they make a very cooling Liqueur, which we us'd instead of *Verjuice* whilst we were in the Island. The Fruit eaten is very Laxative, the Wood of it is good to burn, growing on the Banks of Rivers, and is scarce enough in *Madagascar*. I saw four of them in the Village of *Fanzaire*, which were much valu'd. The Fruit tastes like *Damascenes*, and is Brown when Ripe. The Leaves have scarce any Stalk, but look as if they clung to the very Branches by two and two, a Finger and a half in breadth, and three in length; the upper side of a beautiful Green, the under fainter. They have a sharpish taste, and are therefore us'd in Fevers. There is never more than one

Cod at the end of a Bough. The Stone in the Fruit is as big as an Almond, of a Chesnut Colour, and being set in the Ground, in one year produces a small Tree five Foot high. The Blossoms are like Orange Flowers, having such a Scent, and eight Leaves. The *Portugueses* call this Tree *Tamars Azeda*, that is, *Sower Tamarind*. *Pyrard*, in his Treatise of *East India Animals and Plants*, Chap. 8. tells us, this Tree is in all parts of the *East Indies*. It is also in *Brazil*, according to *Marcgravius*, in his Nat. Hist. of that Country, l. 3. c. 8. by the name of *Tamarindi*, where you may see the Figure of it; after *l'Ecluse*, l. 7. c. 28. and *Christopher d'Acosta*, Chap. 21. The *Tamarisk* of *Dioscorides* is nothing like this Tree. The *Arabs* call Dates *Tamaras*, and the Fruit of the Tamarind, because like the Dates, *Tamarindi*. The *Indians* use it with their Meat instead of *Verjuice*. It Purges gently when Green; wraps it self up at Night in the Leaves, and unwraps again in the Day.

Indian
Canes.

The Tree the *French* call *Balisier*, and the *English*, *Indian Cane*, is by them call'd *Raue*, the Seed whereof they chew to black their Teeth and Tongue, looking upon that as a Beauty, without regarding the ill Scent it gives them. The Tree is ten or twelve Foot high, the Bark of it like the *Palmito's*, without any knots, or Branches, shooting out the Leaves at the very Head, which are two Foot and half broad, five in length, round, but narrower at the Top than Bottom: The Blossoms have five Leaves of several Colours.

Aloes
Trees.

In the Vale of *Tannemene*, on the Mountains near the Sea, there are abundance of *Aloes Trees*, eight or ten Foot high, the Stem as thick as a Man's Thigh, or better, naked from the Top to the Bottom, where it has a great cluster of large thick Leaves notch'd about, like those of common Aloes we have at *Paris*, and more in the lower *Languedoc*; but ours seldom, or never has any Stalk or Stem. These Leaves which are broad at one end fall off to a Point, being four Foot long. The Blossom is Ruddy, intermixt with Yellow, and double like the Pink, supported by little Branches issuing from the Head of the Tree, with the Leaves, among which it lies. This Blossom produces a round Fruit, as big as a Pea, White and Red. We Extracted the Juice of these Leaves, splitting them with a Knife from end to end, the Juice dropt into a Gourd, or Calabash, we tied to the Stem, so that the points of the Leaves that were cut hung in it. The said Juice dry'd in the Sun, when the Calabashes were full, somewhat resembled Rosin; then we clos'd the mouths of the Gourds with Wax. We had also another way of drawing the Juice out of those Leaves, but this last, when

con-

condens'd, is not so dear as the other, being a mix'd Substance: We cut all the Leaves into bits, and put them into a Bag, which we squeeze'd to press out the Juice, and pour'd it into Ox Bladders, hanging them in our Chimneys to dry. The Natives of *Madagascar*, where this Aloes grows in the aforesaid Province, between the Sea and the River *Ranne fouche*, or *White-water*, near the Port of *Galeons*, are not acquainted with this Secret, which I learnt of a Surgeon, that came to the Island in a *Danish* Vessel, and stop'd some time with my Comrade and me, in that Province, to refresh himself; and we conceal'd our selves from the Natives when we were Extracting that Juice, which I afterwards sold to an *English* Merchant, I met with in my Return, at the *Cape of Good Hope*; the first sort at Eight Livers per Pound, and the latter at Four. This first sort of *Aloes* is by the *East Indians* call'd *Calamba*; the second *Garva*. They use the Wood of it steep'd in Water, to rub their Bodies, believing it comforts the Nerves, and burn it for Perfume. *Pyrard*, in his Treatise of *Indian* Animals and Plants, c. 6. *Linfschoten*, in his Voyage, c. 66. and *Paludanus* his Commentator, reckon three sorts of *Aloes* Trees; the first already call'd *Calamba*; the second, *Palo de Aguila*, or *Eagle wood*; and the third, *Aguila Brava*, or *Wild Eagle-wood*. The *Indians* throw some of this Wood into the Piles, in which dead Bodies are burnt, to give a good Scent. The Decoction of it stops the *Bloody Flux*, and strengthens the Liver and Stomach.

There is another sort of *Aloes* Tree in the Province of the *Tapates*, the Stem whereof is Grey, and Pulpy, like that before mention'd, which it resembles in all points, except in height, this never rising above four Foot high. The Figure and Description hereof is in *Dioscorides*, l. 7. c. 22. He says it shoots out a Stem, and bears Yellow Blossoms, the Seed like that of the *Daffadil*, the Leaves proceeding from one only Root, all bitter and stinking: That the juice of it is good for Sores. There are several sorts of this *Aloes* in the *West Indies*, describ'd by *Marcgravius* in his Natural History of *Brasil*, l. 1. c. 18. and by *Amatus Lusitanus* on *Dioscorides*, l. 1. ennarat. 21. Aloes of another sort.

As for the *Aloes*, whose Leaves are fast to the Ground, like ours in *Europe*, all the Island is full of it: It shoots out a Stem from the midst of it three or four Foot high, divided into Branches, bearing little Yellow Bells, like our *Snap-dragon* Herb, a Finger long, hollow'd in six Rows along the edges, and hanging down, with six small fair Fibers in the middle. Ground Aloes.

Ebony.

The *Ebony* grows all about the Island, on the Rocky Mountains, but more especially in the Province of *Matatan*, as I observ'd before: This Tree is big and tall as our old Oaks, and like them in Bark, Heart, and Pith, differing only in the Blackness, for which it is so much valu'd. The Leaves are like the Laurel, having betwixt every two of them a Fruit, like an Acorn, on a little Stalk: The Pith of it infus'd in Water, and taken inwardly lukewarm, Purges Flegm, and Cures Venereal Diseases. I have made the Experiment upon the Natives, who call this Tree *Hazeminthe*: It makes a clear Fire, and has a very pleasant Scent. The Vertue above mention'd has given occasion to believe the *Guayacum* to be a sort of *Ebony*, as is observ'd by *Mathiolus* on the above quoted Place in *Dioscorides*, and by *Amatus Lusitanus* on the same, l. 1. c. 119.

Rauens-
are Tree.

The *Rauensfare* is thick, tall, and full of Branches as our Oaks, the Leaves of it like our Laurel, in Shape, Verdure, and Scent, bating that the last is not so sharp: Its Fruit is like a Gall-nut, which Powder'd, Tasts, Smells, and has the Virtue of Clove. This Tree grows on the Mountains about the Village of *Fanzaire*, and I have scarce seen it elsewhere.

Timber-
Trees.

The Trees the Islanders use for Building, are also like our Oaks, bearing little round Acorns, the Leaf also round, and very Downy.

Vuouhan-
natte-
Tree.

Vuouhanatte is a Yellow Fruit like a midling Pear, with a smooth shining Skin, enclosing four hard Kernels, longish like Almonds, which Sow'd produce other Trees of the same sort: The Pulp is Doughy, Yellow, Nourishing, and has a Taste of Sugar. The Tree is large and full of Branches, like our Apple Trees, with a Leaf like Laurel, except the Smell. The Blossom is White, like the Orange Flower; but stronger scented. At the end of the Fruit grows a Nut, in shape like a Hare's Kidney, of an Ash-Colour, inclining to Ruddy. They Extract Oil from the Nuts; and the Tree in the Summer Months puts out a clear transparent Gum, without any Incision. Some of them bear beautiful double Flowers of the Colour of Roses, and very fragrant.

Plum-
Trees.

I observ'd before that we call'd a certain Bay, *The Bay of Plums*, from the great number of Plum-Trees about it, bearing Fruit as big as our double Damascenes, and of the same Colour, which they call *Vuouhannio*; the Taste is not unlike our Damascenes, being sweetish. To save this Fruit, and deter any Man from gathering it, the Native Physitian before mention'd in my Voyage, fixes on the Tree a Cows Jaw Bone Painted, and streak'd with a sort of Red, and by them called *Auly*, as has been already observ'd; which

which Word signifying not only all sorts of Medicines, but Enchantment also, those People fancy'd, that whosoever should presume to pull one Plum, would drop down Dead at the Foot of the Tree ; however my Companions, and my self did not forbear eating them, whilst they admired our Boldness, till by Degrees they were convinc'd of their Superstition, and found their Physitian, or Quack, was a meer Cheat, perceiving that no Harm came to us, notwithstanding his fine Painted Cows Head. This Tree is Eight or Nine Foot high, the Fruit of it has five little round Stones, which are its Seed.

They have also a sort of Trees, whose Stem and Leaves are like the *Ash*, bearing long White Plums, with only one Stone, which broken affords a Kernel like an *Almond*, of a good taste, the Plum it self being sharpish. *Pyrard* in his Treatise of Indian Beasts, and Plants, chap. 11. says, This Tree is by the Natives of the *Maldivy* Islands call'd *Ambou*, being more like the *Medlar* than the *Plum-Tree*, and that the Kernel in the Stone of it, tho' pleasant to eat, is so offensive to the Brain, that it would be certain Death to eat many of them. Other Plums.

The *Mirabolans* grow on a prickly Tree, the Branches of it very small, and the Leaf like Box, the Fruit resembling a large Plum, containing a very hard five corner'd Kernel. The Tree will grow 12 Foot high, and there are several sorts of it, some of an Ash Colour, which are round ; the *Emblicos*, eaten Green ; the *Resonables*, having Eight Corners ; the *Bellerici*, round ; and the *Quebuli* longer than the others, and with several Angles. See *Mathiolus* on *Dioscorides*, l. 4. c. 154. and *Linschoten* in his Voyage, chap. 82. Whereupon *Paludanus* says, the first of them purge Choler ; the second Black Choler, because they are themselves Black ; the third, Flegm ; and the fourth and fifth, the Reins and Brains. Mirabolans.

Vines grow in the Woods without any Pruning, especially near Port St. Lucy, the Grapes are White, Large, and Long. Vines.

They call Citrons, whereof they have great Plenty, *Vassarre mante*, that is, sour Fruit ; the great Lemmons, *Toulougue* ; the Oranges, *Vassarre mammi*, that is, sweet Fruit ; and the Pomegranates, *Vuouhannio*. Citrons, Lemmons, Oranges, and Pomegranates.

Among the other Trees there is a very Beautiful one, bearing the leaves one upon another, half a Foot long, of a dark Green, like that of the Laurel, shining, and thick, like Parchment, soft in handling, with a Fibre from one end to the other, and several others proceeding from that a cross. The Blossoms, like those of the Lime-Tree, are in the shape of little Bells, consisting of only one Leaf, split in six parts about the Edge, with as many Fibers of a Greenish Yellow, with a Scent like the Lime. A Milky Guiti-toroba Tree.

ses above four Foot ; the leaves grow out from the Root, of the same shape, and in the same manner as our *Aloes*. The Juice of the Fruit is so hot and piercing, that if a Knife be left in it two Hours, it will presently turn Red, and cut no more, as if it had been in the Fire. However they make a Drink of it, which is pleasing to the Palate, but biting, having something not unlike the scent of a *Raspberry*. The Seed lies hid in a Tuft of leaves, sprouting out above the Fruit. *Pyrard* gives the same account in his Treatise of *Indian Trees and Fruits*, c. 9. The Figure of this Plant and Fruit is in *Pison*, in his Book of *Brasilian Medicines*, and in *Marcgravius's Nat. Hist.* of that same Country, l. 1. c. 16.

The *Cardamom*, or *Grains of Paradise*, grows only among the *Matanes*, and *Antavarras*, the Stem Green and Smooth, an Inch thick, and Eight or Ten Foot high. At the Bottom is a Cluster of Leaves six Inches long, and two in Breadth, of a bright Green. From the foot of it sprouts a small Scion, bearing four or five red Cods, four Inches long, three corner'd, in which is a number of Seeds, Brown, and about as big as *Vetches*, enclos'd in a soft Pulp, which quenches Drought, whereas the Grain provokes it, having a spicy tast, comfortable to the Stomach, for which Reason the People of *Madagascar* call it *Aullytatte*, that is, A Medicine for the Stomach. This Plant delights in Marshes.

Cardamom.

The *Ginger*, which they call *Saccauire*, grows all over the Island, being the only Plant the Natives transplant about their Houses, to receive the Rain that falls from the Tops of them ; and about their Hives to feed their Bees. It grows all over the *Indies* so plentifully, that the King of *Spain* once prohibited the transporting any Quantities of it, for fear it should lessen the Trade of Pepper. The Green Leaf is us'd in Sauces, and Pottage. The Roots are preserv'd without drying, being White like *Orrice*, but more Knotty ; the Leaf is long and narrow, like Sword-Grass ; the Flower very Beautiful, double, marbled White, pale Purple, and Brown, very fragrant, the Stem knotted like a Rush, rising two Foot in height. The preserv'd Roots, warm, and cure Pains in the Stomach. The Leaves wither every year, and it is then the Roots are taken up, to be dry'd in the Sun, and sent into *Europe*, with other Spice. *Pyrard* in his Treatise of *Indian Plants* speaks of it. See *Diescorides*, l. 2. v. 154. The Figure of the Ginger Plant, with its Leaves and Roots, is in *Marcgravius's Nat. Hist.* of *Brasil*, l. 1. c. 10. where it is represented like the Stem and Leaves of a Cane, whereas that of the *East Indies* and *Madagascar*, is as here describ'd. Consult about this difference *Garcia de Orta, Aromaticum Historia*,

Ginger.

l. 1.

are of a Violet Colour, and thence have their Name; *Ouvi*, as has been said, signifying a Root, and *Ares*, a Violet; are more moist than the former, the Leaves and Stalks of a Violet Colour, and are eaten like the *Ouvifouches*.

The *Ouicambares* have Roots as thick as a Pound Loaf, of several Shapes, like the former, and of a greyish Violet Colour, or Grisdelin, which is also the colour of the Leaves, and Shoots. Their Taste is the same as that of the *Ouvifouches*, but they are dryer.

The *Ouimeintes*, are like the last, excepting that the Roots are black, for *Meinte* signifies Black.

The *Mauondres* have Roots like our Skirrets, Yellow, the lower end round, sweetish, and the Leaves and Branches like the former. They are scarce, and eaten, whilst the others and the Rice are in the Ground.

When the Roots are spoilt through too much Drought, or Rain, the People of *Madagascar* supply that want with *Caraibbe* Cabbages, the Roots whereof they eat, and we the Leaves in our Pottage. There are several sorts of this Cabbage in *Brasil*, describ'd and represented by *Marcgravius*, l. 1. c. 17. by the Name of *Tajaoba*; and in *Pison*, l. 4. c. 55. The *Toupinombes*, according to *Leri*, in his *America*, call them, *Caïoua*.

Whensoever the King will have his Roots Planted, which is done in *November*, he gives notice to the Neighbouring Villages, the subject to him, whence both Men and Women come, under the Conduct of their several Masters, every one of them bringing an Iron Spade, with a handsome handle to it, about as big as a Man's Hand, and triangular, wherewith they first as it were rake the top of the Earth, to clear it from Weeds and Stones; then they lay strait Lines, or Cords made of the Bark of the *Mangrove* Tree, the whole length of the Field, and dig Trenches all along them a Foot square, into each of which they lay a proportion of the Roots above mention'd, given them by the Women, by whom they are first cut, and then brought into the Field to the Men in Baskets, made of a Cane split into four, which they call *Haze malaime*, that is, soft wood; then they cover the Roots with Earth, leaving two Foot and a half distance between them. This manner of Planting they call, *Amboule*, and this is the first Service they owe their Prince. The second is when the Rice is to be Sow'd, as also the Millet, Beans, and Pease; and the third at the Harvest.

The Rice is Sow'd in *March* and *April*, after Eight days soaking in Water, which is done in Baskets full of it put into the River. They drive Forty or Fifty Oxen into the Field that is to be sow'd, more or less, according to the extent of it, after Drain-

ing off the Water let into it Eight days before to prepare it for receiving the Seed. Those Oxen are drove with Oudgels by little Boys, who are up half way the Leg in Mud, taking care that no place escapes being well trod by those Creatures. This is done twice over: The third day they Sow the Rice, and then bring the Water over it again, and drive the Oxen, which is not now done by little Boys, but by Blacks grown up Men. When the Earth has been well trod, and mix'd, they turn off the Water, till the Rice shoots, and then if the Weather prove dry, they bring it on again into the Field, which is inclosed with a Ditch and a quickset Hedge, till Harvest Time, and that is in *December* and *January*: Then they break off the Ears with their Hands, without regarding the Straw; and pound them in wooden Mortars, which done they Fan it in the Wind. The Rice in the Ear is by them call'd *Vare*, and when out of it, *Fouche Vare*, that is, *White Rice*.

Millet.

The *Millet* is Sow'd in *February*, in a Sandy Soil, which they cleanse with Spades, then lift up a Spade full of Earth, under which they drop three or four Grains, and then let the Earth fall on them. The Holes are about a Foot distant from one another. The Grain is like Hempseed, the Ear like our Millet, they call it *Empembe*.

Beans and Pease.

They Sow their Beans and Pease, which are of sundry Shapes, and Colours, at the same time. There are some among the *Malagasses* and *Tapates* that have bulbous Roots, like Earth-Nuts, and are Planted like Tulip-Roots, yielding a great Product: The Colour of them is White, and they taste like Hazle Nuts, when Roasted in the Embers. The Leaves are thick, and divided into three parts, about as broad as a single Penny, resembling the Earth Nut, growing in Tufts, the Fruit being at the Foot in the Earth.

Kidney Beans. Superstition to procure Rain.

They have Kidney Beans, by them call'd *Vnoigumbes*. I can not but take notice of their Superstition to procure Rain; when the want of it kills their Roots, and Grain, They call their *Marabou*, which signifies, Barber, or Physician, who having scratch'd his Board, of which mention has been made before, and consider'd a while what he is to do, which meditation they call *Squille*, he then orders them to bring him several Roots, Leaves, Herbs, and Flowers, in long Baskets made of Canes, and goes out of the Village, directing all those things to be brought after him; and placed on the edge of the first Spring, or Rivulet he comes to. He has also a Bull, and a Black Cock brought him, and causes the Bull to be tyed to a Tree, his Feet to be bound, and then cuts his Throat, receiving the Blood into a great

great Wooden Dish, and does the same by the Cock: He mixes the two Bloods, with his middle Finger, marks the Foreheads of all the Company with it, and smears his own Girdle, and all that hangs to it, muttering something unknown to me, to himself. This done the Bull, with his Feet tied, is roll'd into the Rivulet, and drawn out immediately, then cut in Pieces to be eaten with the Cock. Then returning to the Village, he places his Girdle before the Master's Door, which no Man dares come near to touch it. Whilst it is there, a little Boy turns a small light Board ty'd to a String, about his Head, which makes a noise like our Whirlegigs, by beating the Air. Under his Girdle are orderly plac'd the Baskets, with the Roots, Flowers, and Leaves, mention'd, all which is left there till it Rains, which soon happens, for that Fellow does not play his Game till he sees a likelihood of Rain, that he may gain the more Reputation. He has a Cow given him for his pains.

They have a sort of *Bindweed*, the Leaves whereof bruiz'd, and lay'd on a Sore, soon heal it. They are a Finger long, shap'd like a Heart, several Shoots proceeding from the Stem, and it creeps and winds about every thing it lays hold on, and is of the Colour of a Green Vine Branch. It bears Flowers as other Bindweeds do, like Bells, white with a small mixture of Carnation, and Purple at the Bottom, and Blossoms in *July*. After these Bells comes a blackish Seed, as big as a Pea, but not so round: The Root resembles a Crawfishes Claw, Fat, and full of a White Juice, the Skin of a light Ash Colour. It is of a Purging Quality, and is therefore cut into small round bits, which they dry in the Sun. A Dram and a half of the Powder of it infus'd Purges gently. The Figure of it is in the fourth Book, and the Fifty fourth Chapter, of *Pison's* Treatise of the Virtue of Simples in *Brasil*.

There is another Herb, the Leaf whereof has the same effect *Debout* as that of the *Bindweed* last mention'd being bruiz'd; the Name *chout* of it is *Dehoutchout*: The Flower of it is Yellow, and round, like Plant. the *Marygold*; the Leaf is jagg'd.

The *Tapates*, among whom the sensitive Plant grows, call it *Sensitive Haest vel*, signifying, Living Herb; it runs up in that Country *Plant*. two Foot high: The Stem of it is knotty, spreading its Branches unequally, some of them rearing up, and others falling down, being thick of Leaves, which touch one another, not unlike those of the Fearn. This Plant bears little Purplish prickly Balls, which produce a number of little Flowers of the same Colour; and from them come Thorny Cods, in which is a Black shining Grain in the Shape of a Heart, flat like a Lentile, but only half

big. Some call this Herb, *Chaste*, others *Mimeuse*, that is Dainty, or Coy. As soon as one Leaf of it is touch'd they all fold one against another, and bow down with their Branches to the ground, rising up gently about half a quarter of an Hour after. This Plant has been brought over into *Europe*, and is to be seen in several Places. Those who have travell'd over the *Isthmus* of *America*, from *Nombre de dios* to *Panama*, say there are whole Woods of Sensitive Trees, as soon as any of which are touch'd, the Branches and Leaves rise upwards, with a great noise, forming the Figure of a Globe. *Pison*, l. 4. c. 96. of the Qualities of *Brasilian* Plants, gives us the Figure of the Sensible Plant and Tree, by the Name of *Caaco*.

Sugar-
Canes.

The Island of *Madagascar* abounds in Sugar Canes, which the Natives chew, and suck, having not yet found out the Art of pressing out the Sugar, as is done in other Parts. They are knotty, like other Canes, the Stem at the bottom three, or four Inches about, and running up Ten Foot high: They are of a Yellowish Green, and have on the top many long and sharp Leaves, in Clusters. This Plant grows in *France*, but not to yield any Profit, for want of Heat; but it thrives well in *Sicily* and the adjacent Parts, as it does in *Spain*. *Marcgravius* gives us the Figure of it, l. 2. c. 16. of his History of *Brasilian* Plants. The *Brasilians* call it *Vube* and *Tucomaree*. It was known to the Ancients, tho' many deny it. *Dioscorides* describes it, l. 2. c. 75. as does *Galen*, l. 3. de *Facult. Aliment.* *Pliny* in his *Nat. Hist.* l. 12. c. 8. and *Strabo* in his *Geography*, l. 5. It is true, the Invention of extracting the Sugar is new, the Ancients having only us'd it in Medicines, and Liquors. The *Portugueses* having seen how the Inhabitants of the *Madera* Island extracted, dry'd, and made Loaves of it, transplanted the Canes into *Brasil*, erected Mills on the Land and Water, turning the former with Oxen, and they are not unlike the Wine Presses, bating that the Sugar Canes are not laid under the Press, but between two upright Roulers, which bruizing the Canes as they turn, press out the Juice, so that it falls into Fats, is then boil'd in Coppers, well scumm'd, then strein'd through a Cloth, and Boil'd again to a Consistence, which it never has without some Juice of Lemmon be put into it. The manner of Planting, Cultivating, Cutting, and Managing the Canes, boiling their Juice, and making it into Sugar-loaves, with the Figure of the Mills, Boilers, and all other necessaries for this Work, is in *William Pison*, l. 4. c. 1. of the Quality of *Brasilian* Simples.

Conclu-
sion.

To conclude this Work, I shall only add, that this Island being so large, so populous, and so fruitful, the Inhabitants so tractable,

able, having Mines of Iron, Gold, and Silver, Gums, Rosins, and Salt, (which the Sea, Winds, and Waves leave in the Hollow of the Rocks,) Wood, Cotton, *Mangrove* Trees for Cordage, by the Natives call'd *Vat sarrire*, whole Rocks of Crystal in the Country about the Bay of *Anton Gil*, where digging in the Rivulets that fall there are *Saphyrs*, and *Emeraude*s found, as also Talk on the Mountains of the *Machioores* and *Madegasses*. I wonder it has not yet drawn whole Colonies of *French* to subdue it, and settle the Christian Religion, which the Natives would easily be brought to, as being docible, and having yet embrac'd no formal Religion. Besides, they are very fond of the Conversation of the *French*, with whom they Trade freely, discover their Secrets to them, and invite them to their Alliance. Nor is there any Country in the World more advantageously situated; this Island lying between the East and West *Indies*, opportunely for the Conquest of either, and yielding all things necessary for Navigation, and the Use and Support of Man.

T H E I N D E X.

A	<i>Anton Gil Bay.</i> 18 <i>Author's Departure from France.</i> 2 <i>Sets out to Travel in Madagascar.</i> 13 <i>His meeting with King Andianpalola.</i> 14 <i>Arts to dissuade him from Travel- ling in Madagascar.</i> 20 <i>Rides on a Bullock.</i> 22 <i>Departs from Madagascar.</i> 46 <i>Returns to France.</i> 50
<i>A</i> Dultery how punish'd in <i>Madagascar.</i> Page 43 <i>Alligators.</i> 52 <i>Aloes Trees.</i> 66 <i>Another fort, and Ground Aloes.</i> 67 <i>Amboitsmene Province.</i> 17 <i>Amboule Village and Province.</i> 30 <i>Amparougue Village.</i> 12 <i>Amphibious Creatures;</i> 52 <i>Ananas.</i> 70 <i>Andianpalola sends Presents to Andianramac.</i> 44 <i>Angoada Village.</i> 17 <i>Antavarres Province.</i> 16	<div style="text-align: center; font-weight: bold; margin: 10px 0;">B</div> <i>B</i> <i>Alifiers</i> , what they are. 7 <i>Banana Tree.</i> 62 <i>Bantam.</i> 4 <i>Barbarous People.</i> 10 <i>Bar</i>

The INDEX.

<i>Bark</i> departs <i>Madagaf.</i> for <i>France</i> .	11	Others without Bodies:	61
Barter of Goods.	9	Crawfish.	60
Bats.	57	Cure ridiculous.	37
Beans.	74	D	
<i>Becune</i> , or Bill Fish.	59	D Amieres Birds.	57
Bees.	57	<i>Danish</i> Ship at <i>Madagascar</i> .	41
Beeves of <i>Madagascar</i> .	21	<i>Dehouchout</i> Plant.	75
Beheading, how perform'd.	30	<i>Diego Ruiz</i> Island.	4
Bindweed.	75	Discord among the <i>French</i> at <i>Mada-</i>	
Birds of Prey.	55	<i>gascar</i> .	13
Bonito Fish.	59	Disposal for Circumcision.	22
Building, the manner of it.	33	Divorces in <i>Madagascar</i> .	51
Bullocks.	52	<i>Dorado</i> Fish.	59
Burials.	38, and 51	Dragon's Blood, and the Tree it	
C		comes from.	21
C afres.	49	Stops Bleeding and Bloody-Fluxes:	22
<i>Camelions</i> .	52	Dress of <i>Madagascar</i> Women.	35
Cape of Good Hope.	49	Drums.	25
Captain Fish.	58	Ducks.	54
<i>Caraibe</i> Cabbages.	73	<i>Dutch</i> Ship cast away.	22
Caravels taken.	2	Dwarf Herons.	56
Describ'd.	3	E	
<i>Carrana</i> Fish.	58	E Bony Tree.	68
Cardamom.	71	F	
Carving.	34	F Anzaire Village, and Country a-	
Cats.	52	bout it in <i>Madagascar</i> .	7
Ceremony, an odd one.	24	First us'd in <i>Madagascar</i> .	24
At entering a New House.	36	<i>Feints</i> , or <i>Carauna</i> Fish.	58
Of slaughtering Bullocks.	<i>Ibid.</i>	<i>Fillettes</i> , or <i>Fuellettes</i> , what measure	
Circumcision us'd in <i>Madagascar</i> , and	22	they contain.	9
Preparation for it,	27	Fishes, small ones.	60
Manner of performing it.	27	<i>Flamencos</i> Birds.	54
Citrons.	69	Floors how lay'd.	34
Climate of St. <i>Augustin's</i> Bay.	21	Flying Fish.	59
<i>Colibri</i> Bird.	57	Flying Pismires.	57
Colony of <i>French</i> .	40	<i>French</i> left at <i>Madagascar</i> part.	11
Commodities for <i>Madagascar</i> .	2	Others come thither.	39
Commodities and Ports of <i>Mada-</i>		Many dye.	<i>Ibid.</i>
<i>gascar</i> .	40	More come.	40
<i>Comora</i> Islands.	46	They and <i>Danes</i> present one ano-	
Cormorants.	57	ther;	42
Cotton Tree.	62	Their	
Another fort.	63		
Crabs.	60		

The INDEX.

<p>Their Colony at <i>Itolangore</i>. 43</p> <p>They are Massacred for committing a Murder. 44</p> <p>Funeral. 38</p> <p style="text-align: center;">G</p> <p>Gilt Head Fish. 59</p> <p>Ginger. 71</p> <p>Goats. 52</p> <p>Goldsmith of <i>Madagascar</i>. 45</p> <p>Grand Gossiers Birds. 56</p> <p>Ground Indigo. 65</p> <p><i>Guiti toroba</i> Tree. 69</p> <p>Gums in <i>Madagascar</i>. 16</p> <p style="text-align: center;">H</p> <p>Hens. 55</p> <p>Herons. <i>Ibid.</i></p> <p>Honey. 16</p> <p>Hot Spring. 31</p> <p>Houses of <i>Madagascar</i>. 8</p> <p style="text-align: center;">I</p> <p>Indian Canes. 7, and 66</p> <p><i>Indigo</i>. 64</p> <p>Iron Works. 31</p> <p style="text-align: center;">K</p> <p>Kidney Beans. 74</p> <p>Kindness of a <i>Madagascar</i> Prince to the <i>French</i>. 12</p> <p>King of <i>Angoada</i>. 19</p> <p>King of part. of <i>Madagascar</i> described. 5</p> <p>His Revenue. 6</p> <p style="text-align: center;">L</p> <p><i>Atanier</i>, a sort of Palm Tree. 16</p> <p>Lemmons. 69</p> <p>Lizards. 54</p> <p>Lobsters. 60</p> <p>Lying-in and Uprising of <i>Madagascar</i> Women. 15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">M</p> <p>MAD Actions of a pretended Conjuror. 25</p> <p><i>Madagascar</i>, false Accounts of it. 5</p> <p><i>Mahault</i>, what it is. 8</p> <p><i>Mahometanism</i>, Tokens of it in <i>Madagascar</i>. 51</p> <p><i>Mangrove</i>, or <i>Mahault</i> Tree. 8, & 70</p> <p><i>Margos</i> Birds. 56</p> <p>Marriages of <i>Madagascar</i>. 15</p> <p><i>Maruondres</i> Roots. 73</p> <p><i>Mascarenhas</i> Island. 4</p> <p><i>Matatanes</i> Province. 13, and 16</p> <p>Mead, or Liquor made of Honey. 23</p> <p>Medicines ridiculous. 37</p> <p>Melancholy Tree. 70</p> <p><i>Meldron</i>, a <i>French</i> Man how Murder'd. 29</p> <p>Millet. 74</p> <p>Mirabolan Trees. 69</p> <p>Monkeys. 52</p> <p>Months of <i>Madagascar</i>. 52</p> <p>Moon Fish. 58</p> <p>Mortality among <i>French</i>. 9</p> <p>Mullets. 59</p> <p>Musical Instrument. 26</p> <p style="text-align: center;">N</p> <p>Natives of <i>St. Augustin's Bay</i>. 21</p> <p><i>Nazareth</i> Birds, seem to be Ostriches. 54</p> <p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <p>OLD Fish. 59</p> <p>Oranges. 69</p> <p><i>Orphi</i> Fish. 59</p> <p><i>Ouviares</i> Roots. 72</p> <p><i>Ouvicambares</i> Roots. 73</p> <p><i>Ouvifouches</i> Roots. 72</p> <p><i>Ouvimeintes</i> Roots. 73</p> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <p><i>Palmito</i> Trees. 61</p> <p>Parrots. 56</p> <p>Partridges. 55</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Peale.</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

The INDEX.

Pease.	74	Succession in Families.	52
Penguins.	56	Sugar Canes.	76
Pheasants.	55	Superstition.	23
Physician.	37	To procure Rain.	74
Pilchards.	58	Sweet Singers.	56
Planting for the King.	73	Swine.	52
Plum-Trees.	68		
Another sort.	69	T	
Polygamy allow'd.	15	Tamarind Tree.	65
Pomgranates.	69	Terra Merica Plant, or Indian	
Porpoises.	59	Safron.	72
Presents to a King for his new House.	35	Thornback Fish.	60
Prince Maurice's Island.	4	Thrushes.	56
Prize taken.	48	Timber Trees.	68
Prophet, a Cheat.	24	Times of Work and Respite.	34
Punishment of Adultery.	43	Tortoises.	54
Punishments of other sorts.	52	Tree to make Canoes.	70
		Tryal in Civil Affairs.	43
R		Of Criminals.	Ibid.
R Abos Forcados Birds.	55	Tunny Fish.	58, and 59
Râfs.	52		
Rauenssare Tree.	68	V	
Red Sea.	46	Vessel without Nail, or Pin taken.	47
Rejoycing at an Execution.	13	Vicoubanatte Tree.	68
Religion of Madagascar.	50	Villages Palisado'd.	18
Rice.	73	Vinague River.	14
River lost in the Sands.	15	Vines.	69
Roofs of Houses.	34		
Rufisque Port in Africk.	3	W	
		W Allung, or Bathing.	35
S		Wax in Madagascar.	16
Sacrifices in Madagascar.	51	Weapons us'd in Madagascar.	6
Safron of India.	72	Weeks of Madagascar.	52
St. Apollonis Island.	4	Whale Fishing.	18
St. Augustin's Bay.	20	Wives not Jealous in Madagascar.	15
St. Helena Island.	49	Women their Drefs.	35
St. Mary's Island.	18	Wood, how wrought in Madagaf-	
St. Peter's Colony.	48	car.	33
Salamander.	52	Worms that eat through Ships.	10
Sandal or Sanders.	70		
Sensitive Plant.	75	Y	
Sheep.	52	Years of Madagascar.	52
Ship lost.	10, and 40		
Skirmish among Natives of Mada-	32		
gascar.			

